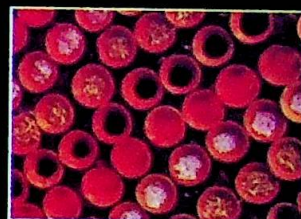


CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA

Om Prakash



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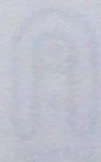


CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA

ON PAPER

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CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA

OM PRAKASH

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Preface

I had written a book titled 'Social, Economic and Cultural History of Ancient India' in Hindi, the fifth edition of which, was published by New Age International Private Limited in 2001. It fully satisfied the requirements of post-graduate students of Indian Universities located in Hindi regions of Northern India. Some of my old students, including those teaching at various Public Schools of Delhi, requested me to write a book on the aforesaid subject in English. To fulfill their request, I decided to take up the work in hand.

Fortunately, the same publisher agreed to publish the book. Bad health and old age did not permit me to get the work published as early as I wished to, but all the members of my family, including my wife Smt. Kamla Gupta, my daughter Smt. Meenakshi and my grand-daughters Ms. Manisha Goyal and Ms. Nidhi Varma, encouraged me to take up the work and whole-heartedly cooperated in completing the work without letting me down at any time.

My special thanks are due to my publisher, who not only carried out the work with great interest, but also made suggestions to make the work as useful as possible for all readers in India and abroad who are interested in Indian history and culture.

I hope the work would come up to the expectations of the readers for whom the work was undertaken.

August 2003

—THE AUTHOR

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Introduction

History is to a society what memory is to man. Just as a man who loses memory cannot survive long, similarly a society which loses interest in its glorious past becomes decadent. The concept of history is no longer restricted to the study of the political developments in a society. Much more important is considered the study of those values of life which have been the bases of its culture. It is the essence of a culture that the past mingles unconsciously with the present and is carried on to the future. When this movement stops in a society its culture becomes decadent. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that the present generation imbibe those elements of Indian culture which have kept India vital and going through its long and continuous history.

Indian culture is the eternal bed-rock of India's life, of its proud past, its fateful present and glorious future. A knowledge of the various aspects of this culture is, therefore, indispensable for its growth.

As stated by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, 'The central idea of Indo-Aryan culture was that of *dharma* which was something much more than religion or creed. It was a conception of obligations, of the discharge of one's duties to oneself and to others. This *dharma* itself was part of *ṛta*, the fundamental moral law governing the functioning of the universe and all it contained. If there was such an order then man was supposed to fit into it and he should function in such a way as to remain in harmony with it. If man did his duty and was ethically right in his actions, the right

consequences would inevitably follow. Rights as such were not emphasized.¹

According to Sardar K. M. Panikkar the two basic features of Indian culture have been toleration and synthesis. These two features of Indian culture and emphasis on one's duty and not rights resulted in establishing that harmony in which each individual felt happy, and contributed to the progress of society.

In writing this book on some aspects of Indian culture my objective has been to present before my readers some important aspects of Indian culture.

The book has been divided into three parts. In Part One, Section I, Chapter I, I have given in brief, geographical and cultural background to enable foreign individuals interested in Indian culture to become familiar with India's geography so that they may be able to grasp the full significance of the aspects of cultural developments in India. In chapter II and III, I have discussed roots of Indian culture, some fundamental concepts of Indian culture, its essential characteristics such as unity in diversity, and the foundation of Indian culture viz Harappan Culture and Vedic Culture. In chapters IV to VIII some other developments in Indian culture namely Sanskrit literature during the Gupta Age, Impact of Islam on Indian Culture, Bhakti Movement – Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya, Renaissance in the nineteenth century–Rammohan Roy and Brahmo Samaj, Swami Dayanand and Arya Samaj and Vivekanand, British impact on Indian culture and rise of Indian nationalism

have been discussed. In Appendix 1 of this section, a brief survey of the contribution of different regions of India to Indian culture has been described. There is great controversy these days about the interpretation of political history of Ancient India, hence a correct perspective has been presented in Appendix 2 of this section.

In Section II, I have, in brief, given an account of the religious beliefs of the Harappan people and the basic principles of Vedic Religion, Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. All these religions aimed at securing the material and spiritual sustenance and growth of the individual and the society. They laid emphasis on principles which aimed at social harmony, moral upliftment and inculcation of a sense of duty in the individual.

In Section II of Part One, a brief account of important Indian religions and religious beliefs and six systems of Indian philosophy is given.

In the *Rgveda* we find a prayer for social harmony. In the *Yajurveda* we find a hymn which lays down that every individual should be satisfied with what God has given to him and should not be greedy so as to covet the wealth of others. In the *Atharvaveda* there is an attempt to harmonise the religious beliefs of the Aryans with those of the non-Aryans. However values of life remained unaffected by the contact of the Aryans with the non-Aryans. The *Upaniṣads* do not approve of the teachings of the *Brāhmaṇas* that an individual can get salvation by performance of sacrifices. They lay emphasis on moral principles such as truth and non-violence. In the *Bhagavadgītā* there is a synthesis of the three paths of Knowledge (*jñāna*), Action (*Karma*) and Devotion (*Bhakti*), but it emphasises the importance of the path of Action (*Karma yoga*).

In India in the sixth century B.C. there was a revolution in the religious sphere. Some religious leaders laid emphasis on complete

renunciation of worldly pleasures while others completely discarded social morality and advocated indulgence in pleasures of life to the utter disregard of spiritual advancement. In these circumstances Mahāvīra chose the path of extreme asceticism while Gautama Buddha followed the middle path. Both these movements laid emphasis on conduct and character, and not on birth in a caste considered superior to others. According to the Buddha, a Brahmana was respected in society because of his learning and good conduct and anyone who led a moral life could expect the same honour in society. The Jains laid emphasis on *Syādvāda*, a method which aims at harmonising different points of view. Thus both these religious movements tried to bring social harmony.

Śaivism was an expression of people's revolt against Brahmanical orthodoxy in social matters. Kashmir Śaivism laid emphasis on perfection and purity of consciousness for attaining salvation. This aspect of Śaivism was a direct result of the teachings of Śaṅkarāchārya who purged Śaivism of the baneful influence of the Tāntrikas.

Vaiṣṇavism greatly contributed to social harmony. In this sect, all true devotees of Viṣṇu are equal irrespective of their castes.

All these religious sects laid emphasis on social morality which is the basis of spiritual advancement. All the sects emphasised that each individual should perform his duty whatever his profession. Thus there was no conflict between the interests of the individual and those of the society. Individual progress was the basis of social progress.

In Section III of Part One has been given a brief account of the development of Indian Art and Architecture from Prehistoric times to the present day.

In the beginning, a brief introduction of chief characteristics of Indian Art is given. The art of India constitutes a unique chapter

in the history of Indian endeavour. It reveals the deepest recesses of the human mind and offers a mirror to the Indian soul as perhaps nothing else does. The spiritual and religious content of India's creative genius has found full and perfect expression in her aesthetic creations. Art by its nature is a visual commentary on, or a concrete manifestation of, thought which is abstract and invisible. The essential quality of Indian art is its preoccupation with matters of the spirit. The approach is not intellectual but spiritual. Art in India did not aim at objective presentation of the human or social facets of life. It was primarily the fruit of the artist's creative meditation and effort to project symbols of divine reality as conceived and understood by the collective consciousness of the people as a whole.

Three things one should accept, if one wishes to do justice to Indian art. To understand truly and completely any image of *Śiva* with reference to its varied symbolism, it is obligatory to lift the veil and glimpse at a different world in which opposite principles of the cosmos appear as combatants and the wheel of life moves on, bringing victory to the *devas*. This, then, is the second truth behind the entire range of our artistic heritage, the conflict between good and evil waged incessantly.

The third feature of Indian art is the place of human life in the divine scheme of things. Man here serves an essential purpose. These are the main elements that have gone into the making of Indian art.

To sum up, Indian art has four elements for its theme, namely, the divine principle, the cosmos in its two-fold manifestation of good and evil, man and the material world.

In Chapter 1 (i.e. Chapter 19 in continuation) of Section Three a brief account of the art of prehistoric men, like crayonings of rock shelters, rock paintings, painting of

pottery and terracotta figurines, is given. It is followed by an account of the art in which the creative abilities of the protohistoric man of Harappan culture found expression. The vast number of terracotta figurines of men and animals from the Indus valley comprise a very remarkable group. Besides painted pottery, other art objects include square steatite seals with vigorous animal figures, like the humped bull with rippling muscles that tell of a vast fund of energy.

No material remains of the period c. 1750 B.C. to c. 300 B.C. have been found in the Indian subcontinent that may throw light on the developments in Indian art and architecture of the period. It is for this reason that developments in art and architecture during the Maurya period have been briefly described in chapter 20 of this part. No material remains of the Maurya period have been discovered except Chandragupta's palace at Kumrahar (near Pataliputra). The developments in art during the period may be classified into two categories, those which gave expression to the interest of the common people in aesthetic sensibility, and those which were the result of patronage of Aśoka. The art of the first category flourished even after the Mauryan period. The art of the second category flourished during the reign of Aśoka but almost disappeared after his death. The developments in the Post-Mauryan art have been briefly described in chapter 21. Both sculpture and architecture witnessed a new efflorescence during the Śunga age. Art was cultivated at many a centre and the two great stupas of Bharhut and Sanchi give evidence of almost a continental planning. A vital art movement like this one was bound to flower into an art culture of abundant dimensions and creativity like the one we find in the succeeding Kusana period. Mathura emerged as the new centre of art under the rule of the Kusana emperors – Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vasudeva. The Kusana art of Mathura represents an

important formative stage in the history of Indian art. It is here that one can fully study the symbolism and the iconographic forms that were adopted later. During the period of the Kusana emperors, an exceedingly active school of sculpture and architecture flourished in Gandhara, that is, from Taxila to the Swat Valley. This school specialized in Buddha and Bodhisattva images, stupas and monasteries. These were built mostly of blue schist stone and of stone masonry.

During the Saka-Satavahana period an aesthetic movement of unprecedented magnitude expressed itself in the form of several monumental stupas loaded with sculptures and bas-reliefs of exceptional beauty. The stupas of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, which lie in the valley of the Kṛṣṇa along the route leading towards the ancient Karnataka country, and a third one sited at Jaggayyapetta, a little towards the north, have produced art specimens of matchless beauty. While in Northern and Central India, free standing plastic art was making headway, art forms in Western India were confined mostly to rock-cut chaitya halls. Their total number is said to be about 1,200 and they fall into two phases – Hinayāna (2nd century B.C. – 3rd century A.D.) and Mahāyāna (4th century A.D. – 7th century A.D.).

The artistic activity, which continued to gather momentum at different centres in Northern and Southern India upto the third century A.D., became a mighty upsurge of the national art during the golden age of the Gupta emperors. Indian literature, religion, art and culture attained the pinnacle of their glory, and spread not only to every nook and corner of India but also outside, towards the north across the Himalayas into Central Asia and towards the South-East across the ocean into the islands of Indonesia.

Wherever the Bhagavata movement spread, it summoned people to a new aestheticism;

temples, images, paintings, clay figurines, bronzes and the like being visual symbols of the religious inspiration felt within the heart. A survey of the geographical dispersal of Gupta art reveals the fact that almost every centre received that tidal flow of the culture of the golden age. There are many surviving monuments of Gupta art, details of which are given in chapter 22 of this section.

The success of Gupta sculpture lies in its attaining a golden mean between the obtruding sensuousness of the Kusana figures and the symbolic abstraction of the early mediaeval ones. Gupta art is beautiful in both its outer form and inner inspiration. Beauty and virtue served as the ideals of the age. The golden harmony between the domestic and religious life imparted to this art a deep and perpetual attraction.

The burning embers of Gupta art transmitted their warmth to new centres in the Karnataka country and in the dominion of the Maitrakas of Valabhi in Saurashtra. In the latter region, the discoveries at the Sun Temple of Gopa and the many fine specimens of stone at Samalaji exhibit the fine touch of Gupta workmanship. The group of temples at Badami and Aihole show a juxtaposition of the Nāgara and Dravida śikhara styles. In 753 A.D. the Rāṣtrakutas established themselves in the Deccan as successors of the Chalukyas. Their creations are impressive in both architecture and sculpture.

Probably in the second half of the eighth century, on an island near the West Coast, was built the cave shrine of Elephanta, which is dedicated to Śiva, whose image as Maheśa (popularly known as Trimurti) counts amongst the most magnificent art creations in India.

The Pallavas in the far south were great patrons of art, especially cave and temple architecture. Their capital was at Kanchipuram. Mahendravarman and his successor Narsimhavarman were great

builders. At Mahabalipuram we have several rock-cut caves. In the reign of Rajasimha, the rock-cut technique was abandoned and replaced by the structural temple of masonry and stone.

The next phase of building activity in the far south belongs to the reign of the Cholas. Dravidian civilization attained its zenith in the tenth and eleventh centuries, during the time of the Cholas, Rajaraja and Rajendra. It was distinguished by noteworthy achievements in art. The greatest monuments of this age include the temples of Gangaikondacholapuram and the Brihadiśvara temple of Thanjavur. The Madurai temple with its imposing gopuram, the temples at Rameśwaram, Srirangam and Tiruchirapalli and the Śiva temple at Chidambaram are the other great temples of Southern India.

The southern region of Karnataka developed a distinctive style of architecture known as the Hoysala style (1050 – 1300 A.D.). There are over a hundred temples of the period in Karnataka territory. The minute carving of Hoysala temples is their most attractive feature, achieving the effect of sandalwood and ivory carving and reproducing the same infinite variety of ornamental decoration. The figure sculpture loaded with jewellery and ornament, head-dresses and pendants is repeated *ad infinitum*. The greatest achievement of Hoysala art is the temple of Hoysalesvara at Halebid in the Hassan district, which, with the exuberance of its sculptural art, is said to be one of the most remarkable monuments ever produced by the hand of man. It marks the climax of Indian architecture and its most prodigal sculptured magnificence.

The Pala school of sculpture and architecture, which Taranatha refers to as the "Eastern school", flourished in Bihar and Bengal from the 8th to the 13th century. It was a vital and creative effort which handled stone sculpture, architecture, bronzes and paintings

with equal facility. Nalanda was its greatest and most active centre during the 9th and the 10th centuries, maintaining cultural contacts with the Śailendra empire of Sumatra and Java in Indonesia, and also spreading its influence to Nepal and Burma.

A vast series of temples at Bhubaneśwara, Puri and Konark in Orissa illustrates the development of architecture from the 8th to the 13th century. The most important of them are the Paraśurameśwar, Mukteśwar, Lingaraja, Raja Rani and the gigantic Sun temple at Konark fashioned like a chariot moving on twelve giant wheels drawn by seven horses and put up in the middle of an expansive court.

Khajuraho has about 30 temples all erected within a period of a hundred years from 950 to 1050 A.D., under the patronage of the Chandela kings, and dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu and the Jaina pontiffs.

The Muslims brought with them in 1206, their own canons of building in the form of the arch and the dome whereas the Indian device had been the beam. But the new comers discovered to their joy that the Hindus had mature experience in the lavish use of stone for building their temples. The corresponding monument in Islam was the *masjid* (hall of prayer) and for its construction, stone replaced brick, which was commonly used outside India. The Muslim monuments in India comprise mosques, mausoleums, palaces, citadels and cities. Their special features include the dome, arch, perforated *Jali* work, inlay decoration as well as artistic calligraphy. The Indo-Islamic architecture falls into two phases: The Pathan (c. 1206 – 1550 A.D.) and the Mughal (1556 – 1707 A.D.). The monuments of the first phase give evidence of primitive strength, of triumphant assertion of power, of an earnest attempt to utilise the indigenous material and forms. The second stage represents a blending of the old and new elements in architecture,

and one perceives beauty, symmetry, decorative excellence and refinement in buildings such as the marble palaces of Agra and Delhi. Fatehpur Sikri is a document in stone which bears testimony to the versatile mind and exquisite taste of the great king, Akbar. Other monuments of importance in this period are the Qutub Minar, Red Fort of Delhi, the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, the Taj Mahal, the tomb of Sher Shah and the Gol Gumbaz of Bijapur.

An important branch of Indian sculpture is that classed under bronzes. The art of metal casting always received great attention and is of the highest antiquity. The Southern school of Indian bronzes, which flourished between the 10th and 13th centuries was of such aesthetic quality and creative abundance that it is regarded as representing that art at its best. One of the great creations of Indian art is Śiva Natarāja, symbolising the processes of creation and dissolution in terms of the dynamic dance of the divinity.

Indian painting has a history of over two thousand years and presents a comprehensive record of the religious and emotional life of the people. The art of painting was widely cultivated in the Gupta period and is best known through the paintings surviving in the Ajantā caves, the Bagh caves and the Sittannavasal caves. After the eighth century, large-scale wall painting declined in popularity and there was a preference for miniature paintings, as seen in the Pala school of Bengal (9th–12th century) in the east and in the Gujarati school of Western India (11th–15th century). These miniatures can be seen in the pages of illustrated manuscripts. The subject of Pala miniatures is the Buddhist pantheon and the art is characterised by the feeling of intense devotion that developed in the latter phase of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The pictorial art of Rajasthan from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century shows the

Indian genius in its pure form and must appeal intimately to those who are attracted by the theme of love devotion, together with the paintings of the Western Himalayas (17th–18th century). An entire world of folklore stands documented in these paintings of the Rajasthani and Himachal schools. Their common subject matter is the cycle of Kṛṣṇa legends; śringara or the sentiment of love expressing itself in erotic motifs of heroes and heroines; union of Śiva and Parvati; scenes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata; ballads and romantic poems; seasons portraiture and *ragamalas*.

The same inspiration and subject matter gave birth to Pahari paintings, produced in the sub-Himalayan States of Jammu, Basohli, Chamba, Nurpur, Kangra, Kullu, Mandi and Suket. The paintings of Garhwal, the southernmost region of this group, bear a family resemblance to those of the Kangra school.

The Mughals were enlightened patrons of art, under whom architecture and paintings enjoyed a new flowering. Akbar encouraged a vital and interesting school of painting. He invited painters from all over India, including Gujarat and Rajputana and entrusted them with the work of illustrating the masterpieces of Sanskrit and Persian literatures. Jahangir, an enthusiastic lover and patron of the arts, commanded many masterpieces to be painted, which were characterised by the beauty of line and soft colours melting delicately into one another. In the time of Aurangzeb, painting suffered a setback as imperial patronage was withdrawn and painters were obliged to fall back on the precarious patronage of local courts.

In India, the acquisition of Madras and Bombay by the British marked important stages. Thomas Pitt was appointed as the governor of Madras in 1698. His term of office for eleven years proved to be the golden age of Madras in respect to the development of trade and increase of wealth. The successful

resistance to the attack of Daud Khan, the Mughal ruler of Karnataka, the permanent fortification of the Black Town; the acquisition of numerous villages in the vicinity of Madras were the chief achievements of his governorship.

Gerald Aungier was the true founder of Bombay's greatness. He resolved to make Bombay completely safe for shipping and trade, free from danger on the land side from the Marathas and on the sea side from the Portuguese and the pirates of the coast. He laid out a town, established a court of justice, created a police force and a militia and started a mint which coined both silver and copper money. Under his governorship from 1669 to 1677, Bombay became a safe asylum for all merchants and manufacturers. He established rigorous and strict discipline over the inhabitants and allowed every community to enjoy the free exercise of its religion without molestation. During his governorship the old *panchayat* system was revived. He had to propitiate both the Mughals and the Marathas.

Job Charnock landed at Sutanuti on 24 August 1690. He found the place in a deplorable condition. It was the foundation day of what developed into Calcutta, the premier city of India. Aurangzeb's death in 1707 made the English at Calcutta fear that their growing trade would be swept away by the civil war and anarchy. Efforts were made to strengthen the fort and new bastions were built by the river side without delay. After protracted negotiations, the English got confirmation of their privileges from Shah Alam, the new emperor, hoping for peace and prosperous trade.

In Delhi, Safdar Jung was the last of the great Mughal nobles to build a great tomb. He was the second Nawab of Oudh. His son Shuja-ud-daula fought against the English and made a treaty with Clive. He maintained his father's tomb until the Mutiny. The tomb was used as

a residence during the lifetime of the founder. The rooms around the tomb were used for entertainment afterwards, but not for residence.

The observatory or the Jantar Mantar at Delhi was built by Maharaja Jai Singh of Jaipur in 1710 A.D. when Delhi was still the capital of a flourishing Mughal empire. He built large instruments of his own invention to indulge his interest in astronomy so that the defective astronomical tables being used at the time could be corrected.

With Le Corbusier, who designed the new capital of the Panjab, and Louis Kahn, who worked on both Islamabad and Dhaka, the architecture of the subcontinent became part of a worldwide modernist movement. Le Corbusier's High Court and Secretariat at Chandigarh are among the finest examples of his highly individual style. Inevitably, the new generation of architects from the sub-continent was influenced by Le Corbusier and Kahn; the first schools of architecture were, in fact, started by their students. Among the new architects, Correa and Doshi have adopted modernist forms to local climatic and social requirements. Concrete and brick remain favoured materials, and an expressive use of architectural forms dominate many new structures. Vernacular forms and materials are once again influencing architectural practice, testifying to the vitality of this humble yet pervasive indigenous tradition.

Indian art has also revived, in comparatively recent times, from the decadence which had overtaken it after the gradual dismemberment of the Mughal Empire in the latter half of the 17th century. The 18th century in India, being a period of transition, saw a regrettable deterioration of creative genius and artistic standards and a decline in the capacity of producing and appreciating true art. There has been a desire to introduce a new style and give up imitation. It is not a revival of the traditional Rajput or Mughal styles

but marked by a mingling of Western and Eastern ideas.

Painting had been rescued from the same deplorable condition and had manifested a return to Indian inspiration and ideals, through the genius and efforts of a group of Bengali artists, chiefly the Tagores and the Gangulis and their disciples.

Indian music had been rescued from neglect and the mire of Mediaeval social stigma by Bengal in the 19th century, and its study and cultivation grew rapidly with the rise of the modern Bengali drama and the stage. In Calcutta, Bombay, Poona, Baroda, Patna and some other places, schools and academies of music for scientific study, and practice of Indian music and musical instruments had emerged.

To promote and propagate understanding of Indian art within and without the country, the government established Lalit Kala Akademi (National Akademi of Fine Arts) at New Delhi in 1954. It has regional centres called Rashtriya Lalit Kala Kendra at Lucknow, Calcutta, Madras and Bhubaneshwar. It has also set up Community Artists' Studio Complex with workshop facilities in painting, sculpture, print-making and ceramics at Garhi village at New Delhi.

In Part Two of this book I have discussed social institutions, educational system and economic organisation in Ancient India. The social institutions of a country enable an individual to realise in his life the ideals and values of life which a society inherits from ancient times and which it cherishes so dearly. In chapter I of Section I of this Part I have discussed the sources for the study of social institutions. As stated earlier, the central idea of Indo-Aryan culture was that of *dharma*. "The term *dharma* stands for all those ideals and purposes, influences and institutions that shape the character of man both as an individual and as a member of society. It is the law of right

living, the observance of which secures the double object of happiness on earth and salvation."² The relation between *Dharma* and social Institutions has been discussed in Chapter 2 of this section. In Chapter 3 there is a discussion of four *Puraṣārthas* or chief aims of life namely *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. In the Mahābhārata it is clearly stated that *dharma* is for the well being of all creatures (Mahābhārata Karna Parva 69. 57). As stated earlier, if every individual did his duty (*dharma*) and was ethical in his actions the right consequences would inevitably follow. In the Indian concept of *dharma*, rights as such were not emphasised. Thus it is clear that the aim of *dharma* was maintenance of order in society. *Artha* refers to all the means necessary for acquiring worldly prosperity such as wealth or power, *Kāma* refers to all the desires in a man for enjoyment and satisfaction of the senses and the sex. *Mokṣa* refers to salvation which according to all important religious sects was the ultimate aim of an individual's life in this world.

Ancient Indians believed that each individual in this world had to repay three debts (Ṛṇas) namely :

- (1) The debt to fathers of learning and founders of religion (Ṛṣi ṛṇa),
- (2) The debt to ancestors (Pitṛ ṛṇa) and
- (3) The debt to gods (Deva ṛṇa).

A short account of how these three debts are to be repaid has been given in Chapter 4. The four *Āśramas* namely, the *Brahmacharya*, (the stage of a student), the *Gṛhastha* (the stage of a house holder), the *Vānaprastha* (the stage of a forest dweller) and the *Saṁnyāsa* (the stage of complete renunciation) were considered the four stages to attain the final aim of salvation. Of these four *āśramas* the stage of a house holder was considered the most important as the individuals in the other three stages of life depended for their sustenance on a house holder. The significance

of the āśramas in the desired development in a man's life has been discussed in Chapter 5.

In Chapter 6 there is an account of the development of the *Varṇa* system from the times of the Harappan culture (2350 B.C.–1700 B.C.) to the Ṛgvedic times. The change from the *Varṇa* system to *Jāti* system on the basis of birth from the later Vedic times to Early Medieval times, the continuance of the *Varṇa* system on the basis of professions, the origin and development of mixed castes (*Samikara Jāti*) as found in Dharmaśāstra from the time of Manu to the twelfth century A.D. has been discussed in Chapter 7. There is no doubt that the theory of mixed castes was an ingenious way of explaining the existence of so many castes. It was purely a product of the imagination of the law-givers.

About the origin of the caste system various scholars have expressed different views. These views have been examined in Chapter 8 and the various factors which resulted in the proliferation of castes have been discussed in detail in the same.

How caste system integrated the rich and the poor, how it enabled certain sections of society by improving their cultural level to improve their status in society, how the system paved way for the hereditary transmission of specialized functions of artisans, craftsmen, traders and priests has been briefly discussed in Chapter 9. In the same chapter it has been pointed out that caste system was not an unmixed blessing. It arrested the intellectual development of a major section of Hindu society. It also degraded arts and crafts by creating a feeling that intellectual development was far superior to manual work. It did not permit the individual to develop his personality according to his aptitude. He had to follow the profession of his father.

In Chapter 10 has been discussed the nature of slavery in ancient India. It is probable that the institution of slavery existed even in

Harappan times but there is no doubt that the non-Aryans even in the Ṛgvedic period were treated as slaves. The slaves in this period also included those persons who could not repay their debts. These slaves served rulers, priests and other aristocratic members of society but they were not employed in agriculture or arts or crafts.

In Indian society slaves were treated with great consideration. They were provided enough food to eat and clothes to wear. Their condition was far superior to that of slaves in Greece or Rome. Many kinds of slaves are mentioned in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstras of ancient period. They, generally used to engage in domestic work. But from the literature of the early Medieval period (c. 750 to c. 1200 A.D.) it appears that there was a flourishing trade in this period. The condition of slaves in this period was far from satisfactory. They had to carry heavy loads, were not given enough food to eat and were beaten like asses. If a female slave tried to run away from her master, committed theft or did not obey the orders of her master, the latter could tie her with a rope and beat her. There was an increase in the number of slaves during this period. On account of feudal wars and foreign invasions, the economic condition of the common man had deteriorated a good deal. Many of these common people, of their own accord, sold themselves as slaves. The persons imprisoned in feudal wars were also treated as slaves. The moral standard of society had deteriorated to such an extent that no importance was attached to the freedom of the individual. All these factors resulted in the increase of the number of slaves in this period.

The treatment meted out to women in a country is an indicator of the cultural level of the society of that country at that time. In the Vedic period a daughter contributed to the happiness of the family by doing productive work such as milking cows. It was for this

reason a daughter was called *duhitṛ*. In an *Upaniṣad* there is a ritual which was to have a learned daughter.³ The girls were married at an advanced age. According to a *Brāhmaṇa*,⁴ the wife is a friend of the husband. A sacrifice performed by a man without his wife was considered incomplete.⁵ A wife had full control over her father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law and sister-in-law. Wives showed due respect to the members of the family.⁶ The first historical case of *Sati* is mentioned by Curtius (c. 316 B.C.).

In the early medieval period (c. 750–1200 A.D.), the position of a daughter in the family deteriorated a good deal as compared to that of a son. According to the law-givers of this period a daughter should be married at the age of eight or nine.⁷ The wife was expected to serve the husband in all possible ways but the husband was also expected to pay full attention to the comforts of his wife. A widow was expected to lead a very simple life. According to Sulaiman, widows burnt themselves on their husbands' funeral pyre of their own accord⁸ but the custom was confined to royal families of northern India upto c. 900 A.D. Most of the law-givers were of the opinion that if a woman is forced to have sexual intercourse with a stranger against her wishes, the husband should not divorce her but in the eleventh century A.D., women abducted by Muslims had no place in Hindu society. The position of women in Hindu society has been discussed in this part of the book in Chapter 11.

The institution of family has been discussed in this part of the book in Chapter 12. The three most important functions of a family are—(i) it satisfies the sex urge of the man and woman, (ii) it enables the husband and wife to have children and bring them up in a congenial environment and (iii) it gives happiness to members of the family, which is derived by living together in a home. Thus sociologically and psychologically family is very

important both for the individual and the society.

In the Gupta period an ideal wife was expected to act in everything according to the wishes of her husband. She should try her best to serve all the members of the family. She should have self-control and should manage the domestic affairs skilfully. The husband was expected to act according to the wishes of his wife and should love her. The law givers of this period were of opinion that all people should treat women with consideration, show regards to them and try to protect them in every way.⁹

In the Early Medieval period the position of the husband was supreme in the family. According to Medhatithi a wife should serve her husband like a servant but he also expects the husband not to hate his wife or ill treat her. According to him both have equal rights in the family but their functions are different. Both of them can legally claim their rights. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was some improvement in the economic position of the wife but on the whole her status in the family deteriorated much. Her position was no better than an obedient servant.

The thirteenth chapter of this Part deals with the institution of marriage. According to the Hindu law-givers marriage is in essence an obligatory ritual which an individual has to perform to be able to start his life as a house holder. According to them the performance of sacrifices for gods and having children were the two objectives of marriage. Satisfaction of the sex-instinct and desire to have children were probably the two aims of marriage in the beginning but the Hindu law-givers sublimated the sex instinct. Duty towards others became more important than the two selfish desires of satisfaction of sex-instinct and reproduction.

Most of the law-givers have mentioned the following eight forms of marriages :

1. *Brāhma* : In this form of marriage the father of the girl gave his daughter with some ornaments to a young man who was of good conduct and was well-versed in the four Vedas.
2. *Daiva* : In this form of marriage the father gave his daughter with some ornaments to a priest who himself acted as a priest in the marriage sacrament.
3. *Ārṣa* : In this form of marriage the father of the girl accepted an ox or a pair of cows and oxen from the bridegroom and gave his daughter to him with the cow and the ox.
4. *Prājapatya* : In this form of marriage the father of the girl gave his daughter to the bridegroom so that the two might enter the stage of a householder and have children.
5. *Āsura* : In this form of marriage the bridegroom gave a sum of money to the bride and her parents.
6. *Gāndharva* : The bride and bridegroom, of their own accord, married because they loved each other.
7. *Rakṣasa* : In this form of marriage the relatives of the bridegroom killed the parents of the bride and abducted the girl against her wishes in a weeping crying condition and later married her.
8. *Paiśācha* : In this form of marriage the bridegroom outraged the modesty of the girl who was sleeping, was drunk or was mad.

The first four forms of marriage were considered approved (*Dharmya*). The last four forms of marriages were not considered good (*adharma*) by society.

In Indian marriage system there was no scope for divorce because the husband and the wife were tied in a bond which was

unbreakable because their relations did not come to an end in this world. Both of them wished to have salvation.

There are three appendices in this section. Appendix 1, '*Saṁskāras* in the Chālukya Royal Families in the 12th century A.D.' has been included in this section to explain the significance which ancient Indians attached to the performance of sacraments (*saṁskāras*) and to show that Hindu rulers of the Deccan considered the performance of *saṁskāras* as necessary for achieving perfection and success in life.

Appendix 2, Mercantile Community in the Early Medieval Period presents a picture of the life of the mercantile community in India in Early Medieval period. It shows that members of all the four castes participated in this period. They were expected to be well-up in all sciences and arts, like the method of handling horses, care of elephants, art of business, the secrets of gambling and science of harlotry, etc. They imported goods from other states into the kingdom in which they lived. Some rich merchants went for trade to foreign countries like Ceylon and East Indies. In the twelfth century A.D., Indian merchants had to face the competition of Arab and Chinese traders in the East Indies. Then they concentrated on the coastal trade with the countries of the west.

Appendix 3, Social Conditions in Rajasthan and Western India in Early Medieval Period throws light on the caste system and various professions. The paper shows that caste restrictions were generally confined to commensality and connubiality. Many foreigners had been assimilated in Hindu social organisation and the caste system was not so rigid as it became later. One could adopt any profession irrespective of his caste. Polygamy was quite common especially in aristocratic families. Even child widows were not allowed to remarry. The rulers patronised

courtesans and presented young girls as *Devadāsīs* to temples. Women were generally considered to be fickle-minded, deceitful in their ways and an impediment in the road to spiritual progress.

In Section 2 of this Part, I have discussed the Educational System in Ancient India. In Chapter 14 aims and ideals, significance of educational *saṁskāras*, education of women, the system of imparting education as followed in the Brahmanical society from the Ṛgvedic period to c. 1200 AD have been discussed. The subjects of study and a brief account of the system of technical education have also been given in this chapter.

In Chapter 15 the aims of education and the system of imparting education in Buddhist monasteries has been given. There were three categories of students, the *Saddhivihārikas*, the *Māṇavas* and the *Brahmachāriṇs*. The expenses of *Saddhivihārikas* were borne by the monastery. The students of the other two categories had to pay their own expenses. Students of all castes joined these Buddhist centres of learning. Some of them came from Central Asia, China, and Tibet.

Of the centres of higher education the account of Takṣaśīta, Ayodhya and the *āśramas* in each one of which there were eight departments, *Agnisthāna*, *Brahmasthanā*, *Viṣṇusthāna*, *Mahendrasthanā*, *Vairasvasthāna*, *Somasthanā*, *Garuḍasthanā* and *Kārtikeya-sthāna* has been given in Chapter 16. The account of other centres which imparted higher education in the Gupta period and the post-Gupta period has been given in the chapter. Of these the university of Nālandā in Magadha was the most important. There were 100 teachers and 1000 students in this university. The expenses of the university were met by the income derived from the revenues of 100 villages which were given to the university by donors in charity. There were eight colleges in this university. The subjects

of study were both worldly and others. They were principles of Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism, the four Vedas, six Vedāṅgas, the Purāṇas, *Nyāya*, *Mīmāṃsā* and *Sāṅkhya* systems of philosophy. *Dharmaśāstras*, archery, music, economics, dramaturgy, painting, astrology, grammar, mathematics, *Ātma vidyā*, logic and medicine were taught.

The other centres of higher learning in this period were Valabhī in Kathiawar, and Vikramaśīla and Jagaddala in Bengal. There were also some centres of higher learning in Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, the Deccan and South India. In this chapter in the end have been mentioned some notable features of the system of education in ancient India.

Section 3 of this Part of the book discusses the economic organisation in ancient India. In Chapter 17, the developments in agriculture, famines, irrigation forestry, gardening and animal husbandry from c. 5000 B.C. to about 1200 A.D. have been described in brief. The ownership of land, individual ownership, royal ownership, communal ownership, the ownership rights of feudal lords, kinds of land, land tenure, land survey, measurement of land, the nature of land grants and the procedure followed in the sale of pieces of land have been described in Chapter 18.

In Chapter 19, I have described the revenue system from the Vedic times to about 1200 A.D. From the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya we know that farmers had to pay no land revenue if the crop was badly damaged and in an emergency the king could collect upto 1/4 or 1/3 of the produce, the usual rate of land revenue being 1/6 of the produce.

The most common revenue terms mentioned in the inscriptions of the Gupta period were *bhāga*, *bhoga* and *kara*. *Śulka* was a tax levied on traders.

The law-givers of the post Gupta period have interpreted the rules about taxation laid down in law-books to suit the changed

conditions. The land-grants of the Rajput rulers of early medieval India all make mention of *bhāga*, *bhoga* and *kara*, but with all these was levied a number of other taxes. In this period in some regions the cultivators paid land revenue directly in kind to the government but other taxes were collected cash. We find a mention of the maximum number of taxes and cesses in an inscription dated 1230 A.D. of Chaulukya ruler, Bhima II. He imposed taxes even on articles such as myrebalan a malaka terminalia bellerica (*vibhītaka*), fenugreek (*methikā*), asafoetida (*hiṅgu*), camphor, nutmeg, coconut, sugarcane, pepper, and dates, etc. Probably in this period there was no article left on which tax was not collected by the rulers.

The developments in Crafts and Industries from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic ages to c. 1200 AD have been described in Chapter 20. From the *Saṁhitās* of the Vedic period we know that during this period the crafts of wood, textiles, leather and architecture were in fully developed state. The crafts of metallurgy, wood, ivory carving, textiles, architecture and sculpture were flourishing in the pre-Gupta period. Jeweller's art, sculpture, architecture, textiles, wood craft and the arts of making cosmetics, perfumes and unguents were also in a highly developed state in the Gupta period.

Textile industry continued to be in a flourishing condition in the post-Gupta period; metal industry using precious stones in making ornaments, ivory working continued to develop as they were all organised into guilds from the beginning of the Christian era and rules of the guilds provided full opportunity to a craftsman to develop his craft to the fullest extent possible. The aristocratic section of society fully appreciated the work of these craftsmen.

In Chapter 21 corporate activities in economic life have been discussed. It seems that guilds played an important role from about 600 B.C. to 600 A.D. in northern India. Even in

the Maurya period when the state fully controlled economic activities, guilds continued to frame their own rules and even rulers borrowed money from them in times of financial emergency. In the Gupta period, the guilds had great credit and some rulers even made fixed deposits with them. When any member of a guild did not abide by the rules laid down by it, the ruler punished him and compelled him to do so. The *Smṛtis* of this period also lay down rules of partnership in business. These rules of partnership were followed both in industries and trade.

In the post-Gupta period the guilds could not maintain their full control over their members and many of them took their disputes to the royal courts. Activities of most of the guilds were confined to a town or city.

In South India, however, traders guilds were well organized even in early medieval period and some of them were so powerful that they formed a 'joint front' against the oppression of *vaṇṇi*ya tenants, brāhmaṇas and Vetala landlords who were being supported by government officials. For this reason, South India continued to be more prosperous even during this period.

In Chapter 22 the development of trade and commerce since pre-historic times has been discussed. During the period 600 B.C. to A.D. 300, especially under the Kuṣānas, trade both with the West and the East was at its zenith as is clear from the accounts of 'The Periplus of the Erythrean sea', Pliny and Ptolemy. In this chapter a brief account of important trade routes is also given. In foreign trade, the chief items of import and export have also been mentioned. During the Gupta period (c. 300 A.D. to c. 600 A.D.) India's trade relations continued with Egypt, Greece, Rome, Iran, Arabia, Syria and Ethiopia on the west and Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Siam, Sumatra, Malaya and China on the east.

During the post-Gupta period India's trade with Central Asia and China decreased on account of the struggle for supremacy of Central Asia between the Turks, the Tibetans, the Arabs and the Chinese. Indian traders generally went by sea route to China and the West. In the ninth century A.D. Arabs became the most important partners in India's foreign trade. In the tenth century the traders of Indonesia and China became equal partners but in the twelfth century the Chinese traders became more powerful than the Arab traders and Indian traders did not go to distant lands and did not get much profit on account of the rivalry of traders from Arabia, Indonesia and China.

In Chapter 23 development of currency and exchange has been discussed from pre-historic times to c. 1200 A.D. The earliest coinage consisted of punch-marked coins. The Indo Greek rulers issued coins with the ruler's effigy on the obverse and that of a Greek goddess on the reverse. The Kuṣaṇa rulers regularly issued gold coins. The coins of the Imperial Gupta rulers, both of gold and silver, were completely Indianised. In the post-Gupta period there were a number of petty states and each state issued its own coins. *Dramma* seems to be the most common coin.

The second section in this chapter deals with money lending from the Vedic times to c. 1200 A.D. Different rates of interest for different categories of secured and unsecured loans are given in the *Smṛtis* and the methods adopted by moneylenders to realise the loans from the debtors are described. In the *Lekhapaddhati*, drafts of many kinds of documents under which the moneylenders gave loans to individuals are given.

Indian economy even in ancient India was not static. It adjusted itself to the changed social and political conditions in different regions of the sub-continent with a view to presenting a correct picture of the economy in

each period. Each chapter in this section has been divided into four sections. The first section in each chapter surveys the developments from pre-historic to c. 600 B.C. The second section deals with those from c. 600 B.C. to c. 300 A.D. The third section discusses the economic developments from c. 300 A.D. to c. 600 A.D. and the fourth section with those during the period c. 600 A.D. to c. 1200 A.D.

Appendix 4 in this part of the book discusses the economic data as gleaned from Thakkura Pherus book *Gaṇitasāra Kaumudī*. It enables us to have an idea of the economic condition of Delhi in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.

In Part Three of this book I have described the dietary of Indians from pre-historic times to c. 1200 A.D. The basis for inclusion of food and drinks in a book on Indian culture is that ancient Indians believed that food not only keeps the individual healthy but is also responsible for his mental make up.¹⁰ In the *Chhāndogya Upanisad* it is stated when there is purity of food the mind becomes pure, when the mind is pure then follows firm remembrance (of the real self), when the last is secured all knots (that bind the soul to this world) are loosened and the individual soul becomes a part of the universal soul which enables him to get permanent bliss (VII, 263).

Ancient Indians were fully conscious of the fact that the same kind of food could not suit a man at different stages of life. They, therefore, prescribed different kinds of dishes even for a pregnant mother. For example it is stated that if the parents wished to have a son learned in two Vedas, they should take boiled rice with curds and clarified butter (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* VI, 8. 4. 15-17).

In his first stage of life, a student was expected to take simple but wholesome food, and avoid meat preparations, spicy and exciting dishes. A newly married couple was not

allowed to use pungent or saline food preparations for three days. Forest hermits could not eat stale food, pungent condiments, saline or meat preparations.

The three *varṇas*, according to the *Brāhmaṇas*, had different objectives to be achieved. They have therefore been prescribed those food articles which might enable the *Brāhmaṇas* to acquire maximum of holy lustre, the *kṣatriyas* maximum of physical strength and the *vaiśyas* maximum of cattle wealth.

One of the basic characteristics of Indian culture is synthesis. It can also be seen in the changes which have taken place in the food habits of Indians. Wheat did not form part of the dietary of the Ṛgvedic Indians. Barley seems to have been the staple food grain of the Ṛgvedic Āryans. But by the time of the compilation of the *samhitas* of the *Yajurveda* not only wheat but many varieties of rice and lentil had become part and parcel of Indian dietary. This synthesis can also be noticed in the food preparations mentioned by Sufi poets of the sixteenth century like Jāyāsī in his work, the *Padmāvat*.¹¹

The law-givers also prohibited the eating of unhygienic food preparations, those which were served with a view to humiliate a person, food articles considered exotic and food preparations offered by undesirable persons.

The above survey clearly show that food occupied a very significant position in Indian culture. Chapter 10 on food and drinks in the sixteenth century has been included in this section to show that the synthesis in the food

habits of Indians was a result of the coming of the Muslims.

In Chapter 9 of this part of the book I have discussed the various factors which were responsible for the changes in food habits of Indians in ancient India. Of these factors, the most important was the contact of the early Aryans with the non-Aryans. The second factor was the teachings of Gautama Buddha and Mahavira which laid emphasis on non-violence. The food habits also depended considerably on the availability of food articles in a particular region. Another important factor was the religious beliefs of the people. For example, in the Early Medieval period the baneful influence of Tantrikism led to the habit of meat eating and drinking by a section of Indian society. No doubt the differences in the dietary of the rich and the poor existed throughout the period.

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10. For a full discussion of this aspect of food please see chapter 19 and Appendix 4 in this section of the book.
11. Please see chapter 10 in this section of the book.

Chapter 1

Geographical and Cultural Background

Part One SECTION - I

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Chapter 1

Geographical and Cultural Background

The Indian sub-continent i.e. India together with Pakistan and Bangladesh is a Geographical unit. It is distinctly aloof from the main continent of Asia because of the Himalyan ranges in the north and the seas on three sides. At the ends, the Himalyan barrier is continued by other mountain ranges, in the west by Karakoram followed by the Hindukush and south of the Hinduskush by the Sufed Koh and the Sulaiman hills separating India from Afghanistan and the Kirthar hills separating it from Baluchistan; in the east, by the Himalayan spurs forming the Patkoi, Naga and Lushai hills, with their dense forests barring access to India from that quarter. These mountain ranges acted as barriers to human contact generally and also screened India from the arctic winds and air currents of Central Asia.

On the western side there are several passes. The most frequented route has been through the Khyber. Another well-known route runs from Herat to Kandahar and then descends to the Indus valley, through the Bolan Pass. A third route passes through the inhospitable Makran desert. Many invaders and merchants entered India through these passes. Through these passes Indians also maintained their cultural and commercial contacts with Central Asia, China, Western Asia and Europe.

The north-eastern mountain ranges contain a remarkable gap through which the Brahmaputra enters India. It is difficult to cross the dense forests but some merchants and missionaries did pass through them. Thus

India was isolated from other countries of Asia on account of the Himalyas but it maintained its cultural and commercial contacts with these countries.

Towards south, India has been protected by the Indian Ocean against foreign invasions but ancient Indians maintained cultural contacts with many islands and countries through the sea as well. Thus the natural frontiers of the Indian subcontinent ensured definite individuality to her people by separating them from the rest of Asia by well-marked boundaries but they never isolated them completely from the rest of the world.

Indian subcontinent is not a country. It is a vast geographical region whose length from the east to west is about 4,000 km and from the north to south it is about 3,200 km. The vastness of India has resulted in a variety of conditions both geographical and sociological. It has all the variety of climates from the scorching heat of the desert of Rajasthan to the extreme arctic cold of the snow-covered peaks of the Himalyas. At the lower levels the climate is temperate in the plains. Its rainfall ranges from the highest amounting to 1168 cm at Cherapunji down to less than 12 cm in parts of Sind and Rajasthan. The climatic variety has produced a variety of flora and fauna. The nature has thus marked out India for economic self-sufficiency and independence to be achieved by man's utilization of her varied and vast resources.

The Indian subcontinent has five well-marked physical divisions namely the

Himalayas, the Southern Plateau, the Indo-Gangetic plain, the Coastal Plains and the Hilly and Forest areas.

1. The Himalayas

The Himalayas can be divided from north to south into four zones parallel to each others (1) *The Trans-Himalayan Zone* about 40 km in width, containing the valleys of the rivers rising behind the Great Himalays, (2) *The Great Himalayas or the Central Himalayas* comprise the zone of high snow-capped peaks which are 128 or 144 km from the edge of the plains. Some of the important peaks are Mount Everest (8848 metres), Kanchinjunga (8580 metres), Dhaulagiri (8177 metres), Mount Godwin Austin (8611 metres), and Nanda Devi (7818 metres) (3) *The Lesser Himalayan Zone*, 64 to 80 km wide and having an average altitude of about 3000 metres. This zone, having a height between 1500 and 1600 metres, is covered by evergreen and oak forests, that between 1600 and 2124 metres by coniferous forests of *chir*, *deodar*, the blue, pine, oaks and magnolias and that above 2436 metres has birch, spruce, silver fir etc. (4) *The Siwalik Foot-hills* extend continuously along the foot of the Himalayas from the Brahmaputra Valley on the east to Potwar plateau and the Bannu plains on the west.

Geologically the Himalayan mountain ranges are not very old. In the Miocene period there was a sea known as the Tethys sea where we have the Himalayas now. The process of formation of these mountain ranges began in the Oligocene period and continued upto the Post-Pliocene period.

We can also divide the northern mountains from west to east into three major regions, western, central and eastern. The eastern mountain region consists of those mountains which lie to the east of the Brahmaputra and along the summit of which runs the frontier of

India and Burma. They are divided by a series of river-valleys and covered for the most part with thick forests. The routes through these mountains are difficult. The central Himalayan region extends from Bhutan to Chitral. In Bhutan and eastern Nepal the rainfall is very high but in Swat and Central the rainfall is much lower. The valleys are fertile and cultivated with the aid of irrigation. In the western mountain region the valleys are irrigated and cultivated wherever possible. Along these valleys and over the passes such as the Gomal, the Bolan and the Khyber run the routes to Central Asia and China on the one hand and to Persia and the West on the other.

2. The Southern Plateau

The Southern Plateau is the oldest part of India. It is divided into several large or small plateaus. The interiors of the plateaus are marked by a number of rivers which flow in broad, flat valleys. A number of isolated hillocks are also found in the interior, but they are more numerous near the hills bounding the plateaus. The Narmada river divides the plateaus region into two portions. The northern portion is known as the Malwa Plateau and the southern as the Deccan Plateau. To the west and north-west of the Malwa Plateau are the Aravalli Hills. The important rivers which cross the Aravallis are the Mahi and the Luni flowing into the Arabian Sea and the Chambal with the Banas flowing into the Yamuna. Towards the south the Malwa plateau is bounded by the Vindhyas. Towards the north-eastern corner of this plateau are the Bundi hills.

Towards the north of the Deccan Plateau are the Satpura hills, whose highest point is the Mahadeo hills on which is situated Pachmarhi. These hills continue towards the east where they meet the hills of the Chhota

Nagpur plateau. Towards the north of the Satpura lies the valley of the Narmada and towards the south that of the Tapi. The Western flank of the Deccan table-land is guarded by the Western Ghats. Their steep slope is towards the sea. The Western Ghats are a continuous mass running north-south. Access to the plateau is only through two passes namely, the Bor Ghat and the Thal Ghat. Towards the east of the tableland are the Eastern Ghats which are a series of low hillocks. In the extreme south they join the Nilgiri Hills. Towards the north-east, they join the hills of the Chhota Nagpur plateau. The Eastern Ghats leave a broad coastal strip.

The physical features of the Southern Plateau have resulted partly from the very old mountain systems that remain exposed above the vast lava deposits and partly from the lava deposits themselves that buried the old rocks to a great thickness covering the major part of the peninsula into a big table-land. The Peninsula is a region of great geological stability and is remarkably immune from seismic disturbances of any intensity. The plateau is poor in forest resources yet it is rich in minerals.

In the Southern Plateau the Narmada and the Tapi drain the north-western portion and escape into the Gulf of Cambay. The other four great rivers of the Peninsula namely the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri flow eastwards and fall in the Bay of Bengal. The rivers of the Deccan are generally rainfed and therefore, fluctuate very much in volume. The surface of the plateau gently slopes from west to east.

The Southern Plateau is surrounded on all sides by low plains. Towards the north is the Sutlej-Gangetic plain, towards the east, the Gangetic plain and the eastern coastal plains and towards the west, the western coastal plain which joins the Thar desert plains.

The Indo-Gangetic Plain

This plain is wholly composed of sediment deposited by great rivers of northern India. The older alluvium deposited by the river forms the uplands and the newer alluvium in the riverbeds forms the lowlands. The lowlands become more prominent as one approaches in delta of the Ganga. This plain is the gift of the Himalayan rivers, the Ganga and the Indus. The Ganga rises on the southern side of the Himalayas while the Indus and the Brahmaputra on its northern side. Near the source of the Ganga rises its tributary the Yamuna. For centuries the 2400 kilometres of the course of the Ganga was the chief road and its waters the source of wealth to the farmers. At its mouth in the Bay of Bengal the Ganga is joined by the Brahmaputra. Their delta is overrun with jungle plants and wild animals.

The boundaries of the Ganga basin are well defined by the Himalayas in the north and the Vindhyan mountains in the south. The Ganga is joined by a number of Himalayan rivers including the Yamuna, the Ghagra, the Gandak and the Kosi. The Brahmaputra flows through Tibet, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Bangla Desh and West Bengal. The Indus flows through the fertile vale of Kashmir and then with its five tributaries, Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum, crosses the north-western part of the northern plain of the Indian sub-continent and falls in the Arabian sea.

Geologically these plains are not very old and physically they are homogeneous.

4. The Coastal Plains

(a) *The Eastern Coastal Plain* may be considered in two sections. The lower section consists of the deltas of rivers and the upper section consists mostly of the plains lying in the upper courses of the rivers. The lower

section is entirely alluvial while the upper section is partly alluvial and partly a peneplain. The lower section is fringed by a series of sand dunes in the vicinity of the sea. This coastal plain is broader as compared to that on the west.

(b) *The Western Coastal Plain* is very narrow towards the south and is characterised by a number of long and narrow lagoons. To the north of Maharashtra the Western Coastal Plain broadens into the alluvial plains of the Tapti and the Narmada and further north into Gujarat. Gujarat and Kathiawar plains are partly covered by the black cotton soil. The monsoon floods bring enormous silts and help the growth of enormous forests and plantations.

The Western Coastal Plains merge in the extreme north into the Thar and Rajasthan deserts. These parts are characterised by vast deposits of sand partly due to the dry old river courses and partly to the emergence of vast plains from under the sea which is receding in this part.

The Thar and Rajasthan deserts in their western and northern sections are marked by sand dunes covering hundreds of square kilometres of area. These sand dunes are due generally to the blowing in of sand from the neighbouring dry plains by the prevailing winds.

5. Hilly and Forest areas

In addition to the four natural regions described above there are four hilly and forest areas in the Indian subcontinent. The first area comprises the Great Central Indian belt which includes the Satpuras, the Vindhya, Maikal, Chhota Nagpur and the Orissa hills. The other three hilly and forest areas are the Aravallis, the Western Ghats and the Eastern Ghats. In these hilly and forest areas live many primitive tribes who lead a wild nomadic life. They do

not produce their food, but gather vegetable and animal food.

These five broad physical divisions of the Indian subcontinent have many physical subdivisions which are discussed in the following paragraphs indicating the political division in which they lie.

1. *Baluchistan* : On the its west Baluchistan has Iran and on its north Afghanistan. On the east the Kirthar range separates it from Sind. On the south it has the Arabian sea. The coast is known as the Makran coast. It is mainly a dry and mountainous region. The important rivers of this region are the Zhob and the Gomul in the north, the Bolan in the middle and the Dasht and the Kech in the south. Thus physically Baluchistan can be divided into three distinct region—the north, the middle and the south.

2. *North West Frontier Region* : It can be divided into four subdivisions namely Peshawar plains. Kohat and Bannu plains, the hilly region on the north east of the Peshawar plains comprising Swat, Chitral etc. and the upper courses of the river Indus which form its eastern boundary.

3. *Sindh* : This region comprises the upper part of the valley of the Indus including its eastern and western parts, its delta and the desert region which is an extension of the desert of Rajasthan and the foothill zone of the Kirthar Range. In this region the rainfall is low but the alluvial soil is fertile.

4. *Panjab* : It can be divided into two main sub-divisions—Potwar plateau which is located between the Indus and the Salt Range and the Panjab plain which extends upto the Sutlej. The Central Panjab has often served as a highway between the Kabul valley and the plains of the Ganga-Yamuna Doab. The southern Panjab is contained between the western mountains and the desert and the

northern Panjab borders the foothills of the Himalayan ranges.

5. *Kashmir, Laddakh and Himachal Pradesh* : All these regions fundamentally are part of the Himalayan region. Himachal Pradesh comprises the Himalayas, the Lesser Himalayas and the Siwalik foot hills. So there is a great variety in its physical features. The Kashmir region consists of five subdivisions namely (i) Poonch and Jammu (ii) Pir Panjal Range (iii) The Vale of Kashmir (iv) Main Himalayan Mass and (v) Gilgilt-Hunza region. In the middle of this region is the vale of Kashmir while Laddakh consists mainly of the Lesser Himalayas.

6. *Rajasthan* : It has two natural subdivisions. The eastern part is hilly and comparatively less dry and fertile while the western part is mostly a desert area and is covered with scrubby stunted vegetations. The Aravalli Range forms the dividing line of these two parts.

7. *Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal* : This region can be subdivided into three parts. The Upper Ganga valley or the Ganga-Yamuna Doab which extends upto Allahabad, the middle Ganga valley which consists of eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and extends upto Rajmahal hills and the lower Ganga valley which is mainly a delta region. The Peninsular region extends far into Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal. In the Ganga basin the rainfall increases steadily as one moves from west to east rising from about 50 cm per annum in West Uttar Pradesh to 200 cm in Bengal.

8. *Assam* : The Central part of Assam comprises the valley of the Brahmaputra. The other two regions of Assam are the Himalayan frontier and the Shillong Plateau. Thus this region consists of three entirely different natural regions.

9. *Madhya Pradesh* : It is bounded by the Aravallis on the west, the Vindhya in the south

and the Ganga-Yamuna doab in the east. In the north-east are the Malwa plateau and Bundelkhand. It has two sub-divisions. The Malwa Plateau, through which flow the Narmada and its tributaries, is a fertile region. Bundelkhand is comparatively dry and has a rugged surface.

10. *Maharashtra* : This region lies to the south of the Vindhya and touches the northern boundary of the Deccan. The Upper courses of the river Godavari flow through this region. There are many slopy plains interspersed with flat peaked hills in this region. It includes four former cultural units—Khandesh, Western Maharashtra, Vidarbha and Konkan. It has a number of ports. It has sufficient rainfall. Today rice, wheat, millet, pulses and cotton are grown in this region, cotton being one of its major exports.

11. *Karnataka* : It is the southern part of the Deccan plateau and is a sort of triangle formed by the Krishna river and the Eastern and the Western Ghats. In the northern half of the Mysore plateau flow the Krishna and its tributaries and in the southern half the Tungabhadra and the Kaveri and other rivers. The Doab formed by the Krishna and the Tungabhadra is known as Raichur Doab. The northern part of the region has the lowest rainfall in peninsular India but it becomes better watered towards the south. The chief port of this region is Goa.

12. *Kerala* : It comprises the western coastal plain which is known as Malabar. It can be divided into two subregions—the northern and the southern. It has a fertile soil. The chief produce is rice but pulses and millets are also grown. It also produces pepper and spices.

13. *Gujarat* : Gujarat region consists of a low-lying plain which is enriched by the alluvium brought down from the hills of Central India by four great rivers, the Sabarmati, the

Mahi, the Narmada and the Tapti together with Cutch and Kathiawar. Thus this region consists of three physical zones namely Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar. Cutch is marshy and sandy and Kathiawar is formed by Deccan lands, the rainfall in Gujarat ranges from 50 cm to over 150 cm per annum. It has a number of ports through which both coastal and external trade have passed.

14. *Orissa* : It consists of the deltas of two rivers the Mahanadi and the Vaitarni. On the north of this region are the hills of Central India. The rainfall is as high as that of Bengal. Rice is grown everywhere on the coastal plain.

15. *Andhra* : It consists of the middle and lower basins of the Godavari and Krishna rivers. It has two distinct parts—the coastal region which is known as Andhra and the interior region which is called Telingana. The rainfall of coastal Andhra is considerably lower than that of Orissa. Rice, millet and pulses are grown in Andhra.

16. *Tamil Nadu* : It consists of the coastal region to the south of the Krishna river which comprises the delta of the Kāveri. The interior consists of the hills of the Eastern Ghat and the Western Ghat. Here the climate and crops resemble those of the most fertile and developed parts of coastal Andhra.

The people of each of the above regions in the Indian sub-continent have their own character and mode of life which have developed in the course of times as they discovered ways of making their living from the resources available in a particular region. In this sub-continent food-habits had also developed on the basis of articles of food available in a particular region but these were modified by many factors in course of time such as the fusion of the Aryans with the non-Aryans, invasions of foreigners, religious ideals and economic status of an individual in society.

Traditionally Indian sub-continent was divided into five major regions from the Later Vedic period (c. 1000 to 600 B.C.). The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*¹ while describing the various kinds of ruler-ships mentions the five divisions *Prācī* (eastern), *Dakṣiṇa* (Southern), *Pratīcī* (Western), *Udīcī* (Northern) and *Madhyama* (Middle). This five-fold division of the Indian subcontinent is repeated in the *Bhuvanakośa* section of the *Purāṇas*, the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara, in the eighth chapter of Book-III, of *Śaktisaṅgamaṭantra* and the Chinese chronicles of the seventh century A.D.

We give below some details about the five fold division of the Indian subcontinent.

1. *Madhyadeśa* : When the *Dharmasūtras* were compiled (c. 800 B.C. to c. 400 B.C.) *Madhyadeśa* was the epicentre of the cultural activities of the Aryans. From the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*² we know that the western limit of this region extended to the place where the Sarasvatī disappeared. In the east it extended to Kālaka forest somewhere near Prayāga. In the north it extended to the Himālayas and to the south upto Pāriyātra mountain (Western part of the Vindhya). Manu³ (c. 200 B.C.-c. 200 A.D.) calls this region Āryāvartta and the limits of this region remained the same as stated by Baudhāyana. But the eastern limit of this region reached Kajangala (hilly region to the east of Aṅga (modern Bhagalpur district of Bihar) when the *Mahāvagga*⁴ (Before 350 B.C.) was compiled. The eastern limit of this region extended to Puṇḍra (Northern Bengal) when the *Divyāvadāna*⁵ was compiled in the fourth century A.D. According to the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*⁶ (c. 900 A.D.) this region extended upto Vārāṇasī in the east. In the south it extended upto Māhiṣmatī (Māndhātā on the Narmada upto Pṛthūdaka (Pehoa 14 miles from Thāneśvara). But at this time this region was known as *Antarvedī* and not *Madhyadeśa*.

2. *Udīcyā* or *Uttarāpatha* : According to the *Dharmasūtra* of Baudhāyana the region to the west of the place where the Sarasvatī disappeared (*Vinaśana*) was *Udīcyā* or *Uttarāpatha*. The eastern limit of this region was *Thāneśvara*. But in the earliest Brahmanical or Buddhist works we do not find mention of the limits of region either in the north, in the south or in the west. There is no doubt that a large part of this region was occupied by the R̥gvedic Indians. According to the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* the whole of the Indus valley was included in this region.⁷

3. *Prācyā* : From the *Dharmasūtra* of Baudhāyana and the *Manusmṛiti* we know that the western limit of this region was 'Kālaka' forest near Prayāga. But when the *Mahāvagga* was compiled (Before c. 350 B.C.) even Aṅga formed part of *Madhyadeśa* and when the *Divyāvadāna* was compiled (fourth century A.D.) even northern Bengal formed part of *Madhyadeśa*. Thus with the expansion of Aryan culture the area included in this region was much reduced.⁸

4. *Dakṣiṇāpatha* : From the *Dharmasūtra* of Baudhāyana it is clear that the region to the south of the Vindhya was known as *Dakṣiṇāpatha*. The fact is supported by the statement of Manu.

According to the *Mahāvagga*⁹ and the *Divyāvadāna*¹⁰ this region was situated to the south of the city of Śātakarṇikā. We know that the Sātavāhana rulers called themselves *Dakṣiṇāpathapati* and their kingdom, at its height, included the whole of the Deccan from the Andhra region to Maharashtra but it did not include far south which included the kingdoms of Colas, Pandyas, Keralaputtas and the Satiyaputtas.¹¹ From the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* also it is clear that the region to the south of the Narmadā was called *Dakṣiṇāpatha*.¹² The Allahabad Stone Pillar inscription refers to thirteen kingdoms of *Dakṣiṇāpatha* in which

were included all the states from South Kosala in the north to Kāncī in the south. In some inscriptions the Tamil country is separately mentioned which shows that far south was not included in *Dakṣiṇāpatha*.¹³

5. *Aparāntā* : This region is referred to in Rock Edict V of Aśoka and Nasik inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī and there are many references to it in the *Mahābhārata*.¹⁴ According to the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*¹⁵ this region was located to the west of Deva-sabhā. According to this work, *Devasabhā* included states of Surāṣṭra, Daseraka, Travana, Bhṛgukaccha, Ānarta, Brāhmaṇavāha¹⁶ and Yavana etc. According to R.G. Bhandarkar⁸ northern Koṅkaṇ was called *Aparānta*. But in the literary references there is no mention of the exact limits of this region.

In the Inscriptions of ancient India the subcontinent is generally divided into two parts namely *Āryāvarta* (northern India) and *Dakṣiṇāpatha* (India to the south of the Narmada river). But *Āryāvarta* is sub-divided into four parts *Madhyadeśa*, *Prācyā*, *Aparānta* and *Udīcyā*.¹⁷ In *Madhyadeśa* were included the present states of Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, eastern Rājasthan and eastern Malwa. The *Prācyā* region corresponded generally to the states of Bihar, Bengal and Assam while in the *Aparānta* region were included Sindh, western Rājasthan, Gujarat, western Malwa and the region in the vicinity of the Narmadā. *Udīcyā* region corresponded to Afghanistan, North-West Frontier Province and western Panjab. These five cultural divisions had many differences in food habits as well. For example the Indian medical works such as the *Bhela Samhitā* and the *Kāśyapa Samhitā* separately describe the food of the people of the north-western, the eastern and the southern regions. India together with Pakistan and Bangladesh being a subcontinent cannot be treated as one unit when describing the food-habits of the

people hence one cannot understand the marked differences in food-habits of the people of different regions without a proper grasp of its physical and cultural variety.

This is particularly true of ancient times when means of transport in this sub-continent were not so well developed as now and famine in one part of the country and abundance in another was not something unusual.

References

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3. Manu, 2.21.
4. Mahāvagga, Vol. V. pp. 12-13.
5. Divyāvadāna, pp. 21-22.

6. Kāvyamīmāṃsā, p. 93.
7. B.C. Law Historical Geography of Ancient India. Introduction Tr. Hindi by R.K. Dwivedi p. 21.
8. See footnotes Nos. 1 and 3 and footnote above.
9. See footnote 3 above.
10. See footnote 2 on page 23.
11. Nānaghāt inscription of Nāganikā.
12. See footnote 6 above.
13. B.C. Law above.
14. Mbh. Bhīṣma 9, 335.
Vana. 217, 7885-86.
Śānti. 49, 1780-82.
15. Kāvyamīmāṃsā p. 93.
16. B.C. Law, footnote 7 above.
17. Parmanad Gupta, Geography in Ancient Indian Inscriptions p. 10, Delhi, 1973.

QUESTIONS

1. Name the countries which are part of the Indian sub-continent.
2. Explain briefly how Indian sub-continent is a Geographical unit.
3. Name the most important two passes through which India maintained its cultural and commercial contacts with central Asia, China, Western Asia and Europe.
4. How did ancient Indians maintain their cultural contacts with south eastern Asian countries?
5. How has climatic variety of India helped Indians to have economic self sufficiency?
6. Name the four parallel zones of the Himalayas from north to south.
7. Name the sea which was there in Miocene period where there are the Himalayan ranges at present.
8. Briefly describe the differences between the river valleys of the western, central and eastern regions of the northern mountain ranges in the Indian sub-continent.
9. Which is the oldest part of India'.
10. Mention the differences in the physical features of the eastern Ghats and the western Ghats.
11. Differentiate between the lower and upper sections of the eastern coastal plain and its lower section.
12. Describe briefly the relief of the western coastal plain.
13. Name and describe the extent of the five traditional divisions of India.

Chapter 2

Characteristics of Indian Culture: Unity in Diversity

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE

The difference between a cultured society and a civilized society is that, while the latter is one which is organized under conditions ministering to the welfare of the community, the former, the cultured society is one which emphasizes the ideals, conduct, relationships, aesthetic and other values which are cherished in the society. Culture, therefore may be defined as the complex of ideas, conceptions, developed qualities and organized relationships and courtesies that exist generally in a society. So the problem of culture can be discussed from the point of view of a whole people only on the assumption that there are, broadly speaking a community of thought, a similarity of conduct and behaviour a common general approach to fundamental problems, which arise from shared traditions and ideals. It is this common outlook which is described as the culture of a country or people.

ROOTS OF INDIAN CULTURE

There is a close relationship between religion and culture. It is religion which emphasizes certain values of life. Man in a society acts according to these values of life and these actions of man result in the formation of the culture of that society. T.S. Elliot in his *Observation on Culture* observes that the basis of culture is religious beliefs. There is no doubt

that Christianity forms the basis of European culture. Similarly it is Hinduism in India which gives to Indian culture its special characteristics.

India has a long and continuous history extended over 5,000 years. It has a way of life, culture, no doubt modified continuously by outside contacts, but essentially Indian, based on doctrines and ideas developed indigenously. This way of life has found expression in classical and modern literature, in architecture and art, which display an exuberant creative energy and have had lasting influence on most Asian countries, in philosophies and religious systems which continue to be vital forces even in the world of today. To extract from this vast and varied inheritance of India some essential elements as representing its essential heritage is, therefore, a very difficult task.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF INDIAN CULTURE

1. Spiritual unity : In the *Upaniśadas* it is stated that man is not merely an infinitesimal part of partless infinite. He himself is the infinite, *Tat tvam asi*, 'That thou art'. Thus the idea of spiritual unity had been grasped as early as the period of the *Upaniśads*.

2. The concept of karma and rebirth : One life is too short a time for all to achieve supreme spiritual knowledge. So men must be born again and again, progressing through many lives, from lower to higher forms. They

experience the fruits of their past actions, both good and bad and continue to create fresh *Karma* for themselves by new actions until at last the veil of ignorance drops, and they become aware of their divine nature. Then they are freed from further rounds of birth and death.

3. Ever-recurring cycles of time : Life moves in an endless stream. Creation is but the name of the first phase, growth of the middle phase dissolution of the last phase of the eternal process. The worlds themselves are swinging in vast unmeasurable cycles. There is an apparent beginning and end, but it is only apparent.

4. *Varṇa dharma* : The Āryan society was divided into Brāhmaṇas. Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas. The fourth class of Śūdras consisted of large number of original inhabitants who had become Aryanized and had been absorbed into the society on a somewhat inferior footing.

Men were considered born to a particular caste as a result of their past *Karma*. They were expected to follow the occupation of the caste in which they were born. The caste system produced a remarkably integrated economy in which chaotic competition was eliminated.

5. The Institution of the Indian village : In an Indian village everyone was given his chance to earn a living by contributing to the essential needs of the village. There was no unemployment. Carpenters, ironsmiths, washermen, barbers and potters were paid in village grain. Weavers, dyers, metalworkers and others exchanged their wares for the grain they needed. A *pañchāyat*, chosen by the people from among themselves, ran the overall affairs of the village and saw to the enforcement of customary laws. The village was thus both self-contained and basically democratic.

6. The concept of *dharma* : The world was accepted as real and each individual had a definite place in it and definite duties to perform, which varied according to time and circumstances. Caste work was to be properly performed. A king was expected to rule justly, protect the people, and promote their prosperity. *Dharma* required a man to live in society as a civilized human being, checking his selfish urges in the interests of others.

The stability of Indian life for centuries past, has rested on the firm foundations of *Dharma*. So has the integrated Hindu family. A child owed its parents loving obedience. The chaste wife owed her selfless devotion to her husband and family. The husband owed support and protection to his wife and children, and hospitality to who so ever might seek it. Through the inculcation of the spirit of *Dharma*, high standards of ethics, clear-cut codes of behaviour, and a widespread acceptance of non-material virtues had higher importance than possessions. These have come to be the expression in ordinary society of true Indian culture.

ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN CULTURE

(a) Tradition of Tolerance

Aśoka's XII Rock-Edict sets forth the principles of religious tolerance in very clear terms. "That neither praising one's own sect nor blaming the other on improper occasions, or that it should be moderate in every case. But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case."

"If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects. If one is acting otherwise than this, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging the other sects as well. For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects—all this out of devotion to

his own sect i.e. with a view to glorifying his own sect—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect, very severely.”

“Therefore, concord alone is meritorious i.e., that they should both hear and obey each other’s morals (*Dharma*). For this is the desire of *Devanampriya* viz. that all sects should be full of learning, and should be pure in doctrine.”

What better example of religious toleration can we find than the above Edict of Asoka. From *Milindapañha* (a Pali work) we know that the streets of Śākala (the capital of Greek King Menander) were continually resounding with cries of welcome to teachers of any creed. Such religious tolerance was characteristic of India.

The same spirit of religious toleration is borne out by some historical events. The Jews driven from the Holy Land, after the destruction of their Temple, found an asylum in India and still live here as a community hardly touched by the troubles which the Jews elsewhere have been experiencing. Christian communities were flourishing in India in the second century A.D. and their descendants are living today in the same areas where Pantaenus of Alexandria visited them 1800 years ago. The Zoroastrians, driven out from their homeland by the sudden impact of Islam found sanctuary in India and are today among the most honoured sections of Indian society. Spread over the length and breadth of India are 8 crore followers of Islam who enjoy all the fundamental rights enjoyed by any other citizen of India. All these Muslims, but a fraction of them, are Indian by birth and descent, though they are followers of Islam. They did not join Pakistan, but have remained in India, keeping their rightful place among other integral groups of the population. India, which has never accepted the so-called two-nation theory—the basis for the creation of

Pakistan—welcomes her Muslim nationals and will not betray their trust. The British, too, though they never made India their home, have left behind Anglo Indian Community. This group also occupies a useful place in the national life of the country. Both the Muslims and the British added new languages and scripts to the many already in use in India—Urdu and Persian and the Persian script, and English together with the Roman script. Urdu and Persian are Indian cultural inheritance from medieval Iran. English has been the means of contact between India and all the other countries of Asia and the West.

This tradition of tolerance is not merely an attitude of indifference to others. It is a fundamental belief of Hindu thought that every way of life has its own contribution to make to human welfare. It is a wide tolerance, a feeling that others may be equally right in methods they follow, that is the essence of Hindu teaching. This has coloured Hindu life to such an extent that it may truly be considered the differentiating mark of Hindu culture. While an Indian is firm in his own faith, he is prepared to approach other faiths with an open mind.

(b) Sense of Synthesis

Arising out of this ideal of toleration is the second great characteristic of Indian culture—the idea of a continuous synthesis of ideas.

Dr. B.S. Guha was of opinion that the population of India consisted of six main races with nine subtypes. The main races were : (1) The Negrito, (2) The Proto-Australoid, (3) The Mongoloid, (4) The Mediterranean, (5) The Western Brachycephals, and (6) The Nordic. The Negrites appear to have been suppressed and absorbed by other races which followed them. It seems that some of the fundamental bases of Indian civilization on the material side are the gifts of the Proto-Australoids.

These are the cultivation of rice, the raising of some important vegetables, the manufacture of sugar from the cane and the use of the betel vine in life and ritual. The characteristic offerings in the *Pūjā* rite, viz flowers, leaves, fruits water etc. are not known to be a part of Vedic ritual. The *Pūjā*, it has been suggested, is Dravidian. It is for the first time mentioned in the *Bhagavad Gītā*. There are a number of examples which clearly show that Āryan religion had been modified a good deal by Proto-Australoid and Dravidian (Mediterranean) influences in its evolution of Hindu religion. Thus all the racial elements have contributed to the making of Indian civilization. According to Dr. B.B. Lal the greatest contribution of the Aryans to the making of Indian civilization was that they brought about a synthesis of many cultures which existed in India before their arrival in this country. In the *Atharvaveda* (XII. 1.45) it is clearly stated that there are many people on this earth who are the followers of different sects and speak different languages. This shows that the sense of synthesis prevailed even at that time.

This sense of synthesis can also be seen in the Indian art. The Mauryan art was influenced by the Greek art. Similarly, the Gandhara school of Buddhist sculpture shows Greek characteristics.

In the medieval period the Bhakti and Sufi saints tried to bring a synthesis between the Hindu thought and the Islamic thought. Akbar also tried to bring about a synthesis between the principles of different religious sects.

In the Mughal architecture especially at the time of Akbar we find a synthesis of Persian and Indian styles. In the field of painting the Indo-Persian school, known as Mughal painting, enriched the artistic tradition of India.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy personified a synthesis of the best elements of Eastern and Western philosophies. Since then this tradition

of assimilating foreign influences and weaving them into the pattern of Indian life has been in operation with fruitful results.

A unique example of synthesis was Mahatma Gandhi the doctrine of *Ahimsā* is traditionally Indian. But according to Gandhiji he came to realize the full significance of this doctrine through the writings of Tolstoy, Thoreau and other Western thinkers. According to Gandhiji Hinduism means search after truth through non-violent means. It is this relentless search after truth that enables India to cultivate her spirit of tolerance and urges her always to accept without fear or hesitation from others what she considers to be of permanent value and makes her believe in her philosophy of unity in diversity.

(c) Universal Outlook

Indian thought has never accepted geographical, racial and other considerations as affecting ultimate values. They have held to truths which they consider to be of universal validity. According to Sri Aurobindo.

"The central idea of Indo-Āryan culture, was that of *Dharma*, which was something much more than religion or creed. It was a conception of obligations of the discharge of one's duties to oneself and to others. The *Dharma* itself was part of *ṛta* the fundamental moral law governing the functioning of the universe and all it contained. If there was such an order then man was supposed to fit into it and he should function in such a way as to remain in harmony with it. It is why we pray that all may be happy, all may be free from disease, all may enjoy good things of life and none may be in a state of suffering."

(d) Respect for the Individual

It is the fundamental belief of Hinduism that every human being has in him a spark of

the divine, that it is in the nature of man that he can, by right conduct and right knowledge, attain illumination and reach Godhead directly. It is on account of this belief that every Indian believes that the individual is not merely an insignificant unit in a larger whole, whether you call that larger unit, the community, the church or the state. The community or the church or the state exists for his benefit. From the Indian point of view the state cannot encroach on the fundamental right of human being to pursue his own path. As Kauṭilya said 'In the happiness of the people lies the happiness of the king'. The ruler is also bound by *Dharma* he cannot have absolute authority. From the Indian point of view, both the Hegelian and the Leninist States encroach on the fundamental right of the human being to pursue his own path.

(e) Continuity of Indian Culture in the form of Saṁskṛt Literature

Saṁskṛt literature has a continuity which is perhaps unique. In practically every field of literature, in epic poetry, in drama, in lyrical expression no other literature surpasses Sanskrit. While Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is limited to the single theme, the exploits of Rama as an Āryan prince and hero, in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* we find a collection of old stories, legends and myths, royal genealogies, records of historical happenings, descriptions of sacred rivers, mountains and all the holy places of pilgrimage. Here are poetry, entertainment, philosophy and religion, for all without any exception.

The wonderful characters live eternally in the minds and hearts of the people. Rāma is the ideal king. Sīta the ideal wife, Bharata and Lakṣmana are outstanding examples of brotherly love and loyalty. Hanuman is the perfect *Karmayogī* and *Bhakta*. The great pandavas are Yudhiṣṭhira and the noble

Draupadi, Savitrī whose love defied Death itself, Damayantī, Śakuntalā and all others, show the way of fearlessness and unselfish devotion to duty. They have taught India its basic social ideals and have set the pattern of the ideal character. This indeed is the living culture of Indians today.

(f) Artistic Heritage

Art was another expression of Indian culture. Buddhist images express tranquility and other-worldliness. The Jain images suggest, the immobility of death itself. Hindu images are intensely human in action but they were at the same time always much more than human. The Hindu religious art excluded nothing from its purview and in all its manifold expression continually reminded the worshipper of the endless symbolic play of the gods.

Excavated temples exist in central India at Badamī at Mahābalipuram in Tamil Nadu and at Ellora in the Deccan. Distinct styles of temple architecture arose in different parts of the country Dravidian temples had their beginning in the times of the Chālukyas and the Pallavas. Then followed the magnificent huge temples of the Chola kings. Indo-Āryan (*Nāgara*) type of temples lie thickly strewn from Bengal to Gujarat. The large Orissan temples at Bhubaneswar, Puri and Koṅārka and the Khajurāho temples are fine examples of *Nāgara* style. Apart from their artistic significance temples served as a natural focus of community life whether in a village or a great city.

The Indian artistic heritage had at all times a world-wide significance. Angkor Wāt in Kamboja Boro Budur and many Hindu temples in Java show what a great influence Indian art had on these monuments. The Chinese sculpture, especially during the Tang period, and the Buddhist paintings notably in

the caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tunhuang show that they were all greatly influenced by Indian sculpture and painting.

The above characteristics of Indian culture show that the genius of India has never been exclusive, she has freely accepted from others and incorporated in her national culture what appeared to her to be of value. India does not automatically inherit the traditions of others. Those traditions require conscious selection, acceptance and cultivation.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

India undivided is a sub-continent in its size and extent. The country is almost as large as the whole of Europe without Russia.

Variety

(i) **Physical variety** : The vastness of India has resulted in a variety of geographical conditions. She embraces within its boundaries lofty mountains steeped in eternal snow, as well as flat plains, arid deserts almost untouched by the feet of man, as well as fertile river valleys supporting a population of over three thousand persons to the square mile. She has all the variety of climates. Arctic in the vast Himalayan regions lying above 15,000 feet; temperate and tropical at the lower levels down to the sea. Her rainfall ranges from the highest amounting to 480 inches at Cherapunji down to less than 3 inches in Sind and Rajasthan.

The climatic variety produces a variety of Flora (vegetation) and Fauna (animals). The flora of India is more varied than that of any other country of the same size. The variety of India's fauna surpasses that of Europe which is twice its size. These facts show that Nature has marked out India for economic self-sufficiency. The products of India include everything needed by man.

(ii) **Social variety** : As we have described in section I(b) of this chapter the population of India is made up of 6 racial elements with their nine sub-types. These six racial elements consist of all the main divisions of mankind together with extremely primitive strains who still live by hunting and collecting forest produce.

(iii) **Variety of languages** : According to the Linguistic Survey of India there are as many as 179 languages and 544 dialects. Of these 179 languages as many as 116 are the languages of the Tibeto-Chinese family of speech spoken by less than 1% of the total population of India. Some 24 more languages are hardly Indian languages. Thus there are only 15 languages which count for culture and learning. The four Dravidian languages namely, Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese and Malayālam are spoken in south India. Each of them has great literature of its own. In the north Indo-Āryan languages are spoken. The Mid-land Indo-Āryan languages consist of Western Hindi with an inner band comprising of Panjabi, Rajasthani and Gujarati on the west, Pahari on the north and Eastern Hindi in the east and an outer band comprising Kashmiri, Lahnda and Kachchi on the west, Marathi on the south-west and Bihari, Bengali, Assamese and Oriya on the east. Each of these Indo-Āryan languages has its own literature. The tribal languages belong to Austric and Tibeto-Chinese families of speech.

(iv) **Variety of Religions** : In the undivided Indian sub-continent about 300 millions people were followers of Hinduism. Hinduism is not a particular creed confined within fixed doctrines and set dogmas. It is rather a collection of creeds, representing different Schools of Thought and Philosophy. It is not a simple faith with specified articles but a composite structure of cultural complex. It is not at all keen to spread itself by conversion.

The worshippers of Viṣṇu or his incarnations Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Śakti, Gaṇeṣa, Kārtikeya and a whole universe of gods call themselves Hindus. It is catholic and comprehensive in its outlook. It has a wide range of practices and ceremonies, accommodating the religious needs, tastes and aptitudes of people who differ widely in the race, language and cultural and social conditions, traditions and interests. In undivided India there were about 90 million followers of Islam. Then there are Buddhists numbering over 12 millions, Jains over 1 million, and a lakh of Parsis. India may be described as a museum of cults and creeds, customs and cultures, faiths and tongues, racial types and social systems.

Unity in Diversity

In spite of this diversity in different fields—physical, social, linguistic, cultural and religious there is a fundamental unity of India underlying this diversity.

(i) **Geographical unity** : The geographical unity of India is patent on the map showing how the country is sharply separated from the rest of the world by almost inviolable boundaries, very unlike the disputed frontiers artificially settled between most of the countries of the continent of Europe. The sub-continent of India, stretching from the Himalayas to the sea is known to the Hindus as *Bhāratavarṣa*. The underlying unity of the country is emphasised by the name *Bhāratavarṣā* (the land of Bharata) and the designation *Bhārātī-santati* or descendents of Bharata. The *Purāṇas* expressly define the term *Bhāratavarṣa*, as the country that lies north of the ocean (i.e. the Indian Ocean) and south of the snowy mountains (Himalayas).

(ii) **Prayers** : The name *Bharatavarsha* is not a mere geographical expression like the term India. It has a historical significance,

indicating the country of the Bharatas who were the chief bearers of the Indo-Āryan culture. One of the commonest prayers for a Hindu requires him to recall and worship the image of his mother country as the land of seven sacred rivers, the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Godāvarī, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāverī which between them cover the entire area. Another prayer calls up its image as the land of seven sacred cities—Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā (Modern Hardwar), Kaśī, Kachi (Conjeevaram) Avantikā (Ujjain), Dvārāvātī (Dwarka) representing all the important regions of India. A third prayer enjoins contemplation of the country as the land of seven main mountain ranges, forming as it were, her ribs and backbone. These mountain ranges are Mahendra (Eastern Ghats), Malaya, Sahya (Western Ghats) śuktimān, Rikṣu (Eastern Vindhya) Vindhya, and Pariyātra (Aravalli).

(iii) **The institution of pilgrimage** : The spirit of these prayers was further sustained by the institution of pilgrimage. It expected every Hindu to visit in his life the holy places associated with his faith. Each of the principal Hindu sects has its own list of holy places. Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Śākta and these are distributed throughout the length and breadth of India and not confined to a single state. Thus every Hindu sect enjoined upon its follower to go on a pilgrimage to the different and distant parts of India and thereby fostering in them a live sense of what constitutes their common mother country.

(iv) **Śaṅkarācārya's contribution** : In the same spirit, Śaṅkarācārya established the four *maṭhas* (religious schools) at the four extreme points of the country viz., Jyotimatha in the north (near Badrinath-Kedarnath on the Himalayas), Śārādā-maṭha at Dwarka in the west, Govardhana maṭha at Puri in the east and Śringer-maṭha in Mysore. Sectarianism is thus an aid to unity in Hindu culture.

(v) Elevation of Patriotism into a religion :

In the *Manusmṛiti* Bhāratavarṣa is described as the land fashioned by gods themselves. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* it is stated that even the gods sing that all those who are born in Bhārata are very fortunate. Above all these references the culminating utterance "Mother and Mother country are greater than Heaven." All these prayers and passages show that the Hindus had elevated patriotism into a religion. A Hindu made his mother land the symbol of his culture.

(iv) The concept of political unity : The ancient Hindus were familiar with the ideal and institution of paramount sovereignty. It is indicated by such significant Vedic words as *Ekarāt*, *Samrāt*, *Rājādhirāja* or *Sārvabhauma*. A king who by his *digvijaya* or conquests made himself the king of kings could perform such Vedic ceremonies as the *Rājasūya Vājapeya* or *Aśvamedha*. The *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* also give lists of such emperors. In historic times we have many emperors such as Chandragupta Maurya, Aśoka, Samudragupta, Harṣa, Mihirabhoja, Akbar and Aurangzeb. Thus the institution of paramount sovereignty has had a long history in India. Its conception was quite consistent with the ideals set in sacred works of the Hindus for kings who were encouraged to extend the area of their authority to the limits of their mother country.

(vii) Hinduism : Hinduism has imparted to the whole of India a strong and stable cultural unity that has through the ages stood the shocks of political revolutions being preserved in its peculiar system of social self-government functioning apart from the State indigenous or foreign. The characteristic feature of Hinduism is *Varṇāśrama-dharma*. It is a religion based upon the two-fold division of *Varṇas* (classes) and *āśramas* (stages of life), the most distinguishing and unifying

feature of Hinduism. In its origin the *varṇa* system rested on the division of society into four self-contained social groups, the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra. But the division into castes is only a part of the Hindu system. The other part is the division of the individual's life into well defined stages or *Āśramas* through which it should pass in its normal course. The *Āśramas* are those of (1) the *Brahmachāri* or the student, (2) the *Gṛhastha* or the householder, (3) the *Vānaprastha* or the hermit, and (4) the *Samnyasī* or the ascetic absorbed in contemplation. Hinduism in its external social aspect is thus made up of two limbs, the caste system and the *āśrama* system. Caste divides society on the basis of birth. But the *āśrama* system unites, binding all castes in its common rules to lead life along a regulated course of development by natural stages.

(viii) Saṁskṛt : The vehicle of Hindu culture is Saṁskṛt. The unifying influence of Saṁskṛt can hardly be overstated. As pointed by Monier Williams: "India, though it has more than five hundred spoken dialects, has only one sacred language and only one sacred literature, accepted and revered by all adherents of Hinduism alike, however, diverse in race, dialect, rank and creed. That language is Saṁskṛt and that literature is Saṁskṛt literature¹—the only vehicle of Hindu theology, philosophy, law and mythology, the only mirror in which all the creeds opinions, customs and usages of the Hindus are faithfully reflected."

This distinctive Indian culture in course of time so far unified the country that the country and the culture came to be identified and became synonymous terms. The country was the culture and the culture the country, the kingdom of the spirit, transcending territorial limits.

(ix) Effects on history : On account of this fundamental unity and the vastness of its

size and the variety of its physical features and social conditions two forces have all along been working in Indian history. One centripetal which laid emphasis on the unity of India and the other centrifugal which laid emphasis on different regions of the country. Instead of developing from one centre under a common direction Indian history developed very often from different, and even mutually independent centres, losing its unity in the variety of separate and local histories of different peoples and regions. It has been shaped through the ages by so many different peoples and governments such as Maurya, Kuṣāṇa, Andhra, Gupta, or Gurjara for the north, and Pallava, Chālukya or Chola for the south or Muslim, Marāṭhā, Sikh and British in later times functioning from different and changing centres like Pāṭaliputra, Puruṣapura, Paīṭhan, Nāsik, Ujjain, Kanauj, Bādāmī Kanchī, Kalyani and Tanjore of Delhi, Poona, Lāhore and Calcutta, the headquarters of

different political authorities in different epochs of Indian History.

It is, however, to be noted that behind this diversity of local history, there has always been in the background a kind of an all-Indian history which is from the nature of the case not political, but cultural in its character, the history of thought which transcends local limits and administrative boundaries. The whole of India bears the impress of certain common movements of thought and life, resulting in the development of certain common ideals and institutions which distinguish the civilization of India from all other civilizations of the world.

Reference

1. Please see the influence of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata under characteristics of Indian culture (e) continuity of Indian culture in the form of Saṅskṛt literature in this chapter itself.

QUESTIONS

1. Differentiate between civilization and culture.
2. Mention some fundamental concepts of Hindu culture.
3. Discuss some essential characteristics of Indian culture.
4. 'The concept of *Dharma* is the most important aspect of Indian culture.' Elucidate.
5. "The tradition of Tolerance and sense of synthesis of the two most important characteristics of Indian culture." Elaborate the above statement.
6. India presents 'Unity in Diversity'. Elucidate.
7. What steps did the ancient Indians take to develop cultural unity of India?
8. "The concept of political unity existed in ancient India but could not, at times, be realized." Elucidate and give reasons in support of your answer.
9. How did Sanskrit language and literature contribute to the development of cultural unity of India?
10. Mention those features of Indian culture which contributed to its continuity for the last 5,000 years.
11. Discuss how the study of Indian culture is important for the present generation of Indians.

Chapter 3

Foundations of Indian Culture

I. HARAPPA CULTURE

Name of the Culture

This culture is known by three names, viz., Indus Civilization, Indus Valley Civilization and Harappa Culture. In 1921, this civilization was discovered at Harappa in Western Punjab. Next year this civilization was discovered at Mohenjo-daro in Sind. Both these places were in the Indus valley, hence the civilization was called the Indus Civilization or the Indus Valley Civilization. But later on it was found that the civilization had spread to Rajasthan, Haryana, Eastern Punjab, and Gujarat and was not confined to Indus valley hence it was called Harappa Culture after the name of the site where it was first discovered in order that it might include all the sites where similar remains have been discovered.

Geographical Extent of the Civilization and Names of Important Settlements

- (1) **Baluchistan** : Sutkagen dor Sotka Koh and Balakot. Probably all these places were on the Makran sea-coast in ancient times and may be treated as ports, important for trade.
- (2) **North-West Frontier** : Gumla is an important site on the route to Afghanistan.
- (3) **Sind** : Mohenjo-daro, Chanhudaro, Juderjo-daro, Jaicobabad and Amri are the important sites.
- (4) **Western Punjab** : Harappa is the only important site.
- (5) **Bahawalpur** : One important site is Kudwala Ther. But this has not been excavated.
- (6) **Rajasthan** : The most important site is Kalibangan.
- (7) **Haryana** : Banawali in the Hissar district is an important site.
- (8) **Eastern Punjab** : Ropar is an important site. Another site which has recently been excavated is Sanghol.
- (9) **Ganga-Yamuna Doab** : An important site is Alamgirpur in Meerut district. Another site which has recently been excavated is Hulas in Sharanpur district.
- (10) **Jammu** : Manda near Akhnur is an important site.
- (11) **Gujarat** : The most important site in Kutch is Surkotada. Lothal is a famous site in Kathiawar. On the main land of Gujarat Bhagatrav is the southern most site of this culture.
- (12) **Northern Afghanistan** : At Shortughai Harappan pottery has been found.

From the above description it is evident that on the west the farthest site of the Harappan culture was Sutkagen or the Makran coast, on the east it was Alamgirpur in Meerut district, in the north Manda in Jammu and in the south Bhagatrav in Gujarat. There is no doubt that the Harappan culture was the most extensive of all the contemporary cultures. Its area was more than that of either of the culture of Egypt or that of Sumer. The number of sites

of the Harappan culture so far discovered has reached 350.

Town Planning

The bases for determining the town planning of this culture are the remains discovered at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Chanhudaro, Kalibangan, Lothal, Surkotada and Banwali.

Mohenjo-daro : The area of this site is about one square mile. It is divided into two parts. The western part is comparatively smaller. It consisted of a citadel on a raised platform about 300 feet high built of mud bricks. All the buildings were constructed on this platform. The whole area was fortified by a wall made of mud bricks with monumental gateways and processional terraces. The citadel contained the following important structures.

- (i) A building measuring $230' \times 78'$ with rooms on sides. It looks like a college building.
- (ii) A pillared hall of about $90' \times 90'$ which looks like a Municipal Hall.
- (iii) The Great Bath $108' \times 180'$ consisting of (a) a quadrangle with rooms for changing on three sides, (b) a Swimming Bath of $40' \times 24' \times 8'$ with provision for filling it from wells and for draining it; and (c) an upper story of timber traced in charcoal and ashes found. The tank was made water-tight by a thick lining of brick, gypsum mortar and a damp proof course of bitumen, the bricks measuring $20\frac{1}{4}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$.

Below the citadel lay the town. The area of the town was much more than that of the citadel. There is some evidence that the town was also surrounded by a wall. The houses here were made on a raised platform but the whole town was not made on a raised platform. There were 30' wide streets in the town. The

houses were mostly built of kilnburnt bricks. Some houses also had a second storey. There was proper arrangement for drainage of water. The housedrains were joined to the main drain in the street. The street drains were made of kilnburnt bricks and were covered from above. There were some public wells lined with kilnburnt bricks. Most of the houses had a courtyard and the doors of the rooms opened into the courtyard. Besides the doors the houses also had windows for ventilation.

Harappa : Harappa also had two parts but only the western part has been excavated as the eastern part had been damaged by the brick thieves. The western part was fortified and the buildings were constructed on a raised platform. The main gate was on the eastern side. There was also found remains of a granary and of coolie quarters.

Chanhudaro : An important discovery here was a factory for making beads.

Kalibangan : On the western mound there were two separate fortified blocks but they were inter-connected. In one block there were residential buildings for the distinguished gentry. In the other block there were platforms with fire pits. On the west of this mound is a graveyard and on the east a place for rituals. The eastern mound resembles the eastern mound of Mohenjo-daro. The houses at Kalibangan were made of mud bricks while those at Mohenjo-daro were built of kilnburnt bricks. We do not find traces of a proper drainage system at Kalibangan.

Lothal : Here we have only one settlement. We do not have two mounds. The settlement was surrounded by a wall. On the eastern side of the settlement is a structure which looks like a dockyard.

Surkotada : Here we have only one mound which is an exact copy of the western mound of Kalibangan.

Banwali : The plan of Banwali is similar to those of the western mounds of Surkotada and Kalibangan.

Agriculture

At the Harappan sites so far nine crops have been identified. Rice in Gujarat and probably in Rajasthan as well, two kinds of barley, three kinds of wheat, cotton, dates, water melon and Brassica juncea (reported from Chanhudaro).

The domesticated animals included humped bull, humpless cattle, pig, buffaloes, elephant and horse. The bones of a horse were discovered at Surkotada. No evidence of a proper irrigation system has been discovered but in the pre-Harappan phase at Kalibangan furrows were discovered. Probably the fields were irrigated with flood water.

Crafts

(a) Introduction : There was a highly organized system of craft production and distribution. There were potters, copper-workers, bronze-workers, stone-workers, builders, brick-makers, seal-cutters, bead makers, faience-workers and so on.

(b) Use of metals : Flat axes chisels, knives, spearsheads, arrowheads, and small saws of copper were probably made by simple casting, chiselling and hammering. Large vessels, beads, and a buckle of silver show the use of silver. Objects of gold are reasonably common though by no means prolific. Gold occurs in the form of beads, some minute size pendants, armlets, brooches, needles and other small personal ornaments.

(c) Cotton textiles : The woven textiles were common in the Harappan civilization as is evident from occasional impressions of textiles upon earthenware.

(d) Ivory carving : Ivory carving was known as is clear from the find of combs and carved cylinders perhaps for use as seals.

(e) Seals : More than 500 seals of terracotta and steatite have been discovered. Beads were manufactured from a wide variety of semi-precious stones.

(f) Pottery : The pottery was wheel made. Only a few pots are painted. They are painted red and black, incised, polychrome and glazed. The designs on the pottery were geometrical, floral natural. The pottery shows Iranian influence.

Weights and Measures

The weights were cubes or conical. Their sequence was 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 160, 200, 320, 640 and 1600. It seems that the Harappan people were familiar with foot (33.5 cm) and cubit (52 + 0.5 cm) measures.

Script

Four hundred signs have been identified in the Harappan script. Most of them are small in size and incised on rectangular steatite seals. The writing was from left to right. The script has not yet been deciphered because no bilingual inscription has so far been discovered. According to some scholars the script is proto-Sanskrit and according to others it is proto-Dravidian.

Religion

Prototype of Śiva : On a seal is inscribed the figure of a *yogī* which reminds us of the *Paśupati Śiva*. It is a three faced deity wearing a horned head dress, seated cross-legged on a throne, with penis erectus and surrounded by elephant, tiger, buffalo, and rhinoceros with deer appearing under the seat. It has three characteristics of Śiva. It is (i) *tri mukha* (three faced) (ii) *Paśupati* (lord of animals) and (iii) *Yogīśvara* or *Mahayogī*. From the presence of a large number of conical and cylindrical stones it has been inferred that *Sivalinga* was also worshipped.

The Mother goddess : A number of figurines of terra-cotta, faience portray a seminude female figure wearing a girdle or band round her loins with elaborate head-dress

and collar. Some of the figures are smoke-stained. It is possible that oil or perhaps incense was burnt before them in order that the mother-goddess might grant the request of the worshipper.

Fire worship : From the fire pits at Kālībaṅgan it has been inferred that fire worship was also prevalent in the Harappan culture.

Worship of Yoni : Small ring stones suggest that the worship of the *Yoni*, the female symbol of generation, was also prevalent though not to such an extent as *Linga* worship.

Tree worship : A singular seal discovered at Mohenjo-daro shows a standing deity between two branches of a tree, worshipped by seven female devotees in a line and another half kneeling devotee, with a mythical animal figure as the *vāhana* of the goddess. The tree is identified as the *Pīṭal* tree.

Animal worship : The seals portray figures of animals as objects of worship. These animals are mythical as well as real. There are figures of humanfaced goat, or creatures which are ram or goat, part bull and part elephant. Among the real animals, there are figures of buffalo, bison, humped bull, humpless bull, rhino, tiger, elephant, sheep and ram.

To sum up, the religion of the Harappan civilization was marked by the worship of *Śakti*, *Śiva*, Animals natural and semi-human or fabulous, Trees, *Linga* and *Yoni* symbols. All these features are found in later Hinduism.

Art

There is evidence of artistic workmanship in many of the objects found at Mohenjo-daro. The seals show real art in life-like figures of animals like humped bull, buffalo, or bison engraved on them. The most important art object is the head of a priest from Mohenjo-daro. The bronze image of a dancing girl beating time to music is another example of Harappan art.

Trade

Probably the Harappan people imported copper from Khetri mines in Rajasthan. Gold was most probably brought from Kolar gold fields of Mysore and from Anantapur in Madras. Tin was most probably brought from Bihar and Orissa. Limestone was brought from Sukkur, Gypsum and Alabaster from Kirthar Hills, Yellow stone from Jaisalmer and Steatite from Rajasthan. Semi-precious stones like rock crystal, haematite, agate chalcedony, onyx, calnelian and jasper could come from Rajasthan, Punjab, Kathiawar and Central India. The beautiful green amazon stone was most probably obtained from Doddabetta in the Nilgiris and Amethyst from the Deccan trap. Bringing all these materials from distant places in India indicates that internal trade was well developed. But we have definite evidence about foreign trade as well. Some Harappan seals, two kinds of beads and some other articles found in northern and southern Mesopotamia, Afghanistan and Southern Turkmenia in Russia prove that the Harappan people had trade relations with these countries. Two Persian seals were found at Lothal and a cylindrical seal with Indus script was found at Kālībaṅgan. This kind of seals were characteristic of ancient Mesopotamia. Lapis Lazuli came from Badakshan (northern Afghanistan). Khorasan sent Turquoise. Jadeite was obtained from places like the Pamirs, Eastern Turkistan and Tibet. Two leads of amazonite, a green stone, were found at Ur, in an early layer. This kind of semi-precious stone was available in the Nilgiri Hills. Thus from very early times, the North and South in India were connected by ties of commercial intercourse and articles made by the Harappan people from these semiprecious stones were exported to the Mesopotamian Valley, a distance of a thousand miles across mountains and deserts when the means of

transport were not as developed as at the present day. In some Mesopotamian texts there are references to objects imported from Meluhha which was most probably a port on the Indus or in western India. There is good reason to suppose that many of these objects were imported from India.

Authors of Harappan Culture

There is a wide uniformity in the planning and construction of Harappan settlements. This suggests a strong political authority which could enforce certain rules and regulations to maintain this uniformity. There is also a conservative outlook which can be seen in the various aspects of this culture. It is probable that the priesthood played a predominant role in the administration. There is no evidence to support the view that it was an empire with a ruler and Mohenjo-daro and Harappa were two capitals of the empire.

The Anthropologists are of opinion that the population consisted of Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Alpine and Mongolian races. The residents of Harappa, Mohenjo-daro and Lothal were snubnosed. The residents of Punjab and Sind were long headed and high statured but the people of Gujarat were round headed. This makes us conclude that they did not belong to one racial element.

Chronology

Radio-carbon dates of this culture are 2300 to 1750 B.C. When we convert them into historical dates we arrive at 2800/2900 to 2000 B.C. The Mesopotamian evidence also supports these dates. The earliest evidence from Mesopotamia dates to 2600 B.C. This makes us conclude that the Harappan culture existed in C. 2800 B.C. and we can presume that the culture existed from 2800/2900 to 2000 B.C.

Origin

From many pre-Harappan sites it has been concluded that the culture had its origin in India. The pre-historic cultures of Quetta, Amri-Nal-Nundara, Kulli, Zhob and Shahi-Tump were the earlier phases of Harappan culture. Whatever Iranian elements are there in the Harappan pottery are the result of the contact of Harappan people with Iran through trade.

Decline

Some early archaeologists had suggested that the main cause of the decline of the Harappan culture was Āryan invasion. In support of their view they cited the references in the *R̥gveda* to the destruction of forts of the enemy by the Āryan god Indra and the unburned skeletons found in the upper levels of Mohenjo-daro. For the first basis we are not certain about the date of the *R̥gveda*. As far as the second basis is concerned the skeletons are not related to one period and there is no evidence of slaughter of the people by the Āryans. Therefore, most of the scholars do not accept this as a probable cause now. According to Marshall and Mackay the repeated flooding of the city might have compelled the residents to leave Mohanjo-daro. According to Raikes the tectonic movements downstream were responsible for mighty lake formation and silting and this caused the decline of the civilization. Another cause suggested by some scholars is that the Harappan culture had lost its vitality because it had exhausted its resources but we do not have definite evidence to support this view. Thus, at present we cannot assign any definite cause for the decline of the culture.

Influence upon Āryan culture

There is enough evidence to indicate that some of the fundamental conceptions of

Hinduism are derived from the Harappan culture. We cannot explain the relationship between the Vedic culture and the Harappan culture as the evidence of the former is based on the Vedic literature and that of the latter, on the excavated material because we are not certain about the date of the compilation of the *Rgveda*. Earlier scholars were, however, of opinion that the Harappan culture was pre-Āryan and different from Vedic culture.

VEDIC CULTURE

(A) Vedic Literature

Vedic literature includes not only the four *Saṁhita*—*Rgveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda* but also the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyaks* and *Upaniṣads*. For example, the *Aitareya* and *Kauṣītaki* are the *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Rgveda*, the *Śatapatha* of the *Yajurveda* and the *Gopatha* of the *Sāmaveda*. Similarly the *Āitareya Āraṇyaka* is related to the *Rgveda* and the *Taittirīya* to the *Yajurveda*. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* is associated with the *Yajurveda* and the *Chāndogya* with the *Sāmaveda*.

The *Brahmaṇas* are the earliest prose literature dealing with rituals and their significance which they illustrate by stories. The *Āraṇyaks* and the *Upaniṣads* have their origin in the *Upāsana* and *Jñāna-Kāṇḍas* of the *Rgveda*. The *Āraṇyaks* are so called because they contain deep and mystical truths which can be properly studied only in the solitude and silence of the *Āraṇya* or forest. The *Upaniṣads* give exposition of the higher philosophical wisdom.¹

(B) The Authors of the Vedic Literature

According to European scholars the authors of the Vedic literature spoke Sanskrit

which was an Indo-European language. They were originally inhabitants of a temperate region covered with grass because these languages mention wolf, bear and horse among the animals and beach and oak among the trees. This region is generally identified with the steppeland at the foot of a mountain or the north or western Kirghiz steppe to the south of the Urals.

(C) Date of Vedic Literature

Vedic scholars are unanimous about one point that different chapters in a Vedic work were not written at the same time. For example the first and the tenth *Maṇḍalas* in the *Rgveda* are later additions to the work. Similarly the seventh, eighth and the sixth books of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* are considered later additions to the original work. Approximately the *Rgveda* was compiled between C. 1500 B.C. to C. 1000 B.C. and the other works were compiled during the period C. 1000 B.C. to C. 500 B.C. We have no evidence of the use of iron in India before 1000 B.C. and there is no mention of iron in the *Rgveda* hence the date of the *Rgveda* should be before 1000 B.C. but there is ample evidence for the use of iron in the Later Vedic period hence its date should be after 1000 B.C.

(D) The Geographical Background of the Vedic Literature

The India as known to the *Rgveda* is indicated by geographical references in this work. Its western limits are indicated by the rivers *Kubhā* (Kabul), *Krumu* (Kurram), *Gomatī* (Gomal), and *Suvāstu* (Swat). It shows that Afghanistan was a part of the *Rgvedic* India. The *Rgveda* also mentions the five rivers of the Punjab viz *Sindhu* (Indus), *Vitastā* (Jhelum), *Asiknī* (Chenab), *Paruṣṇī* (Ravi), *Vipās* (Beas) and *Sutudrī* (Satlej). It also

mentions *Sarasvatī*, *Gangā*, *Yamunā* and *Saryū*. It is also called the land of the seven rivers (*Sapta-Sindhavah*).

The later Vedic Literature i.e., (the three *Samhitās* other than the *R̥gveda*, *Bṛāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*) reflects the course and stages of Āryan expansion from West to East. From the *Aitareya Bṛāhmaṇa* we know that at that time Kurukshetra was the centre of the Āryan world. It mentions Satvants to the south of the Kuru-Panchala region, Uttara Kurus and Uttara Madras to its north and Kosala (Avadh), Videha (north Bihar), Magadha (south Bihar) and Anga (east Bihar) to its east. The eastward Āryan movement was marked by the rise of new States like Kosala, Kaśī, and Videha. Magadha and Anga were not yet fully Āryanised. Probably, the Vindhyas were the southern limit of the Later Vedic Āryans. Peoples called Andhras, Śabaras and Pulindas etc. were beyond the sphere of influence of the Later Vedic Āryans. Evidently, Āryan Civilization had not yet spread to the south of the Vindhyas.

(E) Vedic Literature and the Archaeological Evidence

According to the chronology accepted by us the *R̥gveda* was compiled during the period C 1500 B.C. to C. 1000 B.C. There are three Indian material cultures which relate to this period namely Black and Red Ware, Copper hoards and Ochre-coloured Pottery. But none of these cultures can be identified with the *R̥gvedic* culture. From the point of view of chronology of Ochre-Coloured pottery or O.C.P. can be identified with the *R̥gvedic* culture but of all the sites associated with this culture none is in *Sapta-Sindhu* region. Most of them are in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab. The same thing holds good in the case of Copper-hoards. Grey Ware, which has been discovered in

Afghanistan, Punjab and Rajasthan does not coincide with the period of the *R̥gveda*.

The later Vedic literature refers to the use of iron. Painted Grey Ware (P.G.W.) has been found in Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Western U.P., Eastern U.P., and Bihar, Northern Black Polished Ware (N.B.P.) (C. 800 to 100 B.C.) culture coincides with the Geographical extent and the chronology of the Later Vedic literature P.G.W. and N.B.P. cultures point towards a settled life. They show the uses of cereals and pulses and iron implements have been discovered at Hastinapur, Alamgirpur, Atranjikhara and Raṭesar etc. At Atranjikhara was discovered a sickle and an axe at Noh. In the N.B.P. culture there was more development in the field of agriculture and coinage began to be used. In view of the above archaeological evidence we can identify the P.G.W. and N.B.P. cultures with the Later Vedic Culture. But as the archaeological evidence is very limited for a fuller description of the Later Vedic Period we will have to depend only on the literary evidence.

(F) *R̥gvedic* Civilization

(c. 1500—c. 1000 B.C.)

(a) *Economy*

(i) **Agriculture** : It seems that cattle rearing was more important than agriculture in the beginning of this period of the 10,462 hymns of the *R̥gveda* agriculture is mentioned only in 24 hymns. Of the cereals and pulses only barley is mentioned in this *Samhita*. But agriculture was developed towards the end of this period. In the first and the tenth *mandals* of the *R̥gveda* many agricultural processes such as clearing of forests, ploughing of fields, sowing of seeds, reaping of corn, separating corn from the chaff are mentioned. In this period the owner of a piece of land was the

individual who cultivated it. The farmers most probably paid *bali* in the form of corn to the leader of the tribe because he protected the people.

(ii) Crafts and industries : From the *Rgveda* we know that the crafts of wood, textiles, metals, pottery and leather were fully developed.

The *Rgveda* mentions two metals namely gold and *ayas* (probably copper). Gold was used for making ornaments and probably coins. Copper was used in making pillars, armours, helmets and weapons.

The carpenters made chariots, carts, and wooden utensils.

In this period people generally wore woollen clothes. From leather were made bags, containers for liquids, strings for bows, reins of horses and whips.

(iii) Trade and commerce : Most of the trade was carried on by exchange of goods but even in this period cow was considered a medium of trade. *Niṣka* was a gold necklace in the beginning but later it was also used as a coin for giving as a reward to a poet. The custom of haggling for fixing the prices of articles was in vogue even in this period. Probably the *Rgvedic* Āryans also used to carry on trade by going on sea voyages.

(b) Struggle for Supremacy

(i) The battle of ten kings : There seems to have been a division among the *Rgvedic* tribes. One group included the *Śrñjayas* and the *Bharatas* and the other group comprised *Yadus*, *Turvaśas*, *Druhyus* and *Pūrus*. In the battle of Ten Kings all the people of *Rgvedic* India were involved. There were five tribes to the west of the Indus, the *Alinas* (of modern *Kafiristan*), the *Pakthas*, the *Bhālnases*, the *Śivas* and the *Vrāiṣṇins*. The *Anus*, the *Druhyus*, the *Turvas'as*, the *Yadus* and the *Purus* also joined this side. There non-Āryan

people viz. the *Ajas*, *Śigrus* and *Yakṣus* joined this coalition. *Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra* was the priest of this coalition, against *Sudās*. *Vaśiṣṭha* was the priest of the group which the leader was *Sudas*. *Sudās* was a *Bharata* king of *Tritsu* family which was settled in the country which later came to be known as *Brahmāvarta* (the region between the *Sarasvatī* and the *Yamunā*). In the battle which was fought on the *Paruṣṇī* (*Ravi*), the *Bharatas* emerged victorious, utterly routing the confederacy. Thus the *Bharatas* were able to become supreme of all the *Rgvedic* tribes and the country came to be known as *Bhārata*.

(ii) The struggle against non-Āryans : Side by side with the struggle for supremacy among the different Āryan tribes there was a struggle for supremacy between the Āryans united against the non-Āryans.

The non-Āryans who are called *Dāsa*, *Dasyu*, *Asura* or *Piśacha* were different from the Āryans both in physical features and culture. They are called dark-skinned, having dark children and noseless. In culture they spoke an unintelligible language, they were devoid of rites, non-sacrificing, not worshipping the gods, and wanting in prayer. They are called reviling the Vedic gods and worshipping the phallus. These non-Āryans were an organised people. They had cities with forts of iron and stone. The Āryans were surrounded on all sides by these non-Āryan tribes and they prayed to *Indra* to destroy these non-Āryan tribes. In the end the Āryans were able to establish their supremacy over these non-Āryan tribes as well.

(c) Rgvedic Polity

The family (*Kula*) was the smallest unit in the head of a family was called a *ruḥopa*. The head of a village (*Grāma*) was called *Grāmaṇi*. The clan (*Viś*) had as its head *Viś pati*. The tribe (*Jana*) had its leader who was called

Goptā (protector). The head of a state (*Rāṣṭra*) was called *Rājan*. The king protected his people against enemies. In return for his services the people obeyed him and offered presents (*bali*). The king also acted as a Judge. He himself was above punishment (*adaṇḍya*).

The king was assisted in administration by his ministers. The most important minister was the preceptor (*Purohita*) another minister was the Commander-in-chief (*Senāni*) and a third the village headman (*Grāmaṇi*).

There were two popular bodies the *Sabhā* and the *Samiti*. The *Sabhā* was the council of elders. The *Samiti* was probably the larger assembly of the people in general. These popular bodies served as checks upon the autocracy of the ruler.

Justice : The accused had to pay fines for crimes committed by them. For example an accused had to pay the price of 100 cows for some crime.

Army : The army was composed of foot-soldiers and charioteers. The infantry fought with bows and arrows which were copper headed. They were clad in a coat of mail with hand-guard and helmet. They also fought with swords, spears and lances.

(d) Social Life

(i) **The family :** It was a patriarchal family. The wife though subject to her husband, was the mistress of the house-hold. She participated in the religious ceremonies with her husband. Marriage was a sacrament and indissoluble. Girls had their parents as their guardians and after their death their brothers. The parents, brothers and sisters formed other important members of the *Āryan* family.

(ii) **The caste system :** From the *Puruṣa sūkta* of the *Rgveda* (X. 90) we know that the gods divided the *Puruṣa* (the primeval creator) into four parts to form four classes of society. The *Brāhmaṇa* was identical with his mouth,

the *Rājanya* with his arms, the *Vaiśya* with his thighs and the *śūdra* with his feet. It would thus appear that towards the very end of the *Rgvedic* period the distinction between the four classes had just begun to take shape.

Two classes, the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Rājanyas* (later *Kṣatriya*), occupied higher position than the rest. The *Āryan*, people at large were called *Vis*. The *Brāhmaṇa* and *Kṣatriya* too did not probably form regular or distinct classes in the beginning. But there was a real distinction between the *Āryans* and the aborigines who had submitted to them. Most of them served as menials or followed low arts and crafts. They were collectively known as *Dāsa* or *Śūdra*.

(iii) **Dress and ornaments :** The dress of the Vedic *Āryans* consisted of three parts, the undergarment, the garment and an overgarment. Embroidered garments were also used.

Gold ornaments such as earring, necklaces, bracelets and anklets were worn.

(iv) **Food and drink :** Milk was the most popular food together with butter and curd. Cakes of barley and grain cooked with milk and cheese were other articles of food.

Flesh of animals that were sacrificed was eaten but the cow was not killed for food.

The use of spirituous liquor was condemned. *Soma* drink prepared from a plant which grew on mountains like the *Mūjavants* was a favourite drink of the *Āryans*.

(v) **Amusements :** These included chariot-racing, dicing, horse-racing, dancing and music. Dancing was indulged in by both sexes to the accompaniment of music from cymbal. Three musical instruments were known namely drum, lute and lyre.

(e) Education and Learning

The aim of education was achievement of the highest knowledge (*parā vidyā*). The teacher acquired knowledge by processes of

meditation and imparted it to his select pupils. The teacher first imparted the texts of his revealed knowledge orally to his pupils. They committed these texts to memory by constant repetition and collective recitation.

(f) Religion

The prayers of the Ṛgveda are addressed to many gods and goddesses but the many are worshipped as the manifestation of one God.

(i) The deities representing the principal phenomena of nature are:

- (1) *Dyau* = Heaven
- (2) *Pṛthivī* = Earth
- (3) *Varuṇa* = All comprehending Sky
- (4) *Indra* = The god of Thunder and Rain
- (5) *Sūrya*, *Mitra* or *Pūṣhan* = The Sun
- (6) *Rudra* = Śiva
- (7) The two *Aśvins* repure senting the morning and evening stars
- (8) The *Maruts* Windgods
- (9) *Vāyu*
- (10) *Vāta*
- (11) *Parjanya*. The god of rain, water and rivers
- (12) *Uṣas* = The goddess of Dawn.

(ii) The two domestic deities were *Agni* and *Soma*.

One Ṛgvedic passage defines the position thus. The One Reality whom the sages call by various names: They call It, *Agni*, *Yama*, *Matariśvan*, *Indra*, *Mitra* or *Varuṇa*.

Besides the prayer to one God in its various manifestations the Ṛgvedic Āryans performed sacrifices in which the offerings consisting of ordinary food and drink were thrown into fire in order that they might reach the gods. Animals like horses, rams, buffaloes, bulls and even cows were sometimes sacrificed.

This religion of sacrifice (*Yajña*) had also its symbolic aspect. God first created out of Himself the *Virāt Puruṣa*. He offered up his *Virāt Puruṣa* as a sacrifice for the sake of His creation. So self-sacrifice is the duty of every creature of God. Man, like his Creator, must also maintain his little system and serve the small world in which he moves by the utmost sacrifice of which he is capable. Life must be an offering to Deity. Religion is thus a course of self-sacrifice.

(g) The Later Vedic Civilization (c 1000 B.C. to c. 500 B.C.)

(a) Economy

(i) **Agriculture** : From the literature of this period we know that agriculture was more developed than in the Ṛgvedic period. We have mention of ploughing of fields by six or twelve oxen and the use of manure in agriculture. The cereals and pulses mentioned are barley, rice, sesamum, *māṣa*, sugarcane, *mudga* and lentils. Many cultivated and wild varieties of rice are mentioned in the *Yajurveda*.

(ii) **Crafts and industries** : Plates and ornaments of silver were made in this period. The use of iron revolutionized the processes of cultivation and resulted in surplus food production which led to the growth of many towns. During this period articles of tin and lead were also made.

Carpenters also made ships with two oars. This means that carpenters craft was well developed during this period.

In this period besides woollen, cloth was also made with linen and hemp but there is no reference to cotton cloth.

Architecture was also developed during this period as we have reference to an altar resembling the shape of a bird. 10,800 bricks were used in making such an altar.

We have also references to some other crafts such as making of bows, liquor, baskets,

ropes, dyeing, sewing and matmaking etc. in the literature of this period.

(iii) **Trade and commerce** : In his period also the Traders sold their articles by barter system. They dealt in cloth, bed covers, skin of goats etc. They were afraid of wild animals and robbers. There were some traders who also lent money to other traders. Indian traders also went to foreign countries such as Egypt and Mesopotamia.

(b) Imperialism

The texts of this period refer to kings who aspired to be emperors. The words used for these kings are *Rājādhirāja*, *Samrāt* and *Ekarāt*. After completing their conquests they performed sacrifices such as *Vajapeya*, *Rājasūya* or *Aśvamedha*. The texts also mention by name some of these great kings who became emperors by their conquests. For example Bhārata king Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā, became emperors after defeating all their enemies. They aspired to be rulers of all territory, the sole single sovereign of the earth upto its limit in the ocean.

(c) Polity

No doubt, in this period, the power of the king increased a good deal. But he could not become an autocrat. The king could be deposed if he did not rule according to the rules laid down in the sacred books for the welfare of the people. The *Atharvaveda* refers to the king's election, expulsion, re-election and restoration. Another check on the king was the oaths of loyalty to the law and constitution of the realm. The king was also dependent on his ministers who are called king-makers in some texts of this period.

The *Atharvaveda* mentions only four king-makers namely the bard (*Sūta*), the charioteer (*Rathakāra*), the village headman (*Grāmaṇi*) and the subordinate rulers (*Rājās*) but other

texts mention as many as twelve king-makers. The increases in the number of ministers also shows that the powers of the king had greatly increased during this period.

The *Sabhā* and *Samiti* also exercised some checks on the autocracy of the ruler. It was the duty of the King to attend the *Sabhā* and he had to seek the support of the *Samiti* to make his position firm on the throne.

(d) Social Life

(i) **The caste system** : In the Vedic age, learning was cultivated by both Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. The texts of the Later Vedic period mention many kings who were masters of knowledge which they imparted to Brāhmaṇa. For example, Janaka of Videha, Ajātaśatru of Kāśi, Ashvapati of Kaikeya and Pravahana of Panchala were great scholars. But as a rule Brāhmaṇas were the teachers. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Brāhmaṇa is described as a receiver of gifts with freedom of movement, the *Vaiśya* as a tax payer and removable from land by the king and the *Śūdra* as the servant of another person who could dismiss him at will. The Kṣatriyas by their conquest of the aborigines, got from the king grants of land and slaves. In this period the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas emerged as the two leading classes out of the general mass of population now known as *Vaiśya*. It is only in the later Vedic Period, when the obscurity of the Vedic texts required a professional class of interpreters, that a definite class of Brāhmaṇas arose. At the same time the expansion of the Āryans increased the importance of the military leaders, who established political powers in various directions and a distinct Kṣatriya class emerged.

The *Vaiśyas* were, no doubts much superior to the *Śūdra*, but their position was deteriorating. The contrast between the Ārya

and the *Śūdra* came to be more and more accentuated during the later Vedic Period. The *Śūdras* could not perform sacrifice and read the sacred texts. Marriage with the *Śūdras* gradually came to be looked down upon.

(ii) **Position of Women :** The position of women also deteriorated during this period. In this period only sons could perform sacrifice and the daughters were deprived of this right and the birth of a daughter began to be looked down upon as an inauspicious event by the parents. But the sacred thread ceremony was performed even of daughters. The girls were married at an advanced age.

A man was considered incomplete without his wife. The wife herself supervised all domestic work. She had full control over her father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law and sister-in-law. During this period women did not take part in religious ceremonies, or political assemblies. The wife took food after the husband had taken his meals, Women have been classed with wine and gambling in the *Yajurveda*. This shows that their position in society was deteriorating. But even in this period, there are many references to women teachers, possessing high spiritual knowledge.

(e) *Education and Learning*

The vast literature of the later Vedic Period presupposes a well-planned system of education. Education began with the ceremony of *Upanayana* first described in the *Atharvaveda*. The student wore the skin of antelope, the girdle of *Kuśa* grass and collected fuel for worshipping god *Agni*. Begging for his preceptor was also one of his daily duties. The pupil lived with his teacher. Begging for alms was prescribed for the pupil to produce in him a spirit of humility. The student as a rule studied with his preceptor for twelve years. There were many scholars, who after completing their education,

wandered in quest of knowledge. They were called *Charakas*. There were also associations for advanced study and research. One such association was *Pāñchāla-pariṣad*. Kings also organized conferences where philosophers participated in discussions. King Janaka of Videha organized one such Conference which was presided over by sage *Yājñavalkya*. The ultimate aim of education was the attainment of highest knowledge, the knowledge of *Brahman* or *Ātman* as the supreme reality. There were many ladies like *Gārgī* and *Maitreyī* who took part in philosophical discussions.

The subjects of study included the four Vedas, Grammar, Mathematics, Mineralogy, Logic, Ethics, *Brahma-Vidyā*, Biology, Military Science, Astronomy, and Medicine.

Religion

The religious spirit underwent a great change in the Later Vedic period. We find the priests laying emphasis on the performance of sacrifices. The elaboration of sacrificial religion and its ritual led to a growth of priesthood which now expanded from the *Rgvedic* seven to seventeen priests among whom there was a division of labour in their performance. The chief five priests were (1) *Hotṛ*, (2) *Udgatṛ*, (3) *Adhvaryu*, (4) *Brahman* and (5) *Sadasya*.

Indeed the priestly class now devoted their whole attention to find out the hidden and mystic meaning of rites and ceremonies. These ceremonies comprehend both domestic rites as well as great sacrifices and form a body of most stupendous and complex rituals.

There developed another current of religious thought during this period which laid emphasis on acquisition of true knowledge, the knowledge of *Brahman* or *Ātman*. This Supreme Knowledge could be attained by *Tāpas* (meditation accompanied by physical

tortures), *Śraddha*, (faith in God), *Satya* (truth) *Brahmacharya* (self restraint of passions and desires) and *Vidhi* (performance of rituals). According to the *Upaniṣad* bliss and salvation were attainable only by true knowledge. The *Upaniṣads* contain bold philosophical speculations concerning God, man and universe. They did not altogether discard rites, but relegated them to a minor position. According to the *Upaniṣads* one who performs only sacrificial ritual is a fool because one cannot attain salvation only by the performance of sacrifices. The main principle on which the *Upaniṣads* lay emphasis is the unity of the universal soul and the individual soul. This idea is expressed in the *Upaniṣads* in the phrase *Tat-tvam asi* (That Thou Art).

These two lines of religious thought one laying emphasis on rituals and the other on acquisition of true knowledge have developed side by side in India. The initial antagonism between the two disappeared when an attempt was made to reconcile the two as the

Upaniṣadic doctrine more and more triumphed.

CONCLUSION

From the beginning of our civilized life, an attempt of Indian thinkers has been to create a synthesis of diverse elements. Previously, it was thought that the foundation of Indian culture was the Vedic culture alone. Now as a result of research it has been established beyond doubt that the synthesis of Harappan and Vedic cultures laid the basis of Hindu Civilization. In the words of R.C. Majumdar, "there is not the least doubt that we can no longer accept the view, now generally held, that Vedic civilization is the sole foundation of all subsequent civilizations in India. That the Indus-valley civilization described above has been a very important contributory factor to the growth and development of civilization in this country admits of no doubt."

Reference

1. For more details about the *Upaniṣads* please see religion in the Later Vedic period.

QUESTIONS

1. 'Harappan culture was the most extensive of all the contemporary cultures.' Elaborate the above statement.
2. Explain how the Harappan culture was an urban culture.
3. What light have the excavation thrown on the development of agriculture and crafts in the Harappan culture?
4. What features of the religious beliefs of Harappan people are found in later Hinduism?
5. Discuss critically the internal and external trade in Harappan culture.
6. Discuss the probable causes which led to the decline of Harappan culture.
7. How have the historians come to the conclusion that the Rgvedic people lived in eastern Afghanistan and Punjab while those of the Late Vedic Age had extended their civilization upto Bihar in the east and upto the vindhya in the south?
8. Compare the social and economic conditions of the Later Vedic Age with those of the Rgvedic Age.
9. Discuss the religious condition in the Late Vedic Age especially pointing out the difference from that of the Rgvedic Age.
10. Discuss the changes which had taken place in the.....of the Later Vedic age from that of the Rgvedic age.
11. Describe critically the aims and methods of education in the Later Vedic age.

Chapter 4

Saṅskṛt Literature During the Gupta Age

The Imperial Guptas created conditions which freed the people from fear, and guaranteed them considerable economic and social security. This fact naturally resulted in a remarkable outburst of the creative activity of Hindu genius. It was an age of unique and most typically Indian achievements in the realms of thought and deed, and amply deserves to be called the Golden Age of Indian History.

GROWTH OF SAṆSKṚT LITERATURE

According to Max Muller, there was a sudden break in the growth of Saṅskṛt Literature in the early centuries of the Christian era until Kālidāsa inaugurated the Renaissance of Saṅskṛt literature. Scholars of Saṅskṛt now no longer accept this view of Max Muller because the theory is disproved by the works of Aśvaghoṣa, Bhāṣa and Bharata among others. There is no doubt, however, that Saṅskṛt literature attained its perfection in both form and content during the Gupta period. It was the great age of Sanskrit not only because it replaced Prākṛt not only in epigraphs but also in the religious and philosophical literature of Jains and Buddhists. Saṅskṛt became the language of the learned not only in India but also in Indo-China and Indonesia.

RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

(a) The Mahābhārata and the Smṛtis

The Gupta age thus witnessed not the revival but the highest point of development

or perfection of Saṅskṛt literature. It was in this period that the *Mahābhārata*, with the inclusion of didactic stories, was compiled in its present form by the descendents of Bhrigu who were also the authors of the *Manusmṛti*. The *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* was also compiled during the Gupta age. The *Nārada-smṛti* seems to have been written a little earlier than the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. Probably it belongs to the early fourth century A.D. To a slightly later date belongs the *Bṛhaspati-smṛti*. From the production of these three smṛtis it is evident that during the Gupta period the legal thought and procedure was being revised in the light of changing conditions.

(b) The Purāṇas

The *Purāṇas* were an efficient medium of popular instruction. The *Purāṇas* in this period dealt with many new topics besides the old *pañcha-lakṣaṇas* (1) *Sarga* or creation of the universe; (2) *Pratisarga* or recreation after destruction; (3) *Varṇśa* or the genealogy; (4) *Manvantara* or the great periods of time with Manu as the primal ancestor; and (5) *Varṇśanucharita* or history of the dynasties both solar and lunar.

The views of new sects now found expression in the *Purāṇas* e.g., Paśupata in *Vāyu* and *Linga*. Śattva in *Viṣṇu*, Dattātreyā in *Mārkaṇḍeya*; Sun worship as practised by the Magas. Bhojakas and Śakadvipi immigrants in *Bhaviṣya* and *Śamba*. *Mahātmya* of

particular shrines and places of pilgrimages came to be added to old texts as new sections. The *Purāṇa* texts now formed the most important medium of popular education as is evident from the inclusion of many secular subjects in them e.g., poetics, dramaturgy, grammar, lexicography, astronomy, astrology, polity, war, architecture and medicine in the *Agni Purāṇa*, perfumery and the lapidary art in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* and arts of dancing, painting and sculpture in the *Vishnudharmottara Purāṇa*.

(c) Philosophical Literature

(i) **Sāṅkhya** : The *Sāṅkhya* system of philosophy lost ground in the Gupta period because its theism was absorbed by the epics and its categories of *Prakṛti*, *Puruṣa* and *Guṇas* were taken over by *Vedānta*. In this period Ishvarakṛṣṇa composed his *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (the 4th century A.D.). This is the earliest and the most popular work on the *Sāṅkhya* system.

(ii) **Yoga** : In the realm of Yoga *Vyāsa bhāṣya* (C. 300 A.D.) was composed on the *Yoga sūtras* of Patañjali. This work, for the first time, gives the standard exposition of the Yoga philosophy and is quite indispensable to understand its main principles.

(iii) **Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika** : Vātsyāyana, a scholar of Kanchi, towards the end of the 4th century A.D. composed the *Nyāya-bhāṣya* which is a most authoritative commentary on the *Sūtras*. He criticises the views of the *Madhyamika* and *Yogācāra* schools of Buddhist philosophy. A little later flourished Prashastapada, who has given the earliest independent and systematic exposition of *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy in his *Padārthadharmaśāstra*.

The scholars of *Nyāya* school of philosophy, during the period devoted

themselves to the discussion of the problems connected with *Pramāṇas* (mechanism of knowledge) and syllogism.

(iv) **Mīmāṃsā** : The *Śabara-bhāṣya* which is a standard commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* of Jaimini was composed in C. 300 A.D. This work contains a systematic exposition of the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy. The school during the Gupta period ceased to concern itself with the rules about the exposition of rituals, but had entered into the whole field of philosophy, advocating own views about the nature of soul, God, salvation etc.

(v) **Vedānta** : No work of this school has come down to us from the Gupta period but from the sections added to the *Brahmasūtras* it appears that the philosophers of this school were busy refuting the views of the *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra* schools of Buddhist philosophy.

(d) The Jain Literature in Saṅskṛt

Towards the end of the Gupta period Haribhadra composed his works and commentaries in Saṅskṛt. Of other Jain scholars of Digambara sect who wrote in Saṅskṛt mention may be made of Sāmantabhadra, Pūgyapāday Akalaṅka and Mānatunga.

(e) The Buddhist Literature in Saṅskṛt

The Buddhist scholars first used Saṅskṛt mixed with Pāli in their works. For example the *Lalita-vistara* (a biography of the Buddha) and the *Mahāvastu* (containing the Buddhist doctrines of the Mahasanghika School) are in mixed Saṅskṛt. But later, as early as the first and the second century A.D., they used pure Saṅskṛt language in their works. Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacharita* and *Saddharma Puṇḍarika* (a sacred work of the Mahāyāna School) are in pure Saṅskṛt.

SECULAR LITERATURE

(a) **The Kāvya** : Kālidāsa was the greatest poet of the Gupta age. That Kālidāsa was the contemporary of Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya is now generally accepted by majority of scholars. Among Kalidāsa's poems the *Rtusamhāra* is regarded as his earliest production. In this poem he has beautifully described the beauties of six seasons and their reaction on the human mind. In this poem the delicate observation of, and living sympathy with nature are truly Kālidāsan in character. His *Meghadūta* is a pioneer *dūta kāvya* in Saṅskṛt literature. The stanzas in which Kālidāsa describes the pining human heart of the youthful husband separated from his spouse are unrivalled for lofty imagery, unique metaphors and heroic hyperboles in Saṅskṛt literature. In the *Kumārasambhava*, which describes the union of Śiva and Pārvatī in marriage and the birth of their son Kumāra (Kārtikeya) Kālidāsa exhibits richer variety and greater brilliance of fancy. The poet's power of description makes every scene appear to move before our very eyes. The *Raghvaṃśa* is universally regarded as the finest specimen of Saṅskṛt *mahākāvya*s (epic poems).

The poetry of Kālidāsa is characterised by grace, simplicity and sentiment, and is decorated by striking figures of speech. He is famous for his similes. In characterisation he has few equals. He is superb in describing the emotions of love and pathos. His love of nature is as unequalled as his power of describing it. The works of Kālidāsa are also valuable for the ideals which they place before the society. By studying them the reader knows the Hindu ideals about the duties and responsibilities of persons in different classes of society and in various stages of life. His writings abound with pithy sayings containing salutary advice couched in beautiful language,

from which persons in all walks of life can derive immense benefit.

Two other *mahākāvya*s may be mentioned. One is the *Jānakīharaṇa* (517-526 A.D.) by Kumāradāsa and the other is the *Kirātārjuniya* by Bhāravi (c. 550 A.D.). Both in manner and general treatment Kumāradāsa imitates Kālidāsa but is not able to reach the latter's height and grandeur. Bhāravi's power of description and dignity of style impresses the reader but his literary gymnastics instead of enhancing the poetic effect distinctly lessen it.

(b) **Inscriptions** : The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta by his court poet Harīṣeṇa and the Mandasor inscription by Vatsabhātti possess some characteristic features of Saṅskṛt Kāvya. But Vatsabhātti is definitely an inferior poet. Three other inscriptions may be mentioned in this connection. The Junagadh inscription, the Mehrauli iron pillar inscription and the Mandasor inscription of Yaśovarman by Vasula. All the three inscriptions show considerable literary merit.

(c) **Dramas** : Bhāsa most probably flourished in the second or third century A.D. Thirteen plays are ascribed to him. The plots of two of these have been derived from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. They show little ingenuity on the part of the author. Six plays are based on the *Mahābhārata*. They show the author in better relief. Four plays are based on current story literature. Of all the thirteen plays of Bhāsa the *Svapnavāsavadatta* is the best. The plot construction of Bhāsa is quite crude and certain incidents are repeated. But Bhāsa's style is simple and direct. It does not involve long compounds and too frequent embellishments. He sometime violates the rules of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Another predecessor of Kālidāsa was Śūdraka. He is the author of the famous drama,

the *Mṛchchhakatika*. It is a unique work in Saṅskṛt dramatic literature. Śūdraka most probably flourished in the earlier part of the fourth century A.D. Thus he may be considered the first Saṅskṛt dramatist of the Gupta period. Unlike the majority of Saṅskṛt dramatists the author has exhibited in the play a surprising sense of fact which completely dominates reason or imagination. Action and characters are portrayed directly from life. For variety of incidents and characters taken from different strata of society and the genuine humour, there is hardly anything in Saṅskṛt dramatic literature to compare with the *Mṛchchhakatika*. The *Mudrārākṣasa* by Viśākhadatta presents a true and surprisingly living picture of an ancient Indian court with all its political suspicions and intrigues. It is a great play in its own way.

As in epic and lyrical poetry so too in drama, Kālidāsa represents the high watermark of India's creative genius. Of the three plays of Kālidāsa the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is clearly an immature production. The *Vikramorvaśiya* shows a great advance in Kālidāsa's poetic and dramatic art. In the portrayal of Pururavas, ardent but hopeless distraction, caused by Urvaśi's disappearance and his mad search for this beloved, the poet has reached a lyrical height unknown to the conventional erotic plays in Saṅskṛt. The theme of love reaches its highest consummation in Kālidāsa's third play, the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*. In this play Kālidāsa treats of love as a factor in the scheme of larger life and not merely as an isolated individual passion. In this play Kālidāsa also shows his great dramatic genius in the regular development of the plot, the just proportions of the cast, the happy choice of incidents, the majesty and charm of the stage effects, in his rich imagery and fine appreciation of nature, his grace and above all, his noble rhythm.

In Kālidāsa's dramas, imagination dominates over sense of fact and reason, while

in the *Mṛchchakatika* sense of fact dominates over reason and imagination. With the solitary exception of the *Mṛchchhakatika*, the dramas of the Gupta period are dramas of kings and court life.

The peculiar conditions and environments of the Gupta age had some effect on the literature produced during the period. Under the influence of the royal courts, Saṅskṛt poetry tended to become more and more aristocratic in character. It attempted to cater to the tastes of the higher and refined classes of the society only, and so remained to the extent isolated from the life of the common people.

ETHICAL AND DIDACTIC LITERATURE

The *Pañchatantra* is a story book which seems to have been originally composed with a view to imparting to young princes instruction in political science and practical conduct. Viśṇu Śarmā is the author of this book. The earlier version of the *Pañchatantra* was known as the *Tantrākhyāyikā* which was most probably composed C. 250 A.D. The *Pañchatantra* version was written some time during the Gupta period. The book was so popular that about 200 versions of the book exist in more than 50 languages of the world. It was translated into Pahlavi before 570 A.D. and soon after it was translated into the Syrian and the Arabic languages. It reached Europe before the 11th century A.D. Its versions into Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, English and old Slavonic languages had come into existence before the close of the 16th century A.D.

Bhartṛhari (C. 600-650 A.D.) composed the *Śṛṅgaraśataka*. The first śataka contains general observations on love and women, the second śataka deals with life of virtue and wisdom and the third śataka deals with life of renunciation. Probably these three śatakas were composed towards the end of the Gupta period.

TECHNICAL LITERATURE

(a) **Grammar** : On account of the works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali on Sanskrit grammar there was hardly any scope for composing a book on Sanskrit grammar. The earliest work of the Gupta period on Sanskrit grammar is most probably the *Kātantra* of Sarvavarman. It is simple Sanskrit grammar. Buddhist scholar of Bengal, Chandragomin composed the *Chandravyākaraṇa* which was very popular in Kashmir, Nepal and Tibet and later reached Sri Lanka. Probably he lived in the last decades of the sixth century A.D. He has made some original contribution to Sanskrit grammar.

Bhartṛhari composed the *Vākyapadīya* which deals with philosophy of language in general, and discusses sentence and word in Sanskrit language. To about the same time belong the *Kāśikā vṛtti* of Jayāditya and Vāmana and the *Liṅgānuśāsana* of Harṣadeva.

(b) **Lexicography** : The most famous lexicographical work in Sanskrit is the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* of Amarasimha, better known as *Amara-kośa*. It is the oldest work on lexicography. Amarasimha was a Buddhist, yet his book has become most popular even among the Hindus.

(c) **Prosody** : The *Śrutabodha* is a hand book on metres. Vārāhamihira also deals with metres in the *Bṛhatsamhitā*. There is also a section in the *Agni Purāṇa* which deals with metres.

(d) **Painting** : A section of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* deals with painting and gives detailed instructions about surface preparation in fresco paintings and the use of different colours in them.

SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

(a) Mathematics

In ancient India, mathematics was treated as a handmaid to astronomy. But Āryabhaṭa treated this as an independent subject. He

wrote his work *Āryabhaṭīyam* at Pataliputra in 499 A.D. He was the first scholar to discover the decimal system of place values. He has given all his results in the form of finished formulas. As regards geometry he discussed in his work the area of a triangle, the theorem on similarity of triangles, the area of a circle and the theorem relating to rectangles contained by the segments of chords or a circle. In algebra he discusses the rule of three and a rule for solving examples concerning interest. He has also discussed other mathematical subjects such as arithmetical progression and a formula for the sum of squares and the cubes of natural numbers.

(b) Astronomy

In Astronomy, Āryabhaṭa was the first to assert that the earth rotates round its axis. He was the first to utilise sine functions in astronomy, he calculated the increase and decrease in two consecutive days, he stated accurately the angular diameter of the earth's shadow at the moon's orbit and gave a method of finding the duration of an eclipse.

Vārāhamihira was another important astronomer of the Gupta period. Most probably he began composing his work *Pañchasiddhāntikā* in 505 A.D. He discusses in this work the principles of the five astronomical schools which were considered in his time the most authoritative. Of these five the *Romaka siddhānta* clearly betrays Western influence, most probably as a result of active trade contacts between the Roman empire and the Gupta empire. The *Sūrya siddhānta* is the most important and complete astronomical work of the period. It seems that Greek astronomy served as the basis of the *Sūrya-siddhānta*. The other three schools of astronomy discussed by Vārāhamihira are the *Paitāmaḥa Siddhānta*, the *Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta*, and the *Paulish siddhānta*. In his work Vārāhamihira has preserved the essential teachings of these five schools of astronomy.

(c) Astrology

The *Vṛddha Garga Saṁhitā* is the only work on astrology prior to Vārāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* which is a compendium of ancient Indian learning and sciences. Besides the sections on astrology in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Vārāhamihira composed four other works on astrology which deal with auspicious *muhūrtas* for marriage, auspicious portents for the expeditions of kings and the time of man's birth and its influence on his future.

(d) Medicine

The Bower manuscript was discovered by Lt. H. Bower in a Buddhist *stūpa* in Kashgar in 1890. Out of the seven works discovered by Bower three deal with medicine. The manuscript on the basis of palaeographical grounds has been dated to the second half of the fourth century A.D. The manuscript deals with such subjects as the use of garlic in curing diseases, digestion, and eye diseases. One book named *Nāvanitaka* deals with different kinds of powders, decoctions, oils, elixirs and children's diseases. The only familiar name of a medical authority referred to in the Bower manuscript is that of Suśruta.

(e) Chemistry, Metallurgy, Botany, Zoology, Engineering and Meteorology

Nāgārjuna, the great Mahāyāna Buddhist

philosopher, is believed to have been the real father of scientific chemistry. But we have no work on chemistry composed by Nāgārjuna. The Meharauli iron pillar will, for ever remain a living monument to the progress in metallurgy achieved in the age of the imperial Guptas. In spite of exposure to the open air for over 1500 years the pillar has not rusted hence it has become an object of research for eminent metallurgists of the world.

Vārāhamihira was a scientist of encyclopaedic interests. Besides being an astronomer, mathematician and astrologer he was also a student of metallurgy. He was a good jeweller and has supplied useful information for ascertaining the nature and value of gold, emerald, pearls, diamonds etc. He was also a student of botany as he has discussed in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* various topics of gardening. He has also discussed the nature of good as well as bad horses, elephants and dogs. His work contains valuable information about the nature and structure of temples, palaces, mansions and houses. This shows that he had good knowledge of civil engineering as well. He had studied the science of meteorology as he states in his work what kind of clouds will bring us rain etc. It is a pity that Vārāhamihira could not succeed in founding a school of his own to continue a systematic study of these different branches of science.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the reasons why in the Gupta period sanskrit literature attained its perfection in both form and content.
2. Why were didactic stories included in the Mahabharata and by whom?
3. Mention the new topics besides the old five distinguishing feature (*pañcha lakṣṇas*) which were added to the Purāṇas during the Gupta period.
4. Discuss the importance of the commentaries written on the Sūtras of the six systems of Indian philosophy during the Gupta period.
5. Mention some important works written in sanskrit.....by the Buddhists and the Jain scholars during the Gupta period.
6. Describe critically the Kāvya and Dramas written by Kālidāsa.
7. Discuss any three important didactic works written during the Gupta period.
8. Discuss the contribution of the Āryabhata and Vārāhamihira to scientific literature of ancient India.

Chapter 5

Impact of Islām on Indian Culture

The conquest of Sindh by the Arabs under Muhammad-bin-Qasim in the early years of the eighth century did not have any material influence on the life of the people in the vast sub-continent as a whole. Similarly, the repeated invasions of the Mahmud of Ghazni left no material heritage in the social, cultural or political fields. It was, however, with the defeat of Prithviraj Chauhan by Muhammad Ghauri and his slave general Qutb-ud-Din Aibak at Tarain in 1192, and the rapid conquest of Ajmer, Meerut, Aligarh and Delhi that the establishment of Muslim rule became an accomplished fact. From 1193, under the Sultanate, the impact of Islam began to be felt in all spheres in Northern India and parts of the Deccan. The Sultanate, however, had to safeguard itself against repeated foreign invasions from the north-west, against the ambitions and adventures of the ruling section and against local powers which could combine against the newly established power. The Hindus generally had a contempt for the Sultanate. For them it was a period of resistance which when it failed in the political field was projected in the culture and social relations.

EFFECT OF MUSLIM CONQUEST ON INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

The Sultan of Delhi was in theory an unlimited despot, bound by no law, subject to ministerial check, and guided by no will except his own. The people had no rights only obligations, they

had to carry out his commands. Very little was achieved in the administrative field. For establishing peace the rulers had to contend not only against the Hindus who formed the resistant elements, but they had to be in constant conflict with their own Amirs or Military Chiefs whom they appointed as governors of the various administrative divisions. But in the revenue department the Sultans had to depend mostly on the local machinery as they had no trained staff to do the work of assessment and collection. Administration of the villages during this period continued to be carried by the more or less autonomous *panchayats*.

Babur and Humayun continued the administrative arrangements of the Sultanate period. But Sher Shah clearly defined the territorial limits of the *subahs* and except for Multan and Bengal established a uniform system of administration throughout his dominions. Similarly Sher Shah's Revenue System formed the basis of the system introduced during Akbar's reign. His policy of toleration towards the Hindus and not debarring them from service, both civil and military, also contributed to the success of his administration. The administrative policy and reforms formed the basis for the efficient and progressive government and administrative machinery developed by Akbar.

Akbar did away entirely with one all powerful Wazir and divided his powers and functions among four ministers of nearly equal

power, rank and status. He divided his empire into twelve *subahs*. The *subahs* were further divided into *sarkārs* and *parganāhs*. A judicious fiscal policy was initiated and to conciliate the large non-Muslim population, religious taxes such as pilgrim's tax and *jizyāh* were abolished. Currency was also placed on a sound footing. Simultaneously with the establishment of peace and prosperity through an efficient administrative machinery, there was a great development in the educational and cultural fields including art and architecture.

Jahangir did not make any material changes in the system of administration, but both finance and general administration deteriorated to such an extent during his regime that his successor Shahjahan, was largely occupied in restoring stability and efficiency.

The destructive forces, which had begun to undermine the edifice of the Mughal empire during Shahjahan's regime due to his intolerance in religion gained increased momentum as a result of the unstatesman-like policy of Aurangzeb. His abrogation of Akbar's policy of religious toleration and reverting to the ideal of transforming India into a strictly Islamic state, his discriminatory fiscal policy and methods of administration of justice were responsible for ever-increasing resistance on the part of the Marathas, Rajputs, Bundelas, Jats and Sikhs, who developed later into formidable powers and were in no small measure responsible for the downfall of the Mughal empire.

According to Sarkar the two hundred years of Mughal rule from the accession of Akbar to the death of Muhammad Shah (1556-1749) gave to the whole of northern India and much of the Deccan also, oneness of official language, administrative system and coinage and also a popular lingua-franca.

IMPACT OF ISLAM ON SOCIAL LIFE

In the social field the strong conservatism and the natural antipathy of the Hindus against the Muslim invaders and the policy of religious intolerance and persecution of the non-Muslim population by the rulers constituted unsurmountable barriers against any fusion of the conquerors and the conquered.

Muslim rulers such as Alauddin, Firoz Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodi caused great persecution of the Hindus and inflicted many cruelties and injustices on them. Only Muslims were appointed on the high administrative posts. The Hindus were not allowed to worship openly. They were discriminated in every matter and were considered inferior to Muslims. The Jazia tax was imposed on the Hindus. Originally, Brāhmaṇas were exempted from paying this tax but Sultan Firoz Tughlaq imposed this tax upon them also. The Sultans hoped that the discriminatory treatment and economic pressure would make the bulk of the Hindus embrace Islam but this wish of theirs was not fulfilled.

However, close contacts between the two over such a long period brought about changes in the social lives of both. The idea of the brotherhood of Islam and equality of its adherents had a powerful appeal for the low cases among the Hindus who were looked down upon by the people of high castes and there were large scale conversions especially in Bengal. Islam minimized the importance of birth and heredity and its influence quickened in Hinduism the feelings of social equality and brotherhood.

EFFECT OF ISLAM ON HINDU CASTE SYSTEM

The immediate result of the Muslim conquest was the rigidity of the caste system. Caste rules were framed in such a way that no

loophole was left for any intrusion by outsiders who were declared *Mlechchhas* or untouchables. But in the long run the Islamic ideas of brotherhood and equality tended to break these barriers through the teachings of religious reformers like Rāmānand, Kabir, Chaitanya, Nānak, Dādū and others.

EFFECT OF CASTE SYSTEM ON MUSLIMS

The caste system has not left the Indian Muslims unaffected. The Syed, the Sheikh, the Pathan, the Malik, the Momin, the Mansoor and a host of other caste names may be mentioned to show the divisions among the Muslims. In most cases these Muslims marry within their own group.

EFFECT OF ISLAM ON POSITION OF WOMEN

Due to the seclusion and low status of women in the Muslim society and law and the sense of insecurity that followed the invasions of the Muslims Hindu women were forced to seek refuge in their homes, and the adoption of *Pardāh* greatly influenced the life of Hindu women besides reducing their status.

In the *royal harems* of Hindu rulers, the *Pardāh* system was rigidly enforced. The queens of Raja Rudra Pratap of Puri used to visit Chaitanya in covered palanquins. Akbar issued orders that young women should always move out only in *Pardāh*.

The evil practice of child infanticide also started due to the influence of the Muslims. Child marriage of the Hindu girls became prevalent to avoid their kidnapping by the Muslims.

EFFECT ON SLAVERY

Muslim rulers kept men and women as slaves. Alauddin Khilji had as many as 84,000 slaves.

As a result of contact with the Muslim rulers the Hindu rulers also began to appoint a large number of male and female slaves in their palaces and the condition of slaves also deteriorated in this period.

EFFECT OF HINDU SOCIETY ON THE MUSLIMS

The influence exerted by the Hindus on the Muslim social life and custom was no less remarkable. At the birth of a child, even in Muslim families, songs are sung as among the Hindus and the mother is considered to be impure for fixed days after the birth of a child. At the time of marriage the pomp and procession, feasts and festivities, the songs sung by women, the presents, the practical jokes and the playful practices are all alike in both the communities.

Muslims became monogamous as a result of contact with the Hindus. Remarriage of widows became rare under Hindu influence. Even some Muslim women committed *Jauhar* which was a Rajput custom.

EFFECT OF ISLAM ON DRESS AND AMUSEMENTS

Muslim villager of Bihar or Bengal or Punjab or U.P. wears a dress which is indistinguishable from that of his Hindu compatriot. The *pyjāmās* are worn by a majority of Muslims but the Hindus also wear *pyjāmās*. The ornaments worn by women are common to both communities. *Achkan* and *Salwār*, no doubt, owe their introduction to Muslim influence but many Hindus now wear these clothes.

Hunting, hawking, chaughan (polo) and many other games became Mohammadanized in form and technique.

EFFECT OF ISLAM ON GARDENING

In gardening the Mughal rulers contributed to developing a sense of balance, harmony and precision. Many Hindu rulers imitated the plan of these gardens.

EFFECT OF ISLAM ON FOOD

The Muslims were accustomed to sumptuous dinners and sometimes as many as 100 dishes were served on their table. There is no doubt that many new preparations were introduced in Indian diet as a result of the contact of the Hindus with the Muslims.

EFFECT OF ISLAM ON INDIAN ECONOMY

(a) Agriculture. Agriculture did not flourish as a result of discriminatory and highly repressive policy of assessment and the measures adopted by the lowly paid and generally corrupt officials for its realization under the Sultanate. None of the Sultans except Firoz Tughlaq, took any steps for the improvement and development of agriculture. Most of the farmers were non-Muslims, who according to the generally followed Turko-Afghan policy of administration, were to be persecuted till they were either converted or exterminated.

(b) Trade. An important result of the advent of Islam was the restoration of contact with the outside world. Hundreds of traders from Bukhara and Samarkand, Balkh and Khurasan, Khwarizm and Persia and travellers from Europe poured into India. The Mughal government facilitated and fostered commercial relations with European nations as well and allowed them to establish their factories in coastal towns. This resulted not only in commercial contacts but also in an exchange of ideas, customs, and traditions and even led to a quickening of contemporary local thought.

(c) Handicrafts. During the two hundred years of Mughal rule towns and cities prospered while the peasants in the villages suffered from excessive taxation and from oppressive measures of collection. They were often compelled to abandon the country and seek a more tolerable mode of existence in the towns. In the imperial *kārkhānās* luxury goods of great value and beauty were produced but low wages and oppression was the lot of the skilled workmen.

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

The famous universities and centres of learning had grown stagnant before the advent of the Muslim rule and such that had survived were destroyed by the Muslim conquerors. The Muslim conquerors introduced a new system of education through the media of Arabic and Persian but in spite of the establishment of a large number of *madarssars* they served only a small section of the people. The non-Muslim majority was not admitted to these institutions. It was only during Sikandar Lodi's rule that the Hindus connected with the courts of Muslim rulers commenced to study Persian literature.

COMING OF PAPER TO INDIA

According to Abdul Qadir paper came to India about the 10th century A.D. This factor greatly helped in the development of education. It now became possible to produce manuscript copies of works in various branches and thus facilitate teaching and learning. It also led to the foundation of a large number of libraries. For example, Jalal-ud-din Khalji established a library at Delhi, the Bahmani kings one at Ahmadnagar and Mahmud Gawan another at Bidar.

A few Sanskrit works were translated into Persian and for the first time a number of

historical works were written. In Bengal the rulers got many Saṅskṛt works such as *Māhābhārata*, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and others translated into Bengali. This period also marked a great development of modern languages such as Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi etc. Amir Khusarau (1255-1325) the famous Persian poet composed many Hindi verses.

Towards the end of this period Urdu began to be developed as a result of increasing contacts between the hindus and Muhammadans. This was the result of the synthesis of Hindi words and expressions with words of Persian and even Turkish origin.

DEVELOPMENT OF HINDI AND OTHER INDIAN LANGUAGES

Prthviraj Rāso by Chand Bardāi was perhaps the first work in Hindi. The Hindi verses of Amir Khusarau were followed by the *Padmāvat* (completed in 1540) of Jāyasī and the *Rāmācharitamānāsa* of Tulsi Dās. (1574 A.D). The religious poems of reformers like Kabir (1425-1518 A.D), Dādu (C.A.D. 1600), Nānak (1469-1538 A.D) Namdeva (born 1270 A.D.) and others greatly helped the growth of Indian languages.

The peace and prosperity of Akbar's reign gave a literary stimulous and there was a sudden growth of vernacular literature in all the states. A number of good works were produced in Bengali, Marathi, Punjabi, Sindhi and Eastern Hindi. Vidyapati's songs in Maithili. Chandidāsa's in Bengali, Mīrās poems in Rajasthani and Nathswami's in Maharashtra were not only popular but recognized literary works.

History. The Arabs kept a regular record of their campaigns and activities in whatever part of the world they went. The advent of the Muslims led to the production of a large

number of chronicles which serve as a very authentic source of the history of the period. As a result of Akbar's orders Abul Fazl's famous works *Akbarnāmā* and *Ain-i-Akbarī* were written, Nizamuddin Ahmad's *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Abdul Qadir Badauni's *Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārīkh* and a number of other historical works were compiled while *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, the history of Kashmir, was translated into Persian.

Akbar tried to reform and regulate the educational methods for the teaching of Arabic and Persian on the one hand and Saṅskṛt on the other. The adoption of Persian as the court language provided a great incentive for the Hindus to take up the study of this language. Before long the Hindus became so proficient in Persian as to be appointed even to posts which were concerned with drafting of *Farmānas* or royal orders.

During the reign of Akbar and Jahangir and to a limited extent in Shahjahan's time scholars were commissioned to translate works from Saṅskṛt and other languages into Persian. Such work was done by the collaboration of Persian and Saṅskṛt scholars.

Akbar's reign also marked a great development of Persian literature both prose and poetry. During the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan there were no marked developments in the literary field.

IMPACT OF ISLĀM ON HINDUISM

Religion

Brahmanical religion failed to provide any bulwark against the onslaughts of the Muslim invaders. Demolition and destruction of the large number of temples all over the land by the Muslim conquerors, and large scale conversions shook the convictions of a section of the Hindūs in the infallibility of their religious beliefs. The emphatic stress of Islām on the Unity of God influenced the outlook of

some reformers¹ of the Hindū religion during this period. They advocated that the true religion consists in *Bhakti* or devotion to God, and not in the practice of rituals. They also denounced caste by birth. The disciples of these reformers included both Hindus and Muslims. The teachings of these reformers went a long way in bringing Hindus and Muslims together. The *Sūfis* who migrated to India with the Muslim traders after the conquest of India by the Muslims, spread the ideas of Islāmic philosophy and mysticism through the length and breadth of India. The names of Khwājāh Muin-ud-Dīn Chishtī of Ajmer, Bābā Farīd of Pak Patan and Saiyed Gesudaraz of the Deccan deserve special mention.

The Muslim mystic who sets out upon the path of union or absorption always needs a spiritual guide, for if a man has no teacher his Imām is Satan. Hindu scriptures also abound in references to the necessity of a Guru who is to guide the disciple through the difficult and rigorous discipline he has to go through.

It would, however, be historically incorrect to say that these monotheistic and anti-caste movements among the Hindus originated in Islām. It was indeed the *Upaniṣads* which propounded the idea of oneness of God. So what really happened after the Muslim conquest was a re-emphasis on the essential monotheistic character of the idea of God the superiority of the path of devotion over ritualistic sacrifice.

But from the time of Devala (early eighth century A.D) to Todarmal in the time of Akbar, Hindu law was being continuously changed with the object of strengthening the social bonds and of providing Hindūism with a defensive armour.

The orthodoxy, deep faith and pride of the Muslims in their religion had their

repurcussion on the Hindūs also. The Hindū rulers of Rajasthan like Rana Hamir, Kumbha, Sangram Singh and those of Vijayanagar like Krishnadeva Raya and Rama Raya displayed their valour as champions of *Dharma*. It was a direct outcome of India's contact with Islām that to support and safeguard Hindū religion and society was their main aim in life.

INFLUENCE OF HINDUISM ON ISLĀM

The Muslim conquerors adapted themselves to the political, social and religious conditions of this country. Many of them had to follow a policy of religious toleration towards the Hindus. Some Muslim rulers married the daughters of Hindu rulers. These married women were also influenced by Islām. The Hindus who had become converts to Islām could not give up completely their traditional beliefs. Other Muslims also adopted many Hindu customs. They started celebrating the festival of *Śabe Barāt* in imitation of the *Śivarātri* festival of the Hindus, *Tāziā* processions are found only in India. It is most probably an imitation of the religious processions of the Hindus. Akbar put Tilak on his forehead like the Hindus. He had great regard for the *Rākhi* festival of the Hindus.

EFFECT OF HINDUISM ON SŪFĪS

The Sūfi saints like the Hindus laid emphasis on love and devotion. They adopted a life of simplicity and piety. They did not differentiate between the Hindus and the Muslims. In fact it was a faith for persons who were free from religious intolerance and tolerance is a chief characteristic of Hindu culture. Khwājā Muin-ud-din Chishtī, Śhikh Salīm Chishtī, Malik Muhammad Jāyāsī etc. were revered both by the Hindus and the Muslims.

EFFECT OF HINDUISM ON MUSLIM RULERS

Several Muslim rulers respected Hindu saints and Sadhus. The Sultan of Kashmir used to go to the temple of Amarnāth and Śārādādevī. Some Muslim rulers granted *waqfs* for the maintenance of Hindu institutions. Many Muslim rulers began to appoint Hindus on important posts. The Muslim rulers of Bijapur, Golconda and Bengal appointed Hindus on high posts in administration. Muhammad Tughluq appointed a Hindu named Sri Raj as his Wazir.

GRANTS TO HINDU RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS BY MUSLIM RULERS

Adil Shahi, Kutub Shahi and Asaf Shahi dynasties made a number of grants to Brāhmaṇas. Similarly the Maratha rulers made endowments to Muslim places of worship. Muhammad Shah of Delhi made a grant of large zamindari to the Mahant of Bodh Gaya. Even Aurangzeb by his *firmāns* gave grants to the priests of the famous temple of Maheśvarnath and to priests in the village of Basti. On the other hand, the Hindus even now assemble in large numbers at the *Dargāh* of a Muslim saint on the occasion of *Urs* fairs at places like Ajmer Shareef, Bihar Shareef, Manes Shareef and Phulwari Shareef. Hindu masses join the Muslim celebrations of Muharram all over north India.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Simplicity and severity were the main characteristics of the Islāmic architecture. The composition of lines and angles was uppermost in an Indian architect's mind. Another important feature of Indian architecture was the exuberance of sculpture decoration. The

impact of Islāmic architecture is most visible in the buildings of the North where the Saracenic emphasis on harmony and form is blended with Indian emphasis on splendor and decoration.

There were three important factors which led to the amalgamation of the foreign and indigenous styles of architectures : (1) the Muslim rulers had to employ Indian architects and masons (2) the early Muslim rulers used the material of Hindu temples in making their mosques and tombs and (3) some Muslim rulers converted Hindu and Jain temples into mosques, by making necessary alterations.

Soon after the conquest of north India the Muslims started building imposing mosques and minarets not only to provide for their religious needs but also as symbols of conquest for impressing the Indians with the majesty of their power. The earliest buildings of the Slave dynasty were the great Quwwat-ul-Islām mosque with the magnificent Qutab Minar at Delhi and the Qutbi mosque at Ajmer out of the materials that became available from the demolished Hindu and Jain temples. Soon after as the Muslim conquest spread many mosques, forts, palaces, etc., were built not only in Delhi but also in provincial capitals.

While the Hindu system of construction was based on column and architrave the Muslims in India employed arches and vaults. Strength and grace were the outstanding characteristics of Hindu architecture. The earlier buildings of the Sultanate period at Delhi bear a definite stamp of the traditions of Hindu architecture. Buildings of a later date, however, are marked by their breadth and spaciousness. Pendative and squint arches domes, minars, half domed double portals are characteristic of these buildings. In short, this period marked the evolution and development of a new-type of Hindu-Muslim architecture in which the simple severity of the Muslim

architecture was toned down, and the plastic exuberance of the Hindu was restrained. The craftsmanship, ornamental richness and general design remained Hindu, the arches, the domes plain walls and spacious interiors were features of Muslim architecture.

Fatehpur Sikri and the tombs of Akbar and Itmad-ud-Daula remain specimens of an imperfect fusion. Taj Mahal is a living monument of the perfect synthesis of the Islāmic and Indian styles of architecture.

The influence of Saracenic style is visible not only in the monuments but also in the utilitarian works—houses, streets, bathing places and even in the places of worship.

The spirit of synthesis which manifested itself in many spheres was best expressed in the field of architecture. The distinctive features of the Muslim architecture were massive and extensive buildings impressive domes, tall minarets, lofty portals, open courtyards and massive walls bereft of sculpture. The Hindu architecture on the other hand was characterised by stability, majesty, magnificence, sublimity and infinite richness. As a result of the synthesis of these two styles a new style of architecture developed which is called Indo-Muslim architecture.

MUSIC

By combining the Indian Veenā and the Iranian Tambūrā. Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) was able to produce the *Sitār*. The *tablā* is nothing but a modification of Indian Mrḍaṅga. A fusion of Hindu and Iranian systems led to the evolution of light songs, like *qawwālī* instead of only classical strains.

There was a large number of musicians attached to Akbar's court, the chief being Tansen. During Akbar's reign *rāgas* were considerably modified under foreign influence. They were on the whole to the advantage of

music and helped to give northern music some of the more pleasing characteristics. Music continued to flourish during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan.

PAINTING

The Indo-Saracenic school of painting is one of the richest contributions to Indian culture. It showed Chinese influence. Intense individuality, proper spacing and symmetry were the characteristics of Chinese art. In India these Chinese characteristics were rapidly dropped. The scenes and features were Indianized. It also led to the development of a number of sub-styles such as the Rājput and Pahāri styles which were greatly influenced by ancient Hindu ideals while the Deccan, Lucknow, Kashmir and Patna styles of painting had predominantly Muslim characteristics.

Not only talented Persian artists, like Mir Saiyed Ali of Tabriz and Khwaja Abdus Samad of Shiraz, but Hindu artists such as Daswanath, Basawan and others were trained to execute miniatures for the illuminated manuscripts of *Zafarnāmā*, *Razm-nāmā*, etc. Painting of portraits, scenes and animals reached their zenith during Jahangir's reign. By that date two main schools of painting, the Mughal and the Rājput, could be distinguished. The Mughal school is also called Indo-Persian. The Rājput school is essentially Hindu in expression. Both these schools, however, were influenced by one another, and as in the case of architecture, a synthesis of the two schools was gradually brought about.

MEDICINE

The Unānī system of medicine was introduced into India by the Muslims. The large number of Hakims attached to the royal courts and often holding high mansabs, provided an additional and relatively cheap agency for rendering medical aid to the sick.

We have discussed above the impact of Islām on the administrative system, social life, economy, education and learning, religion and art and architecture of India. It has not been a one way traffic. In many social, economic or spiritual aspects of life, if Hindus have been influenced by their Muslim brethren, the Muslims have not remained unaffected. It is thus clear that inspite of all differences and distinctions that exist between Hindus and Muslims both have laboured and lived to develop a synthetic culture which is the Indian culture and which at once distinguishes an Indian from any foreigner coming from the West or the East.

The long association, the growth of converted Indo-Muslim community, the

demand for peace, justice, security and efficient administration, the spirit of tolerance, the desire to admire, assimilate each other's custom, broader and tolerating outlook of the Hindu and Muslim saints and their attempts to unify the two communities, some Muslim rulers' liberal patronage to fine arts and literature and influence of several liberal movements in Medieval India, led the synthesis of Hindu and Muslim communities to imbibe each others' thoughts, traditions and customs, resulting in many important changes in Indian society.

Reference

1. Please see Chapter 4 for the details of the Bhakti movement.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the effect of muslim conquest on Indian administration during the Sultanate and the Mughal period.
2. How was the social life of the Hindus affected by the conquest of northern India by the Muslims?
3. What was the effect of Hindu society on the Indian Muslims?
4. Describe critically the effect of the conquest of northern India by the muslims on Indian economy.
5. "The Muslim conquest of northern India ruined the educational system and learning of the Hindus?" Elaborate the above statement by giving suitable examples.
6. Discuss the development of Hindi and other modern Indian languages during the 15th and 16th centuries of Christian era.
7. Describe critically the impact of Islam on Hinduism and the influence of Hinduism on Islam.
8. Discuss the development of Indo-muslim architecture bring out the changes which had taken place as a result of the synthesis of the Islamic and Indian styles of architecture.
9. "The Indo-Saracenic school of painting is one of the richest contributions to Indian culture." Elaborate the above statement.

Chapter 6

Bhakti Movement : Kabīr, Nānaka and Chaitanya

EARLY HISTORY OF THE BHAKTI MOVEMENT

The feeling of *bhakti* or devotion can be traced back to the *Rgveda*. It is the very first hymn of the *Rgveda* which gives expression to a feeling of intimacy with the highest god. It is said 'O Agni be easy of access to us as a father is to his son'. In the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* it is said that the divine help, the reward to *bhakti*, is necessary before one can be saved. The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* speaks of the highest devotion to God. In the fourth century B.C. Pāṇini refers to the object of devotion in the *Astadhyayī* (VI, 23). The earliest god connected with *bhakti* is Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. In the *Bhagavadgītā* there is emphasis on love and devotion to God. The attitude of love to the Supreme God continued to be recommended in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

The downfall of Hindu political power in northern India was a stunning blow to Hinduism. For over one hundred years Hinduism lay prostrate before the invader, deprived of political, social and intellectual leadership. Slowly Hinduism recovered from the conquest and everywhere in Hindustan an intellectual and moral revival of Hinduism becomes visible. Hinduism seems to have cast off her lethargy and set herself deliberately to a process of reorganization. Prior to the Muslim invasion Śāṅkara had successfully refashioned Hindu doctrines. Later the great Āchāryas Rāmānuja, Mādhva and others

further strengthened these doctrines by their teachings.

THE NATURE OF THE BHAKTI MOVEMENT

Generally speaking the religious movement of this period 1300-1550 A.D. were non-ritualistic, based on *Bhakti* and emphasised a theism which was essentially Hindu but reflected the vigorous monotheism of Islam. It is the One Supreme that is the *Bhakta's* object of adoration, it is This grace and compassion that the devotee is asked to seek for salvation. All Bhakti cults are essentially monotheistic. It is immaterial whether he is called Śiva, Kṛṣṇa or Devī. They all symbolise the One and the Eternal. It is the religion, philosophy and social thinking that were created during this revival which enabled Hinduism to reassert itself in the following period that followed and gradually regain its preeminent position in India. In the religious life of India the glory of the period is most resplendent. Rāmānand, Kabīr, Mīra, and Vallabhāchārya in the north, Chaitanya in Bengal, Mādhva, Vedānta Deśika and numerous others in the south give to the religious life of the period a vitality which Hinduism never seems to have enjoyed before.

We have discussed above one chief characteristic of the Bhakti movement namely belief in one God who could be worshipped by a devotee by love and devotion irrespective of

the name one gave to that Supreme reality.

The second characteristic of the Bhakti movement was that there was no need to worship idols or to perform elaborate rituals for seeking his grace.

The third feature on which the Bhakti saints laid stress was the equality of all castes. There was no distinction of high or low as far as the devotion to God was concerned.

The fourth feature was the emphasis which these saints laid on Hindu-Muslim unity. According to these saints all men irrespective of their religion are equal in the eyes of God.

The saints preached in the language of the common people. They did not use Saṁskṛt which was the language of the cultured few.

These saints laid stress on purity of heart and practice of virtues like truth, honesty, kindness, charity. According to these saints God could be realized only by virtuous man.

These saints considered God as omnipresent and omnipotent. Even a householder could realise God by love and devotion.

Some saints regarded God as formless (*Nirguṇa*) while others consider him as having different forms (*Saguṇa*).

The basic principles of the Bhakti movement namely love and devotion to one personal god and the unity of God were mainly Hindu but as a result of contact with Islām more emphasis was laid on these principles than performance of outward rituals such as Yajñas, fasts, going to sacred places, bathing in the Ganges or worship of images. The Movement had two main objects in view. One was to reform Hindu religion to enable it withstand the onslaught of Islāmic propaganda. The second was to bring about a compromise between Hinduism and Islām.

FACTORS WHICH HELPED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BHAKTI MOVEMENT

There were a number of factors which contributed to the rise and growth of the *Bhakti* movement during the medieval period.

The first important factor was the destruction of Hindu temples by the invaders. They destroyed idols of Hindu gods and goddesses. The Hindus lost faith in the infallibility of their religious rites and, therefore, chose the path of love and devotion.

The second factor was the persecution of Hindus by the Muslim rulers, who tried to convert them to Islām and imposed *jaziya* if they were not prepared to become followers of Islām.

The third factor was the ill treatment of the lower classes in Hindu society by the persons of upper castes. The people of the lower castes had to suffer injustice and cruelties. So the teachings of the Bhakti saints who preached equality of castes as far as the devotion to God was concerned appealed to the people of lower castes.

The fourth factor was the elaborate rituals which the common man disliked. The Bhakti saints preached the path of devotion and discarded all rituals hence it appealed to the common man.

The fifth factor was the enthusiasm an inspiration of the Bhakti saints. They tried to remove the evils of Hindu society and gave it a new vigour and vitality.

The sixth factor was the inner vitality of Hindu religion which resulted in an intellectual and moral revival of Hinduism which affected every aspect of thought and generated new moral forces which helped to revitalise Hindu life and gave it the dynamism which enabled it to reassert itself in due course. In the sphere of religion and normal thinking in law, in literature and even in political ideals, a new

life came into being in India by the middle of the 16th century which K.M. Panikkar termed the first Indian Renaissance.

SAINTS OF BHAKTI MOVEMENT

Rāmānuja

The first great exponent of Bhakti was Rāmānuja. He lived in the eleventh century. He asked his followers to worship Viṣṇu. He did not believe in Śankara's *Advaita* doctrine according to which the universal soul and the individual souls are one. According to Rāmānuja the individual souls emanate from him but are not essentially one with the Supreme Reality. He, therefore, preached that the individual souls should seek His grace by love and devotion to him. His teachings appealed to large numbers of men in South India.

Rāmānanda

Rāmānanda flourished in North India in the fourteenth century. He entirely discarded the theory of caste system by birth. He preached the worship of Rāma and Sita. Persons of all castes became his disciples. Among his chief disciples there was a barber, a chamar and a weaver. He preached in Hindi which was the language of the common man in northern India. His followers are worshippers of Rāma whom they regard an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The chief centre of the followers of Rāmānanda is Ayodhya. Of all the disciples of Rāmānanda Kabīra is the most famous.

Kabīra

We have no historical information about the life of Kabīra. According to tradition he was the illegitimate son of a Brāhmaṇa widow. To hide her shame she threw the child in a

pond called the Lahar Talao at Banāras. A Muslim weaver named Nirū saw him and took pity on him and carried him to his home, where his wife brought him up with great affection and care. When he grew up he took up his father's trade but found time to moralise and philosophise.

His Teachings : Hindu-Muslim Unity. He tried for a synthesis of Islām and Hinduism by preaching communal harmony, and stressing those virtues which were common to both religions. The whole background of Kabīra's thought was Hindu. He speaks of Rāma. He seeks freedom from transmigration and hopes to attain the true path by means of *Bhakti*. But he makes no distinction between the Hindu and the Turk, whom he says are pot of the same clay and who are striving by different routes to reach the same goal. The constructive part of Kabīra's mission was to lay out a common path on which both Hindus and Muslims could tread together. According to Kabīra, the Guru is as important as God Himself. He says 'Consider the Guru as Govinda (God)'.

Against Idol Worship and Rituals. He was against idol worship and has an aversion for religious controversy and rituals and superstitions. He considered visits to places of pilgrimage useless. He equally condemned the Muslim rituals and *hajj* to Makkā. He remonstrated the Muslims for slaughter of cows and Brāhmaṇas for performing sacrifices involving slaughter of animals. He ridiculed the Muslim practice of circumcision and Brāhmaṇas for wearing the sacred thread. He also criticised the Śrāddhā feasts.

Against Caste System. Kabīra refused to accept caste system by birth. He refused to recognize the superiority of Brāhmaṇas as a caste. He advocated perfect equality of Śūdras and Brāhmaṇas. Both were born in the same way. All are children of the same God.

According to Kabīr one who meditates on God is a Brāhmaṇa because of his good conduct and not because he was born in a Brāhmaṇa family.

The main theme of Kabīr's social philosophy was that humanity is a sacred trust of the Almighty. The influence of his teachings spread to Punjab, Gujarat and Bengal and it continued to spread even under the Mughal rule.

Kabīr's Poetry. Kabīra's poetry is steeped in *Bhakti*, the religion of love. Written in the popular Hindi the songs of Kabīr are deliberately addressed to the people. He vehemently criticised the Hindu priests and the *qāzīs* for asking people to practise rituals which according to Kabīra are useless. The God whom he proclaimed was neither in Kābā nor in Kailāśa. The simple union with Divine Reality, according to him, was independent both of ritual and of bodily austerities.

Code of Ethics. He condemned pride and selfishness. One should cultivate the quality of humility. He appreciated the simplicity of the poor and condemned the vanity and pride of the rich. By such condemnation Kabīr preached the common brotherhood of man. According to him economic inequalities are due to one's own actions. Man should always do good deeds to gain their reward. Kabīra despised a miser and advised the rich to be generous and benevolent to the needy.

Kabīra's teachings were directed to the attainment of two main objectives namely inward spirituality to the exclusion of outward ritualism and the conciliation between the Hindus and the Muslims. He condemned plurality of gods, criticised dogmatism of every religion and stressed oneness of God. He was a great social reformer. His teachings had a profound influence on the masses. His disciples called *Kabīr-panthis* continued the traditions of Kabīr by reciting his *Rāmāiṇis*

Śakhās and *Sākhīs* to the people. His poetry added strength to the current of emotional integration which was started by saints like Rāmānand. The tangible result of Kabīr's teachings was that they widened the outlook of the people and opened avenues for mutual adjustment between Hindus and Muslims.

Guru Nānaka (1469-1538)

Life. Nanaka was born in 1469 in the village to Talwandi, modern Nankānā, in the Sheikhpura district of West Punjab. His parents belonged to Khatri caste. His father Kālu was the Patwāri of the village. Nānaka was educated in the village school. From his boyhood he showed a religious bent of mind and paid no attention to his studies.

Unity of God. Nānaka shared the full electric spirit of his times. He used both Hindu and Muslim names for God, Rāma, Govinda, Hari, Murārī, Rab and Rahīm. He wanted to demolish the wall that stood in the way of conciliation of the Hindus and the Muslims. His one mission in life was to unite the two communities.

His Social Ethics. He wanted to establish the religion of truth and remove evil. He wished to protect the poor and avoid unnecessary killing of all creatures. He held that it was a sheer folly to think in terms of caste. A man was to be revered for his devotion to God and not for his position in society, he says, "God knoweth man's virtues and inquireth not his caste. In the next world there is no caste. He preached that one should avoid greed, untruth and stealing."

Nanak was not in favour of retirement from active life. A devotee of God, according to him need not lead an idle and passive life. He praises the agricultural labourer who cultivates the field while sweat trickles down his cheeks and body. According to Nānaka the agricultural labourer's work is his real devotion to God

because everyone eats of his earnings.

He condemned traders who sold counterfeit goods or accumulated wealth by unlawful means. He also condemned those who hoarded goods to amass wealth.

According to Nānaka a man is the maker of his destiny. A man's fate is decided by his own acts. One should not beg. One should live by honest labour. Nānaka did not consider women impure. He condemned those law-givers who reviled the female sex. He advised women to be devoted worshippers of their God and devoted companions of husbands and lead a virtuous and chaste life.

His Religious Ideas. Nānaka regarded himself as the prophet of God, who received from His door step the signs, the chapters and traditions of the prophet. He drew his followers from among both the Hindus and the Muslims. He started the free community kitchen, called *Guru ka langar*. All his followers irrespective of their caste were persuaded to eat together. It was meant to inculcate the feeling of equality and brotherhood among his followers. He did not believe in contamination of food by the touch of a person of a lower caste.

He preached that his followers should have firm faith in one God, who is the supreme truth. He is the creator. He is omnipresent. He is not born nor does He die to be born again. He is unseen, Infinite, Inaccessible, Inapprehensible. He has no lust. He is pure, endless and all light. He discarded the worship of images. He educated people to distinguish superstitions from true religion. He condemned superstitions and formalism of both Hinduism and Islām. According to him Ganges water, the study of eighteen Purāṇas or the four Vedas or giving alms on holy days, or keeping fast and performing religious ceremonies is not true religion. To know God man should cultivate such virtues as kindness,

sincerity, justice, modesty, truth, right conduct and do good deeds. He laid stress on love, purity of life and preached that good deeds were more efficacious in securing salvation than metaphysical discussions. According to him that man alone was religious who looked on all men as equal. Religion does not consist in visiting sacred places or visiting Makka or bathing in the Ganges. It consists in leading a life of purity and love for all creatures.

He considered education essential for the attainment of true and complete life. True education helps the soul to unfold itself like a lotus of countless petals.

The universalism of Nānaka's message and reasonableness of his precepts brought about a moral renaissance in India. He preached to the high and the low without any distinction of caste or creed. Nānaka's mission was to reform the Hindu religion on the basis of unity of Godhead and bring about friendly relations between the Hindus and the Muslims. The entire teachings of Guru Nānaka are but a synthesis of the fundamental principles of Hinduism and Islām. By bringing up Kabira was a Muslim and by birth Nānaka a Hindu, yet they are both products of the fusion which was going on despite outward separation. Nānaka won the hearts of people by his transparent sympathy, characteristic humility and infinite forbearance.

Teachings of Guru Nānaka

1. There is one God. He is supreme truth. He is the creator. He is omnipresent. He is not born. He is formless, unseen, infinite, inaccessible, inapprehensible, and pure. The whole light is his.
2. He discarded worship of images.
3. He regarded himself as the prophet of God.
4. The Hindu and Muslim saints are the

diwāns in attendance upon the preserver.

5. He used both Hindu and Muslim nomenclature for God—Rāma, Govinda, Hari, Murāri, Rab and Rahīm.
6. He tried to unite the Hindus and the Muslims in an unbreakable bond of love and mutual understanding. He considered Hinduism and Islam as two ways but the God of both is one.
7. He emphasized unaffected faith in Guru and loving devotion to God.
8. He condemned superstitions and formalism of both Hinduism and Islām.
9. He rejected practice of austerities, fast, wearing sacred thread or ragged clothes and considered going about bathing at the places of pilgrimage as useless.
10. He laid emphasis on moral virtues such as mercy, contentment, continence, truth, benevolence, faith, honesty, humanity and civility. According to Nānaka Truth is higher than everything but higher still is truthful conduct.
11. He regarded all men as children of the same God and taught sympathy and compassion for the whole of human race.
12. He was against caste system. According to him a man should be honoured for his devotion to God and not for his social position. He did not like the haughty attitude of the highborn priestly class and started common kitchen for all his followers to remove caste distinctions.
13. He condemned those who regarded women as impure.
14. According to Nānaka man is the

maker of his own fortune. There is nothing like predestination.

15. He considered education essential for the attainment of true and complete life.

Vallabhāchārya

Life. Vallabhāchārya was a Tailang Brāhmaṇa. He preached the worship of Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛṣṇa. He was born in 1479 in the Telugu country. He visited Mathurā, Vṛndāban and many other sacred places and finally settled at Banāras.

His Teachings. Vallabhāchārya taught that there was no distinction between Brahma and the individual soul and the latter could get rid of bondage by Bhakti. He asked his followers to offer everything in the service of Kṛṣṇa. According to Vallabha only individuals who have the grace of Kṛṣṇa can be successful in the path of devotion. He advocated the worship of idols of Kṛṣṇa. Later the rituals of this sect became very complicated. Many followers of Vallabha composed poems on Kṛṣṇa in Hindi and thus contributed greatly to the spread of Kṛṣṇa cult.

Chaitanya (1486-1533)

Chaitanya was the greatest saint who preached the worship of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

Life. Chaitanya was born at Navadvīpa in 1486. His father Jagannātha Miśra was a religious and scholarly man and his mother Śachi was also a pious and religious minded lady. Chaitanya as a boy was an exceptionally brilliant student. At the early age of 15 he had mastered Saṁskṛt language literature, grammar and logic. At the age 22 he renounced the world and at the age of 30 he permanently settled at Puri. He wandered about the country, preaching the doctrine of love and the worship of Kṛṣṇa. Thousands of

residents of Bengal became his followers. Love was so great a passion with him that the thought of Kṛṣṇa playing upon his flute in the wild woods of Vṛndāvan threw him into an ecstasy.

His Teachings. According to Chaitanya Kṛṣṇa dwells in every soul and, therefore, gives respect to others, without seeking any for himself. He laid stress on humility and said that a Vaiṣṇava should be absolutely without pride. His heart, full of compassion for the poor and the weak, melted with pity as he saw the sorrows of mankind. He denounced caste and proclaimed the universal brotherhood of man and the worship of Hari as the only means of attaining the highest bliss. He asked his followers to teach the lowest *Chāṇḍāla* the lesson of devotion. It was why the high and the low, the Brāhmaṇa and the Śūdra listened to his message and followed him. For him Vaiṣṇavism was a living force, a rule of life, and not merely a religious principle to be practised by ascetics and recluses.

Chaitanya's concern was to exalt the superiority of Kṛṣṇa over all other Hindu deities. His cult of Kṛṣṇa was also a movement of Hindu reformation, freeing Hinduism from Brāhmaṇical oppression. He did not try to reform Hinduism by adopting any of the attractive features of Islām. He adored Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and attempted to spiritualise their lives in Vṛndāvan. Rādhā was conceived as the eternal enjoyed and Kṛṣṇa as the eternal enjoyer. Rādhā was conceived not as the wife of Kṛṣṇa but the beloved of Kṛṣṇa. He introduced devotional music or *kīrtan*. Every participant in the *kīrtan* was carried away by the torrent of religious excitement. In *kīrtan* all the disciples of Chaitanya whether one was a Brāhmaṇa or a low caste Hindu participated. He recognized that the Śūdrās were equally capable of developing spiritual personality. The followers of Chaitanya passed through the streets of Navadvīp singing and dancing in a

procession and devotional songs were sung in every house in Bengal. Thus Kīrtans cemented the bond of unity amongst different castes. Thus it was a revolutionary movement which brought about unity in Hindu society. But it was a revivalist movement as it did not borrow any ideas from Islām.

Removal of Caste Distinctions. Chaitanya had found the caste system eating into the vitals of our social fabric and he and his followers were determined to root out the evil from the society. One of Chaitanya's close associates whom he entrusted the work of social reform was Nityānanda. The latter allowed many low caste persons to become Chaitanya's followers. As a result of removal of caste distinction, many non-Brāhmaṇas gave spiritual initiation even to Brāhmaṇas in the post-Chaitanya age.

A COMPARISON OF THE TEACHINGS OF KABĪR, NĀNAKA AND CHAITANYA

Guru Nānaka acknowledged Kabīr as his spiritual teacher, and their teachings are very similar. The Sikhs recognize that their religion owes much to the doctrines of Kabīr, for they have included many lines composed by Kabīr in their sacred book, *Ādi Granth*. Like Kabīr, Guru Nānaka rejected idol worship, practice of austerities, fasts, wearing, ragged dresses and emphasized the futility of rituals at the cost of the spirit. He denounced the uselessness of wanderings and going about bathing at the places of pilgrimage. His teaching contemplates the gradual unfolding of the divine spark in man by the process of continued remembrance of God, while carrying on one's daily avocation. He like Kabīr lays great stress on moral principles.

But there are some differences as well. While Kabīr is a believer in a personal God Nānaka regards God as *Nirankara* (formless).

Kabīr regards the universe shrouded in illusion (*māyā*). Nānaka considers it as created by God out of Himself. While Kabīr sometimes caused offence by talking very high of himself, Nānaka won the hearts of people by his sympathy characteristic humility and infinite forbearance.

In spite of these minor differences the goal of Kabīr and Nānaka was the same. Kabīr's mission was to lay out a common path which both Hindus and Muslims could tread together and the entire teachings of Guru Nanaka are but a synthesis of both the religions.

Chaitanya's concern, unlike that of Kabīr or Nānaka, was not with bringing people to an understanding of a God beyond all creeds and formulations. Chaitanya's main concern was to exalt the superiority of Kṛṣṇa over all other Hindu deities. As such Chaitanya's movement was a revivalist and not a syncretic movement. His movement was also a movement of reformation of Hindu society. He did not try to reform Hinduism by adopting any of the attractive features of Islām. Another difference between Kabīr and Chaitanya is his attitude towards caste system. No doubt he made disciples from all castes but he did not condemn the caste system as strongly as Kabīr or Nānaka did.

IMPACT OF BHAKTI MOVEMENT ON INDIAN SOCIETY

The Muslim thinkers and theologians were critical of many rituals of Hinduism. The saints of the Bhakti movement tried to reform Hinduism so that it could withstand the onslaught of Islām successfully. The movement succeeded in realising to a great extent the object of bringing about the simplification of worship and liberalising the traditional caste system. The message of the Bhakti saints that caste by birth was no bar to religious salvation had its impact on the majority of Hindus. The

movement also enriched the literature of modern Indian languages such as Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Maithili and Gujarati etc.

The influence of Islām leavened but did not alter the structure of Hindu society, which retains the element of exclusiveness and untouchability to this day.

Bhakti movement not only prepared a meeting ground for the devout men of the two communities, but it also preached human equality and openly condemned caste by birth and elaborate rituals which were prevalent in Hindu society. It envisaged a society in which there would be justice and equality for all and in which men of all creeds shall be able to develop to their full moral and spiritual stature. The Bhakti saints taught universal toleration and brought about a revolution in social structure of Indian society. All the saints loved humanity and were devoted to God.

The teachings of the Bhakti saints, at some places resulted in removal of caste distinctions. The lower castes could participate in religion on an equal footing. At some places even untouchables were admitted to the temples. Women were allowed to give spiritual initiation. In fact the movement brought the enfranchisement of women. Formalities of religion were strongly criticised and an attempt was made for Hindu-Muslim approachment. The contemporary Hindu society derived nourishment from the teachings of Bhakti saints. The saints did not attempt to destroy the old Hindu religion and society but to remould the social institutions and inner spirit of Hindu religion. In the words of K.M. Panikkar it was a renaissance in the Medieval period. According to R.C. Majumdar, "at a time when religious ideas tended to become dry, lifeless and static and rituals and ceremonials took the place of spiritual enlightenment the teachings and personalities of the saints galvanised the inert masses."

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss briefly the chief characteristics of the Bhakti movement.
2. Discuss the factors which helped the development of the Bhakti movement.
3. Critically describe the main teachings of Kabir.
4. Give a brief but critical description of the main teachings of Guru Nānaka.
5. Discuss the nature of the main teachings of Chaitanya.
6. Give briefly a comparative description the teachings of chaitanya and those of Kabir and Nanakā.
7. Describe critically the impact of Bhakti movement on the contemporary Hindu society of India.

Chapter 7

Renaissance in the Nineteenth Century

Rām Mohun Roy and Brahmo Samāj, Swamī Dayānand and Ārya Samāj and Vivekānand

The different phases of Indian life were during the 19th century permeated with the spirit of renaissance, a great awakening; the efforts of men began consciously to be directed towards the redemption of India from the state of all round degradation to which she had been reduced during a long process of decline and fall the depth of which have been reached in the 18th century. The spirit of revival and recreation spread from sphere to sphere of national life deeply affecting society, religion and literature.

In the 19th century certain factors combined to this awakening.

MAIN FACTORS

The most important factor was the impact of British rule on Indian economy and society. When the British established a good administrative system in India there was peace and order in the country. The farmers now began to grow commercial crops such as indigo, jute and opium which were needed for export to foreign countries. They also began to grow tea and coffee. Only those crops were grown which were required as raw material for industrialized countries. Thus the self sufficient economy of the village came to an end.

Many traders now supplied raw material to the artisans and purchased the goods produced by them. Had this process developed Indian crafts and industries would have developed but when the British occupied all the trade centres this process of development came to an end.

The *second factor* was the emergence of the new middle class in Indian society. With the establishment of the East India Company's rule in Bengal there grew up many towns. People from rural areas flocked to urban areas in search of employment. Most of these families got their sons educated in English schools so that they might become advocates, teachers, physicians, engineers or government servants. This middle class was a minority of Indian society but it was dynamic minority which aimed at destroying all traditions which hampered the emergence of new India.

The *third factor* which helped the emergence and growth of this renaissance was the challenge of Christianity. Christian missionaries like Carey, Marshman and Ward got translated the Bible into Bengali and distributed it among the masses. The Christian missionaries questioned the social customs and religious practices of the Hindus. The cause of Christianity received great impetus by the teachings of Alexander Duff and Henry

Derozio. Alexander Duff launched a crusade against Hinduism. He converted many students of Hindu College, Calcutta. About the influence of Henry Derozio we shall read in this chapter with the Young Bengal Movement. Rāma Mohun Roy criticized the Christian missionaries about the uncharitable remarks about Hinduism and Islām.

The *fourth factor* was the spread of Western Education. The urge for English education had become as insistent that Rām Mohun wrote 'two-thirds of the native population of Bengal would be exceedingly glad to see their children educated in English learning.' The Christian missionaries made a systematic attempt to introduce the elements of modern knowledge—especially history, geography and science. These English educated young men criticised all Hindu traditions and customs and even drank intoxicant drinks to show that they were modern. But they tried to examine every aspect of life rationally and thus helped the process of modernisation.

The *fifth factor* was the desire of some officers East India Company to modernise India so that the Indians might purchase British goods and let them earn huge profits by trade. Their aim was economic penetration of the country and consolidate British rule in India.

The *sixth factor* which helped the advent of Renaissance was desire of some officers of the East India Company to reform Indian society. They were guided by their humanitarian instincts and wished to remove caste disabilities and injustice done to women in Indian society.

Finally, the most important factor which helped the advent and growth of the Renaissance was the vitality of Indian culture. When India was faced with the challenge of the Western impact modern Indian rooted in

his traditions gladly accepted those elements of Western culture which seemed to him of value in adapting Indian society to modern conditions and the best example of this synthesis was Rāma Mohun Roy who examined every Indian tradition and custom rationally and contributed a good deal in the process of modernisation of India.

THE YOUNG BENGAL MOVEMENT

In the beginning of the 19th century there was a new awakening in Bengal as a result of the impact of foreign thought, philosophy and educational system. The impact was confined to the English educated youth of Bengal. This group called itself 'Young Bengal'. Henry Vivian Derozio was the leader of the Young Bengal Movement. He was a teacher at Hindu College Calcutta. He inspired his students to think rationally, to question all authority, to love liberty, equality and freedom and to worship truth. The chief characteristic of the group was to criticise all traditions and customs. This group did not have any permanent impact on the residents of Bengal because it lacked organizational framework and did not have any constructive programme of reform. But Rāma Mohuna Roy was the best representative of the rational thought which was a direct result of the Young Bengal Movement. He wanted to reform Hinduism in such a way that it might have a rational basis for all its principles and practices. He, therefore, laid emphasis on the essential unity of the three main religions—Hinduism, Islām and Christianity.

RĀMA MOHUN ROY (1774-1833)

His Life. Rāma Mohun was born in 1774 in a rich family of Bengal. As a student he studied Persian, Arabic and Saṁskṛt languages. In his youth he had differences with his father about

his religious views and came to Banāras where most probably he studied the English language. His father died in 1803 and the same year he published his first book '*Tohfāt-ul-Mohiddīn*' in which he criticised idol worship and declared that all religions had full faith in one God. From 1805 to 1814 he served an English concern which managed the Zamīndārī system on behalf of the District Collectors. In 1814 Rammohun purchased a Zamīndārī from which he had annual income of Rs. 10,000 and he settled permanently in Calcutta.

In 1815 he founded the *Ātmiya Sabhā*. In the weekly meetings of the Sabhā the members discussed the basic principles of Hinduism. In 1819 he defeated a great scholar named Subrahmanya Śāstri on the question of idol worship. Since then the Christian missionaries extended their full support to Rāma Mohun. In 1821 William Adam, a Christian missionary began to have faith in the doctrine of *Advaita* (unity of individual and universal soul) as a result of his close contact with Rāma Mohun, and he founded the Calcutta Unitarian Committee. Since then the Christian Missionaries parted company from Rām Mohuna and they did not agree with the doctrine of *Advaita* of which Rāma Mohun was a great advocate.

His Religious and Philosophical Ideas

He vigorously opposed worship of idols and prevalence of meaningless religious rituals. He held that all the sacred books of the Hindus preached worship of one God. According to him human reason was the final touchstone of truth of any doctrine—Eastern or Western. He believed that the philosophy of *Vedānta* was based on reason. He did not confine his application of the rational approach to Indian religions and the traditions alone. He insisted on applying this rational approach to Christianity as well. He did not accept the

elements of blind faith even in Christianity. This earned for him the hostility of the Christian missionaries. He vigorously defended Hindu religion and philosophy from the ignorant attacks of Christian missionaries. He believed that basically all religions preach a common message. His aim was to purge Hinduism of some of the grosser practices, prejudices and superstitions which had overwhelmed it, by an appeal to rationalism and by adapting it to the changed conditions of his age. He represented a synthesis of the thought of the East and the West.

As a Social Reformer

He rejected the barriers of caste divisions and stood forth as the high priest of Universalism and Love. The best example of his life-long crusade against social evils was the historic agitation he organized against the inhuman custom of women becoming *Satī*. When the orthodox Hindus petitioned to Parliament to withhold its approval of Bentinck's action of banning the rite of *Satī*, he organized a counter-petition of enlightened Hindus in favour of Bentinck's action.

He was a champion of women's rights. He attacked polygamy and the degraded state to which widows were often reduced. To raise the status of women he demanded that they be given the right of inheritance and property.

His Views on Education

Rāma Mohun Roy was in favour of modern education. He gave whole hearted co-operation to David Hare when the latter founded the famous Hindu College at Calcutta. He also maintained at his own cost an English School in Calcutta from 1817. Through his translations, pamphlets and journals he helped evolve a modern and elegant prose style for Bengali.

Public Agitator on Political Questions

He condemned the oppressive practices of the Bengal Zamīndars which had reduced the peasants to a miserable condition. He demanded that the maximum rents paid by the actual cultivators of land should be permanently fixed so that they too would enjoy the benefits of Permanent Settlement of 1793. He demanded the abolition of the Company's trading rights and the removal of heavy export duties on Indian goods. He also raised the demands of Indianisation of the superior services, separation of the executive and the judiciary, trial by jury and judicial equality between Indians and Europeans.

First Great Leader of Modern India

Rabindranath Tagore has rightly remarked: "Rām Mohun was the only person in his time, in the whole world of man, to realize completely the significance of the Modern Age. He knew that the ideal of human civilization does not lie in the isolation of independence, but in the brotherhood of interdependence of individuals as well as nations in all spheres of thought and activity." Rām Mohun Roy took a keen interest in the international events and everywhere he supported the cause of liberty, democracy and nationalism and opposed injustice, oppression and tyranny in every form. All his life he fought against social injustice and inequality even at great personal loss and hardship. In his life of service to society he often clashed with members of his family, with rich zamīndars and powerful missionaries and with high officials and foreign authorities. Yet he never showed fear nor shrank from his chosen course. It was Rām Mohun Roy who heralded the New Age, but he never totally rejected the old. Synthesis of the old and the new, of East and West, was the characteristic feature of Rām Mohun's life.

Brahmo Samāj

In 1828 Rām Mohun founded the *Brahmo Sabhā* which became famous as Brahmo Samāj in 1830. The Samāj laid emphasis on the worship of one omnipresent God. In the weekly meetings of the Samāj on Saturday evenings the Vedic hymns were first recited in Saṁskṛt and later the Bengali version of the hymns was read. In these meetings about 50-60 persons participated. His main aim in founding the Samāj was to solve the problem of ordinary English educated families of Bengal which were greatly disturbed by the propaganda of Christian missionaries, who vehemently criticised doctrines and practices of Hinduism. Rām Mohun accepted only those doctrines which were common to all the three religions namely Hinduism, Islām and Christianity. The Christian missionaries did not support the *Brahmo Samāj* as their aim in cooperating with Rām Mohun was to spread Christianity. Brahmo Samāj laid emphasis on the worship of one formless omnipresent God. In the worship only excerpts from the Vedas and the Upaniṣads were recited. Rām Mohun never claimed that he had founded a new religion different from Hinduism. Probably he started the practice of weekly prayer meetings as a result of his contact with the Christian missionaries.

In founding *Brahmo Samāj* the aim of Rām Mohun was to purify Hinduism and to preach the worship of one God. The Samāj was based on those teachings of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads and those of other religions which had some rational basis.

But the worship of one Omnipresent formless god soon excited the hostility of the orthodox citizens of Calcutta, who started a rival organization named the *Dharma Sabhā* with its organ, the *Samāchār Chandrikā* which

opposed Rām Mohun Roy's Bengali Weekly, *Samvāda Kaumudī*.

After Rām Mohun's death in 1833 the Brahmo Samāj had practically no organisation, no constitution, no membership, no covenant, no pledge upto 1841. Maharṣi Devendranāth Tagore (1817-1905) entered the Samāj in 1843 and he gave the Samaj a new life within five years. He introduced a regular form of church service, including thanksgiving, praise and prayer, in the place of the old practice of mere expositions of passages from the *Upaniṣads* attended with sermon and hymn. Mr. Keshav Chāndra Sen was another important member of Brahmo Samāj. His emphasis on Christian and Vaiṣṇava teachings and forms and the rapidity with which social reform was proceeding under his leadership led to a breach with the more conservative members of the Samāj, Keshav Chandra took a leading part in the passing of the Marriage Act of 1872, which among other things wanted to discourage child marriage, and for the minimum age of men and women marrying under that Act at eighteen and fourteen years complete respectively. When Keshav Chandra married his daughter under fourteen to the Maharāja of Cooch-Behar who was below sixteen years of age there was a schism in the Samāj. The Samāj actively supported the movement for widow remarriage, abolition of polygamy, women's education, improvement of the ryot's condition and temperance. Thus Brahmo Samāj played a conspicuous role in the social and religious reforms of the nineteenth century.

SWĀMI DAYĀNANDA (1824-1883)

His Life : Dayānanda was born in a Brāhmaṇa family at Taṅkāra in the Morvi State in Kathiawar in 1824. His father's name was Karasanji Tiwari and the child was named

Mulaji Dayārām. When he was fourteen years of age he kept fast on the Shivarātri day with other members of the family. At night other members of the family after worshipping Śiva began to sleep but Mulaji kept awake. When Mulaji saw a rat eating the offerings made to Śiva by the devotees, he thought that the idol of Śiva could not be real God. When the idol could not protect the offerings made to it, it could never protect the whole world. He thus came to realize that idol worship was of no avail. After some days the uncle and sister of Mulaji died and he made up his mind to find out the real nature of death. He renounced the world and practised yoga and wandered from the banks of the Narmadā to the caves of the Himālayas in search of true God, but failed in finding an answer to his quest.

In the end he reached Mathura where he studied Saṅskṛt grammar from Swamī Virajānanda for three years. Before the teacher permitted Dayānanda to go after finishing his studies he asked Dayānanda to promise to devote the rest of his life to preach the teachings of the *Vedas* and condemn blind belief in the Hindu religious practices. He started his work of preaching the message of the *Vedas* at Hardwar. Many orthodox Hindus tried to kill Dayānanda but the latter did not waver in his resolve. To fulfil the mission of his life he founded the Ārya Samāj in 1875. He once advised the ruler of Jodhpur not to be indulgent towards prostitutes. The prostitute persuaded Swamiji's cook Jagannātha to give powdered glass with milk to Swamiji and Swamiji died of food poisoning in 1883.

His Religious Views

Swāmiji believed that selfish and ignorant priests had perverted Hindu religion. He regarded the *Vedas* as infallible being the inspired word of God. He rejected all later religious thought based on the *Purāṇas*. He

tried to interpret Hinduism rationally. Instead of supporting Hindu orthodoxy he criticised it for its irrational practices. He was opposed to worship of idols, all rituals and priesthood. He wanted to remove all superstitions from the minds of the people.

As a Social Reformer

Swāmījī was against caste system by birth. He wished to improve the lot of the untouchables and women. He inculcated a spirit of self-respect and self-reliance among the Hindus. He inspired his followers with feelings of patriotism, benevolence and love for truth and purity in thought, speech and action. He wished to spread education among the women and depressed classes. He advocated remarriage of widows and travels in foreign lands.

The Ārya Samāj

Swāmījī founded the Ārya Samāj at Bombay in 1875. It was also in Bombay when he published his famous work the *Satyārtha Prakāśa* but his teachings took the strongest root in Punjab and in Uttar Pradesh. The Samāj has done splendid work in social and educational fields. The success of this Samāj has been greatly due to the efforts of three able successors of Dayānanda : Lālā Hansrāj, Pandit Guru Dutta and Lālā Lājpat Rāi.

The members of Ārya Samāj were guided by 'Ten Principles' of which the first one was studying the Vedas. The other principles lay emphasis on leading a moral and virtuous life. The Ārya Samājists believe in one Supreme Being, who is omnipotent, eternal and creator of all. They are expected to devote themselves to the physical, social and spiritual welfare of their fellowmen.

The Ārya Samajists started a network of schools and colleges. Lālā Hansrāja founded

a school at Lahore to commemorate the memory of Dayānanda which later on developed into the famous Dayānanda Anglo-Vedic College of Lahore. In 1902 Swāmī Śraddhānanda started a Gurukul near Hardwar to propagate the traditional ideals of education. In the Gurukul, the students were admitted at the age of seven or eight and had to reside in the Gurukula for sixteen years till they finished their studies. They had to live a simple life, obey their teachers and follow a regular daily routine which laid emphasis on character building. Ārya Samājists also started many girl's schools to improve the condition of Indian women.

The Ārya Samājists are against caste system by birth. They are advocates of social equality and promotion of social solidarity. This reformist work of Ārya Samāj tended to unite people.

One of Ārya Samāj's objective was to prevent the conversion of Hindus to other religions and to reconvert those Hindus who had been converted to other religions like Islām and Christianity. For this purpose a purificatory ceremony called *Śuddhi* was prescribed.

The influence of Ārya Samāj in the promotion of education, uplift of the position of women and weakening the hold of the caste system was deeper than that of many other reform movements of the nineteenth century. Many Ārya Samājists like Lālā Lājpat Rai played a prominent role in India's struggle for freedom from foreign rule.

Rāmākṛṣṇa Mission and Vivekānanda

Rāmākṛṣṇa Mission is named after Rāmākṛṣṇa Paramahansa (1834-1886). The latter was a priest of the temple of Kālī at Dakṣhīneshwar, near Calcutta. He had no formal education but by yogic discipline and

meditation he attained supreme realization. By his liberal views Rāmakṛṣṇa broke down the barriers which separated various sects of Hinduism. He also aimed at the universal synthesis of all religions. He described the various modes of discipline prescribed by different religions as vessels of different shapes and forms but all made of one clay. According to him God is one, but is worshipped in different ages and countries under different names and aspects.

VIVEKĀNANDA (1863-1902)

The Rāmakṛṣṇa Mission was founded ten years after his death by his ardent disciple Narendranāth Dutta or Swāmī Vivekānanda (1863-1902). Vivekānanda was a dynamic personality. He popularised religious message by putting it in a form that would suit the needs of contemporary Indian society. In 1898 he wrote "For our own motherland a junction of the two great systems, Hinduism and Islām.....is the only hope." He proclaimed the *Vedānta* as the grand universal religion of the world. In 1888 he travelled all over India and dedicated himself to the task of regenerating India through religion.

He attended the Parliament of Religions in 1893 at Chicago where he proclaimed the *Vedānta* as the grand, universal, super-religion of the world. He also attended another Congress of Religions held in Paris in 1900. While interpreting Hinduism to the outside world Vivekānanda struck a happy balance between the philosophical thoughts of the East and the West.

His Concept of Religion

He was a true follower of Rāmakṛṣṇa in advocating Universal Religion. He said, "I accept all religions that were in the past and worship them all, I worship God with every

one of them, in whatever form they worship him." His attitude was thus free from any kind of narrowness and dogmatism. One of the most remarkable contribution of Vivekānanda was to bring spirituality to the mind and heart of the common people. The message of hope of spiritual hope which he gave to Indians acted as a potent force in the growth of Indian nationalism.

Regenerator of Indians

In his All-India tour which he undertook in 1888 he found everywhere, 'poverty, squalor, loss of mental vigour and no hope for the future.' He frankly stated "it is we who are responsible for all our misery and all our degradation." He laid special emphasis on the social regeneration of the masses. He said, "The poor, the ignorant, the illiterate, the afflicted—let these be your God. Know that service to these is the highest religion."

A Social Reformer

He condemned the caste system and the emphasis on rituals and ceremonies in Hindu religion. He urged the people to imbibe the spirit of liberty, equality and free thinking. He criticised educated Indians for not devoting their time and energy to uplift the poor and the ignorant. He said:

"So long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor who having been educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them."

The Rāmakṛṣṇa Mission founded by him in 1896 with branches in different part of India has been doing splendid humanitarian and social service by opening dispensaries, orphanages and schools.

He died in 1902 at the Age of 39. Though the span of his life was short yet he left an enduring mark on the succeeding generations.

His was the voice of the soul and it went into the heart of the nation.

Consequences of the Renaissance in the Nineteenth Century

All the reform movements of modern India have advocated the upliftment of women and have succeeded, more or less, in this attempt. The custom of Satī was declared illegal in 1829. Evils like child marriage have now almost disappeared from the educated classes of Hindu society. Widow remarriage was legalised in 1856. There has been a steady growth of education among women in modern times. Women are now taking active part in political sphere as well.

Sustained efforts have been made to improve the condition of the Depressed classes, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes. The Government and many voluntary organizations are imparting free education and attempts are being made to improve their economic condition. All these are the results of the Renaissance which started with Rām Mohun Roy, sustained by organizations like Brahmo Samāj, Ārya Samāj and Ramkr̥ṣṇa

Mission and accelerated by the teachings of Swāmī Dayānanda, Vivekānanda and Gandhijī.

Increasing contacts with the outside world, a revived and finer appreciation of the national culture of past ages, the urge of thorough reformation in all aspects of life and society, and the development of new situations and problems in the country, have all stimulated deep and creative thought and have inspired Literature and Art with stirring ideals and set up fresh and higher standards. The mingling of the old and the new, a characteristic feature of nineteenth century history is nicely illustrated in the works of Bankim Chandra Chattopādhyāya and Rabindranāth Tagore. Tagore was given the Nobel Prize for literature. Prem Chand wrote about the misery of the poor and oppressed in India's villages.

Important developments also took place in the field of art. Abanindranāth Tagore and others who tried to revive the classical Indian tradition of painting, Nandalāl Bose painted scenes from the ancient legends as well as from the daily life of artisans and craftsmen. They were also drawn into the struggle for freedom.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the factors which helped the emergence of Renaissance in India in the nineteenth century.
2. Bring out the contribution of Ram mohun Roy to the social and cultural awakening in the 19th century.
3. Trace the progress of Brahmo Samaj from 1828 to 1848.
4. Discuss the views of Swami Dayananda on religion and social reform.
5. Describe the impact of the Arya Samaj on the residents of Punjab and Uttar Pradesh.
6. Compare and contrast Ram mohun Roy and Dayananda as Socio-Religious Reformers.
7. "The only God in whom I believe, the sum total of all souls, and above all, my God the wicked, my God the afflicted, my God the poor of all races."—Vivekananda. Elucidate.
8. What were the main disabilities from which women suffered in the traditional Indian society. Discuss the steps taken by the modern reform movements for their emancipation.
9. Discuss the consequences of the Socio-Religious Reform movements on the political developments in modern India.
10. Write short notes on :
 - (a) Young Bengal Movement
 - (b) Derozio
 - (c) Ramkrishna Mission
 - (d) Keshav Chandra Sen.

Chapter 8

British Impact and the Rise of Indian Nationalism

As a result of British rule, by the end of the 19th century, India became a British colony in the true sense of the word. It supplied raw-materials and food stuffs to Britain. It became a market for British manufacturers and an important field for the investment of the British capital. Indian economy and social development were completely subordinated to British economy and social development.

IMPACT ON AGRICULTURE

The British transformed Indian agriculture to obtain for themselves in the form of land revenue all surplus available in agriculture and to force Indian agriculture to play its assigned role in a colonial economy.

The important consequences of British rule on Indian agriculture were the following:

1. Making Land a Transferable Commodity

The British made land a transferable and divisible commodity. Joint family system can work only when the resources of production remain under joint ownership. Under British rule the right of individual ownership, division of plots of land and right of transfer a plot led to litigation which was a direct result of British land policy and legal system established by the British government.

2. Land became a Source of Capital Investment

In the last quarter of the 18th century the cottage industries were almost completely

ruined in the areas occupied by the British. Moneylenders could no longer invest their money in cottage industries. They now began to invest their money in land. The rate of land revenue collected from the farmers was so high that the farmers had to borrow money from the money-lenders. When the farmers could not repay the loan their land was auctioned and the moneylenders became the owners of land and the farmers were reduced to the status of landless labourer.

3. Indebtedness of Farmers

As we have stated the rate of land revenue fixed was so high that the farmers could not pay it from the profits of their produce. They had to pay it by a fixed date in cash. So they had to borrow money from the moneylenders. Sometimes they had to borrow money to meet their household expenses or social obligations. They could not save any money for any emergency. If there was excessive rainfall or drought they now had no surplus grain with which to meet this emergency. This led to indebtedness of farmers which became a characteristic feature of Indian agrarian economy.

4. Fragmentation of Land

Individual ownership and divisibility of land led to litigation and fragmentation of land. The ruin of cottage industries also led to increase in the number of landless labourers so there was great demand for pieces of land

for cultivation. This resulted in fragmentation of land. There were a number of disputes between the Zamīndars, the moneylenders and farmers. On account of fragmentation of land it became almost impossible to use modern methods of cultivation.

5. Export of Agricultural Products

Indian agricultural products were exported to England as raw-material for British industries or as food for the labourers engaged in these industries. But Indian farmer could not benefit by the export of agricultural products. In some regions only particular crops were grown for example cotton in Mahārāstra, jute and indigo in West Bengal, opium in Bihar and tea in Assam. Even at the time of famines foodgrains were exported. The farmers, therefore, had to eat coarse foodgrains or starve. Famines were not natural calamities. The real reason was the high rate of land revenue which did not leave any surplus foodgrains with the farmers with which they could maintain themselves in the periods of drought or famines.

The impact of British rule led to the evolution of a new structure of agrarian relations that was extremely regressive. There arose landlords, intermediaries and moneylenders at the top and tenants-at-will, share-croppers and agricultural labourers at the bottom. The poverty-stricken peasant cultivators did not have the resources to improve agriculture, the landlords had no incentive to do so and the Government behaved like a typical landlord. It was interested only in extracting high revenues and did not take any steps to modernise and improve and develop Indian agriculture. The result was prolonged stagnation in agriculture.

IMPACT ON TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Trade

The British Indian government controlled trade and industry also purely with a view of foster British interests. No doubt foreign trade increased a great deal after 1858, it being Rs. 60 crores in 1850 and Rs. 758 crores in 1924. The growth of the Indian foreign trade was artificially fostered to serve imperial interests. The country was flooded with manufactured goods from Britain and forced to produce and export the raw-materials Britain and other foreign countries needed. It affected the internal distribution of income adversely. The British policy only helped to transfer resources from peasants and craftsmen to merchants, moneylenders and foreign capitalists.

Constant excess of exports over imports resulted in the drain of India's wealth and resources. Bulk of the foreign trade was in foreign hands and almost all was carried on through foreign ships.

Industry

Under the British rule there was a progressive decline and destruction of urban and rural handicraft industries. India lost foreign markets in Asia and Europe and Indian market was flooded with cheap machine made goods. The ruin of indigenous industries forced millions of craftsmen to shift into agriculture. Thus the pressure of population on land increased.

The chief aim of the British rulers in India was the colonial exploitation of India. They, therefore, did not take any interest in the industrial development of India. Some ginning and pressing mills were started in India during the period 1850 to 1870 but it cannot be called industrialization. They only helped the export of raw-materials to foreign countries in a

suitable form. Industrialization really started after 1870. The two main industries which developed in the 19th century were those of jute and cotton textiles.

Jute Industry : England required jute products as packing material. The first jute mill was started in 1855. After about 15 years there was great profit in this industry. In 1884 the Indian Jute Mills Association was organized. This enabled the mill owners to have great profits but it did not improve the economic condition of farmers producing jute.

Cotton Textiles : After the ruin of cotton handicrafts as a result of the steps taken by British traders and East India Company's officers cotton textiles began to be imported from England in the 19th century and cotton was exported to England from India. In this industry the capital investment and leadership was in the hands of India while in the jute industry the capital investment and management was in foreign hands.

Upto the beginning of the 20th century two other industries namely coal mining and tea plantations developed in India. During this period most of the modern industries were controlled by foreign capitalists. Secondly, industrial progress during this period was extremely slow. Even by 1913 the total number of workers covered by the Factory Act was less than one million.

The World War I provided the Indian capitalists the opportunity to participate in the industrialization of the country. Indian capitalists made huge profits during the war but as the war came to an end the period of stagnation in Indian industries began.

Upto 1947 industrial development in India was slow. It was under the control of foreign capital. Its development depended on Britain. There were practically no heavy capital goods and chemical industries. There were no machine-tool engineering and metallurgical industries and no technological research was

carried on in the country. India's economy was not independent. It was a colonial economy dependent on Britain. The industries were concentrated in a few regions and cities of the country. This gave rise to wide regional disparities in income patterns, of economic development, and social stratification.

As a result of British rule majority of Indians lived below the margin of subsistence in normal times. Where there were draughts and floods they died in lakhs. From 1860 to 1908 there were many famines. These famines revealed that there was extreme poverty and people died of starvation in large numbers. During 200 years of British rule, India was subjected to modern colonialism and was prevented from developing her industries. Britain subordinated the Indian economy to its own economy. The result was stagnation of India's agriculture and industries. The peasants and workers were exploited by Zamindars landlords, moneylenders, merchants, capitalists and the foreign government and its officials. The result was poverty, disease and semi-starvation.

IMPACT IN THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL FIELDS

As a result of British rule western ideas such as democracy, sovereignty of the people, rationalism and humanism reached India at a quicker pace than they would have reached through trade and travel to which Indians had never been averse.

IMPACT ON EDUCATION

The British government neglected primary and school education in the beginning. But when the English educated youngmen began to analyse and criticise the imperialist and exploitative character of the British rule the government also tried to check the growth of

higher education as well but it failed to do so. Popular pressure kept it going. Modern technical education was completely neglected and the medium of instruction was English so it could not spread to the masses. It also created a gulf between the few English educated Indians and the masses. The common people found it difficult to pay the fees for the education of their children. The result was that only the rich and the people of the upper middle class could get their children educated.

IMPACT ON SOCIETY

New means of transport, growing urbanisation and increasing employment of women in factories, offices, hospitals and schools promoted social change. Caste rigidities began to slacken gradually. In the beginning the British government encouraged social reform for it would help economic penetration of the country and the consolidation of British rule. Christian missionaries and some government officials who had humanitarian instinct tried to remove social evils such as the custom of Satī or infanticide. But later the long-term interests of the Colonial rule asserted themselves and the process of social reform was stopped. The British sided with the conservative and socially orthodox section of the society. To meet the growing challenge of nationalism the British government followed a policy of divide and rule and actively encouraged casteism and communalism.

When the members of the lower castes and women became conscious of their depressed condition they themselves began to struggle for the remodelling of the society. The nationalist leaders wished to have the support of all the sections of Indian society against British rule which exploited Indians politically socially, economically and culturally.

They, therefore, wished to abolish all distinctions and disparities based on caste, sex or religion.

The rich and the members of higher castes opposed the process of modernisation to preserve their social and cultural position. The middle and upper-middle class Indians blindly imitated Western life and culture. In order to make Indians better customers for their goods and more loyal subjects the British, made every effort to impose on India the culture of Britain.

IMPACT OF ADMINISTRATION AND MODERN METHODS OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

The British brought the whole country under a uniform system of administration. They introduced modern methods of communication like railways, telegraph and postal system and developed roads and motor transport. All these unified the country. The destruction of rural economic self-sufficiency and the growth of internal trade led to the rise of unified Indian economy. A common pattern of education and the acquisition of modern ideas by the people all over the country gave birth to an all-India intelligentsia. The two new classes which emerged under the British rule namely the capitalist class and the working class were also all-India in character. In face of the common enemy which exploited the people all the sections of society united and developed a common national outlook.

IMPACT OF BRITISH RULE ON VARIOUS SOCIAL GROUPS AND CLASSES

Different classes and groups of Indian society gradually became conscious of the fact that British rule was hampering the development in all aspects of Indian life.

Peasants Artisans, Craftsmen and Plantation Workers

The peasants, artisans and craftsmen were all victims of imperialism. The workers in modern industries had a new social outlook. They were concentrated in factories and cities. They lived and worked under highly unsatisfactory conditions. The average worker lived below the margin of subsistence. Conditions in the tea and coffee plantations were worse. The planters kept the workers on the plantations as virtual slaves. The Government gave them full help to enable them to keep the plantation workers under oppressive subjugation. The planters often physically tortured them.

The Factory Workers

In course of time the working class joined the peasants, the craftsmen and the artisans in the struggle against imperialist exploitation.

The Middle and the Lower Middle-Classes

In the first half of the 19th century the British government recruited a large number of educated Indians as petty government servants. Later some more found employment in schools and law courts. When trade expanded the number of merchants also increased. But by the end of the 19th century even those few who were educated could not find employment. All these who constituted the middle and lower-middle classes of society realized that only a country that was economically developing and culturally and socially modern could provide them economic and cultural opportunities to lead a worthwhile and meaningful life.

The Indian Industrial Capitalist Class

The Indian industrial capitalist class which developed after 1858 had to face the

competition of the British capitalists. It realised that its growth was checked by the official trade, tariff, transport and financial policies of the Government. After 1918 the giant British industrial corporations began to invest in Indian industries in order to take advantage of the tariff protection granted during 1920's and 1930's. Thus the Indian capitalists realised that they needed a government favourable to them. This could be only a national government.

ATTITUDE OF THE MODERN INDIAN INTELLIGENTSIA TOWARDS NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

They realized that the traditional set up of society could not successfully meet the challenge of the imperialist government. They, therefore, set out to modernise the society. In the economic sphere they expected the British government to introduce modern science technology and economic organization in India. In the political field they wanted sovereignty of the people, democracy, freedom of speech, the press and association. They believed that transformation of Indian society could occur under British rule. So they supported the British rule, but by the end of the 19th century they also came to realize that what had appeared to them earlier as modernisation of India was in fact colonisation of the country.

FACTORS WHICH HELPED THE RISE AND GROWTH OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

The British ruled India to promote their own interests often subordinating Indian welfare to British gain. The Indians realized gradually that their interests were being sacrificed to those of British interests. This clash of interests was the root cause of the rise of the

nationalist movement. As we have stated above the peasants, the artisans and the workers discovered that they had no political rights and virtually nothing was being done for their intellectual and cultural development. The educated Indians discovered that economic exploitation by Britain was increasing India's poverty. Thus the anti-imperialist movement gradually arose and developed in India.

Nationalist sentiments grew easily among the people on account of the following major factors.

1. The British Imperialist Policy

After the Revolt of 1857 the British Government followed a policy of Divide and Rule. First, it became eager to get the support of the Zamīndārs, rulers of Princely states and other conservative sections of Indian society. The English educated class considered itself the true representative of the Indian people. It, therefore, wanted more representation in the Legislative Councils and the same rights in public which the British nationals enjoyed in public services. The British rulers regarded India as a British colony so they wished to reserve the right of administration for themselves. Ripon wanted the educated class to support British rule in India while Lytton sought the support of the conservative elements in society. Thus the imperialist policy of the government based on the principle of 'Divide and Rule' of Indians led to the rise of anti-imperialist feelings in India.

2. English Education

English educated youngmen came to know about the struggle of the people of Italy, and Greece against foreign domination in their countries. They got inspiration from the revolutions in France and America. When a uniform system of education was introduced in India it helped to evolve a common goal

and uniform approach to the political leaders of the different regions could exchange their ideas with ease as most of them were English educated. Although the English educated class was a minority of the whole population of India but its influence and leadership could mould public opinion as the newspapers, educational institutions and the advocates of the legal courts were all greatly influenced by the opinion of this group. English education upto the end of the 19th century was confined to the upper and middle classes of society. Their views had become popular. Thus English education helped in lessening the traditional obstacles in the progress of the country. Patriotism and the feeling for liberty were not the gifts of English education. They pervaded the whole country even before English education was introduced. But English education helped evolving a new direction in the form of establishing a parliamentary form of government which had been in existence in England long before its introduction in India.

3. The Press

The newspapers contributed a good deal to the awakening of national consciousness in India. After the Revolt of 1857 the government tried to control the newspapers. The government prepared a 'Report on Native Newspapers'. But the number of newspapers continued to increase and they became a very good medium of spreading ideas about political rights among the common people. Both in Bengal and Maharashtra these newspapers criticised the government policies. The government tried to put restrictions on these newspapers as they brought to the notice of the people such problems as injustice of the administration, racial discrimination, economic exploitation of Indians and debarring Indians from high administrative posts. They expressed the opinion that the

British rule in India was resulting in the moral, economic and intellectual degeneration of Indians.

In 1878 Lytton got Vernacular Press Act passed to check the growing criticism of government measures. But the press and the newspapers became more active after 1878 and the people protested against this measure by organizing meetings and submitting memoranda to the government and the members of British Parliament.

4. Literature in Modern Indian Languages

Nationalist literature in the form of novels, essays and patriotic poetry also played an important role in arousing national consciousness. For example, the novel *Ānanda math* by Bankim Chandra Chatterji was a source of great inspiration to all the nationalist leaders. The national song 'Vandemātram' forms part of that novel. Other prominent nationalist writers of the period were Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali, Vishnu Shastri Chiplukar in Marathi, Subramanya Bharati in Tamil, and Bāratendu Harish Chandra in Hindi.

5. Political Associations

As early as 1830 the Zamīndars of Bengal organized themselves into a Landholder's Society and protested against the Act which empowered government to take in its possession all land which was rent free. Soon after, three political associations, British Indian Association in Calcutta (1851) Madras Native Association in Madras (1852) and Bombay Association in Bombay (1852) were established. These associations submitted memoranda to the government on contemporary political problems. But the government did not accept any of the suggestions of these Associations. In 1876

Surendranāth Banerjee and Anand Mohan Bose organized the Indian Association. In Western India Poona Sārva-janik Sabhā was organized in 1870. It contributed a good deal in creating national consciousness among the people in Maharashtra. As early as 1866 the East India Association was organized in London. It tried to let the people of England and the members of British Parliament know about the problems of Indians.

6. Poverty of India

We have discussed in the beginning of this chapter how the farmers, artisans, craftsmen and later the factory workers were reduced to poverty on account of the economic policies of the British Government in India. Dādābhāi Naoraji proved how British Rule had resulted in the 'Drain of Wealth' from India to Britain and according to him this was the real cause of poverty of India. It was the result of Free Trade Policy followed by the British Government which failed to protect the interest of Indian artisans and craftsmen.

7. Socio-Religious Reform Movements of the 19th Century

The Socio-Religious Reform movements of the 19th century in Bengal, Maharashtra, U.P. and Punjab aimed at checking the influence of Christian Missionaries who wished to convert Indians to Christianity. They also wished to purge Hindu society of social evils such as Sati and infanticide. The aim of Brahmo Samāj was to save middle class families of Bengal from adverse effects of Christianity. The Ārya Samāj and Rāmākṛṣṇa Mission aimed at restoring the dignity of the religious and cultural personality of India and the movements in Maharashtra aimed at social reform. The influence of Brahmo Samāj was confined to the English educated people of

Bengal. The Ārya Samāj contributed a good deal to reviving the ancient Indian tradition and cultural greatness of India. Swāmī Vivekānand emphasized the high philosophical knowledge of India. These two movements generated a feeling of pride of the cultural heritage of India among her people. The reform movements of Maharashtra such as the Prārthanā Samāj checked the influence of Christianity in that region. Sardār Gopal Hari Deshmukh and Jyotibā Phule supported the measures taken by the government for the uplift of the Depressed Classes in Hindu society and Viṣṇukṛṣṇa Chipalkar and Vasudev Phadke criticised the Christian missionaries and the British rulers because they considered foreign rule worse than the evils of Hindu society. These movements created self-confidence and respect for ancient cultural tradition. These reform movements thus helped the growth of Indian national consciousness.

8. Reassessment of India's Ancient History

The accounts of Christian missionaries and British scholars about India's past history could never generate the feeling of pride in India's cultural heritage in the minds of Indians. They tried to show the superiority of Western culture. But Indian scholars like R.K. Mookerji and R.C. Majumdar in their works highlighted the achievements of ancient Indians and thus helped the growth of national consciousness. Some scholars are of opinion that their writings led to the growth of communalism in India. No doubt all those factors (like the policy of the British rulers of Divide and Rule) which led to the growth of communalism should be condemned but without a feeling of pride in our past the feeling of national consciousness could not be generated and we should be thankful to

historians like R.K. Mookerji and R.C. Majumdar.

9. Administrative and Economic Unification of the Country

We have already discussed in this chapter how under the impact of British rule India was transformed into one administrative unit with the same legal system all over the country. Economically as well she had become one unit with the development of all India's internal trade and foreign trade which was greatly helped by the development of new means of transport such as railways and communication such as new postal system and telegraph. This administrative and economic unification greatly contributed to the generation of national consciousness. The very existence of foreign rule acted as a unifying factor. All over the country people saw that they were suffering at the hands of the same enemy, British rule.

10. Racial Arrogance of the Rulers

Englishmen considered themselves superior to Indians. Many of them openly insulted even educated Indians. Some of them even assaulted them. Whenever an Englishman was in a dispute with an Indian the latter could never get justice at the hands of English judges on account of their racial prejudice. Indians were kept out of exclusively European clubs and were not often permitted to travel in the same compartment in a train with European passengers. This arrogance of the rulers made Indians conscious of national humiliation by the British.

11. Anti-Indian Measures of Lytton

- (a) During the period 1876-80 most of the import duties on British textiles were removed by Lytton to please the textile manufacturers of Britain. This

measure was interpreted by Indians as a measure to ruin the small but growing textile industry of India.

- (b) The Second Afghan War was fought to safeguard the interests of the British empire. The heavy cost of the war was met from Indian Treasury. Indians did not approve of this expenditure by the government of India.
- (c) The Arms Act of 1878 disarmed the Indian people. It was an effort to make the whole nation weak.
- (d) The Press Act 1878 was criticised by the politically conscious Indians as an attempt to suppress nationalist criticism of the government.
- (e) In 1877 the country was suffering from a terrible famine. Lytton organized the Imperial Darbār at Delhi in that year. Indians then thought that the government cared very little for the welfare of the Indian people and wasted large sums of money in holding Darbārs.
- (f) In 1878 the government announced the reduction of maximum age for entry to the Indian Civil Service Examination from 21 to 19. The

Indians then realized that it was a measure to completely debar them from entering the service as the medium of examination was English and Indians could hardly compete with Englishmen at the age of 19.

Thus Lytton's Viceroyalty, helped the growth of discontent against foreign rule and thus gave a stimulus to national awakening.

12. Ilbert Bill Agitation 1883

In 1883, Ripon tried to pass a law to enable Indian District Magistrates and Sessions Judges to try Europeans. The Europeans in India organised a vehement agitation against the proposed bill named after the law member Ilbert. They poured abuse on Indians and their culture and character. In the end, the Government of India bowed before the Europeans and amended the bill to meet their criticism.

All these factors helped the growth of national consciousness among Indians. They learnt the useful lesson that if they wished to get their demands accepted by the foreign government they must organize themselves on a national scale and the result was the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885.

QUESTIONS

1. How did British rule transform agrarian relations in India?
2. Why did India not benefit by the growth of foreign trade under British rule?
3. How did British rule lead to the.....of Indian handicrafts?
4. Why did the British government of India not take any interest in the industrial development of India?
5. Discuss the impact of British rule on various groups and classes of Indian society.
6. Explain why the British government of India did not support the process of social reform after some time.
7. Discuss the role of the Middle and Lower-Middle classes in the growth of national consciousness in India.
8. Discuss the attitude of Indian intelligentsia towards national movement towards the end of the 19th century.
9. Discuss the important factors which helped the growth of Indian nationalism.
10. How did the Viceroyalty of Lytton give an.....to the growth of national consciousness in India.
11. Write short notes on :
 - (a) The Arms Act (1878)
 - (b) The Press Act (1878)
 - (c) The Imperial Darbar at Delhi (1877)
 - (d) The Ilbert Bill controversy.

Appendix I

The Composite Culture of India

In this paper an attempt is made to present the significant contribution made by each region of the Indian sub-continent to the development of the composite culture of India.

In the field of literature, no doubt, the hymns of the *R̥gveda* were composed in Panjab (The *Saptasindhu* region) but the contribution of Haryana and Uttar Pradesh (Kuru-Pañchāl region) is in no way less significant. The *Yajurveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* were composed in this region. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki and the *Mahābhārata* which are considered to be the earliest works of classical Saṅskṛt literature were written and developed in this region. Bāṇabhaṭṭa wrote his famous Saṅskṛt prose works, the *Harṣacharita* and the *Kādambarī*, at Thāneśvara.

The *Upaniṣads* most probably reflect the earliest philosophical speculations of the ṛṣis of Bihar (Magadha). To Bengal goes the credit for having produced Jayadeva who in his *Gīta Govinda* has attained to very great heights of Saṅskṛt Lyric poetry. The historical *kāvyas* reached the high watermark in the *Rājataran̄giṇī* by Kalhaṇa who was a resident of Kashmir.

The contribution of Western and Central India in the field of literature is definitely more impressive than that of other parts of this sub-continent. Kālidāsa is said to have flourished at the court of Chandragupta Vikramāditya at Ujjayini. He produced not only two *Mahākāvyas*, the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kumārasambhava* and the famous Saṅskṛt drama *Śakuntalā* but also the best small poem,

the *Meghadūta*. Bhavabhuti, whose drama *Uttararāmacharita* expresses the sentiment of pathos at its height was a resident of Berar (Vidarbha) in Madhya Pradesh. Daṇḍin, who draws realistic scenes of life in his *Daśakumāracharita*, was most probably a resident of the Deccan. The Śāngam literature in Tamil is a shining example of the contribution of South India in this field.

No doubt, Taxila was a famous University but other regions had their own centres of higher learning. Vārāṇasī in Uttar Pradesh, Nālandā in Bihar, Padmāvati in Central India, Ujjayini in Western Malwa, Valabhi in Gujarat, Vanavāsī in the western Deccan, Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Eastern Deccan and Kāñchī and Madurai in South India were famous centres of higher learning.

Similar contribution by each region can be seen in the long list of religious and social leaders. While Ramachandra and Krishna, the two ideal leaders of the Hindus, were born in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar gave birth to two of the greatest religious reformers, Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha. In South India the devotional poetry of the Śaiva saints (Nāyanārs) and the Vaishṇava saints (Ālvārs) gave an impetus to the path of devotion. When Hinduism was plagued by the prevalence of left-handed practices (Vāmamārga) Śaṅkarāchārya who was born in Malabar but who looked upon the whole of India from Cape Camorin to the Himalyas as his field of action purged Hinduism of the baneful influence of Tāntrikism and brought about cultural unity of

India by establishing four great monasteries locating them almost at the four corners of India. One of these was in the South at Śringerī in Mysore, another at Puri on the east coast, the third at Dwarka in Kathiawar on the west coast and the fourth at Badarīnatha in the Himālayas.

This composite feature of Indian culture can also be seen in the field of art and architecture. the Harappan art is the earliest example of Indian art. Later the Gandhāra art also flourished in this region. The Mauryan art had its origin in Bihar but the best examples of Indian architecture, sculpture, and painting can be seen in the Gupta art which originated in Uttar Pradesh. In the post-Gupta period the Nagara style of architecture flourished from Bhuvaneshvara in Orissa to Gujarāt and Kathiawar with regional varieties

in central India and Rajasthan. The Draviḍa style began in the reign of the Pallavas of Kāñchī and reached its zenith in the time of the Cholas. The Chālukyan style was a mixture of the north Indian and south Indian styles of architecture. It flourished in the Deccan and reached its richest expression in the Mysore region under the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra. The best examples of sculpture can be seen in the temples of this period. In North India we come across both Buddhist and Brahmanical images of a fairly high standard but the conception of Naṭarāja Śiva is a valuable contribution of South India.

From what has been stated above it is evident that India's culture is a composite culture and every region, north, south, east, west and centre had contributed to its development in the ancient period.

QUESTIONS

1. How have different regions of India contributed to the promotion of literature and higher learning to the composite culture of India?
2. 'Different regions of India have contributed to the advancement of social and religious reform in the past to make the culture of India a composite one.' Discuss the above statement.
3. Discuss briefly the developments in art and architecture in India in the past which show that India's culture is a composite one.

Appendix 2

Writing of Political History of Ancient India: New Trends and Prospects

There is an intimate relationship between history and culture. Every culture considers certain values of life supreme and the society tries to conform to those ideals which are enshrined in its culture 'As cultural patterns change the outlook of historians also changes. But while societies change and angles of vision change but truth does not change'.¹ According to Prof. K.S. Lal, Truth is the only philosophy of history a chronicler tries to record true facts as best as he can. But the task of a historian is not so simple. He has to interpret the true facts in the light of political, social, economic and religious conditions which prevailed in a particular region at a particular time.

Actions of a ruler or a government are, conditioned by the contemporary political, social, economic conditions. Thus, the writer of the political history of ancient India must take into consideration all these aspects of society in the region and at the time of which he intends to write political history. Political history when not invigorated by an insight into the social, economic and religious conditions becomes dull and uninteresting. To explain why and in what situation a ruler or a government acted in a particular manner he must take all these aspects into consideration.

Prof. H.C. Raychaudhuri has referred to several factors which contributed to the ascendancy of Magadha in the sixth century B.C.² These factors are not only political but also social, economic and religious. Without correlating the political events with these

aspects of society in the sixth century B.C. Prof. Raychaudhuri must not have been able to explain the rise of Magadha.

One cannot fully grasp the significance of *Kaṇṭakaśodhana* courts without presenting a clear picture of the social and economic conditions of the period when these courts were instituted. According to Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri 'These courts were a new type, introduced to meet the growing needs of an increasingly complex social economy and to implement the decisions of a highly organized bureaucracy on all matters that were being brought under their control and regulation for the first time and were unknown to the old legal system'.³

How economic development in a period can be a factor in increasing royal power is pointed out by Prof. R.S. Sharma. According to him 'The main base of royal power and all agriculture, trade and industry, was mining and metallurgy. The state enjoyed a monopoly in the working of mines and in trade in mineral products. This was a source not only of great income but also of great help in strengthening the central power, for only state could equip the soldiers with metal arms and furnish agriculture and industry with' necessary tools and implements Kautilya points out that the treasury has its origin in mining, force (*daṇḍa*) in treasury and it is by means of treasury and force that earth is acquired.⁵

Prof. Romila Thapar has discussed all the factors political, social, economic and religious

which led to the decline of the Mauryan empire. According to her 'Dhamma was certainly a way of life acceptable at any level of cultural development and its adoption might well have acted as a cementing force throughout the country'.⁶

Kaṇiṣka I's patronage of Buddhism and Buddhist art can be explained only if we accept the proposition that as a king, he must have imbibed the concept of an ideal ruler enunciated both in the early Brahmanical and the Buddhist canonical literature.⁷

Prof. S.R. Goyal while writing the political history of the imperial Guptas has discussed all the factors geo-political, social, economic and religious which enabled the Gupta rulers to establish their empire in the first half of the fourth century A.D.⁸

Prof. R.S. Sharma has shown that in the Gupta period the Maurya state regulation of trade and industries gave way to the management of these affairs by the chiefs of local economic units, independent of the central control. According to him the rise of local units of production undermined central authority.⁹

Prof. B.P. Mazumdar points out that the establishment of feudal polity after 600 A.D. led to imposition of fresh charges on land and its products. Probably the longest list of revenues and taxes derived from land is preserved in the copper plate of Chaulukya king Bhīma II dated A.D. 1230. The long lists of officials mentioned in the inscriptions of the post-Gupta period show that the machinery of government was becoming more complex. The demands of the administration or welfare projects had increased.¹⁰ The burden of taxes on the people had become unbearable, Kalhaṇa tells us that several times brāhmaṇas resorted to fasts against the exactions and taxes imposed by kings of Kashmir.¹¹

How religious ideals infused a new vigour in the Rajputs to face the challenge of the Muslim invasions is described by Dr. Dasharatha Sharma. Nāgabhaṭa I has been described in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja I as a manifestation of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu; for had he not like him destroyed the big armies of the *Mlecchas*, the destroyer of virtue and culture?¹²

In ancient India the actions of a ruler or government depended to a considerable degree on the conditions prevailing in his state. The concept of *Dharma* including *Rājadharmā* changed with the changed social, economic and religious conditions. This is reflected in the rules laid down in the *Smṛitis*. For example the law-givers continued to widen the scope of *Strīdhana* with the changed social conditions. Devala in the post-Gupta period included even the maintenance allowance in *Strīdhana*. In the *Smṛitis* of the Gupta and Pre-Gupta periods only a *Kṣatriya* could be a ruler but Medhātithi declared that any individual who had the qualities of a ruler and had the ability to rule could be a ruler (*rājā*).¹³

Thus the only way to invigorate political history of ancient India is to write it by correlating it with the social, economic and cultural conditions of the period which the political events relate to.

As for the geographical limits of the political history of ancient India are concerned I do not agree with the views of those scholars who wish to exclude Pakistan and Bangla Desh from the purview of the writer of political history of ancient India.¹⁴ The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (c. 800 B.C. to 400 B.C.) mentions four regions of India, namely, *Madhyadeśa*, *Udīchya*, *Prāchya* and *Dakṣiṇāpatha* the fifth region *Aparānta* is referred to in Rock Edict V of Aśoka. Some classical writers considered, but others

considered the Kabul river as the western limit of India¹⁵ but others considered the Indus river as the western boundary of the country and named it India¹⁶ after that river. They refer to *Prāchya* region as *Prasii*. As far as the western limit of *Udīchya* region is concerned we can also have a correct idea from the list of sixteen *Mahājanapadas* mentioned in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* which includes Gandhāra and Kamboja.¹⁷ Even in the time of Pāṇini the *Udīchya* region included Takṣaśilā.¹⁸ As for the eastern limit of *Prāchya* region *Aṅga* and *Magadha* are included in the list of sixteen *Mahājanapadas*.¹⁹ According to the *Vātsyāyana Sūtra* The *Prāchya* region was located to the east of *Aṅga* and according to the *Divyāvadāna* it included *Puṇḍravardhana*.²⁰ This fivefold division of India is mentioned in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*²¹ (C. 900 A.D.) As such it will not be proper to exclude Pakistan and Bangla Desh from the purview of the political history of ancient India.

As for the interpretation of sources I agree with Prof. A.K. Narain that the historian of ancient India can be comparatively more honest in his treatment of history than that of modern India. "If the historian betrays his dishonesty or lack of discipline in his treatment of the ancient period this is only when he deliberately chooses to project the ideas of his time and the prejudices of his mind to make unwarranted comparisons and derives results which may serve a particular end."²² Prof. D. Devaholi has shown that consensus was one of the basic principles of Indian civilization.²³ If a historian influenced by the Marxian principle of class-conflict tries to interpret events of ancient India on the basis of conflict he will present a distorted picture of political history of ancient India. A new political history of ancient India can be written only if the writer follows the two processes

suggested by Prof. A.K. Narain namely first the understanding of the ancient historians idea of history in the ontological perspective of his contemporary world from which his ideas derived their contents and secondly its translation according to the current concept and terminology. The writer of a new political history of ancient India should study the ancient historical works with reference to the mould in which the material was cast in order to give it a shape which was intelligible, interesting and useful to the contemporaries of the author.²⁴ As an example Prof. V.S. Pathak has shown that Dr. R.C. Mazumdar failed to understand why Bāṇa has not narrated events after Harṣa had rescued his sister and then joined, on the banks of the Ganges, the large army which he had equipped for punishing Śaśāṅka. In the historical narrative like the *Harṣacharita* the process of the achievement of royal glory by the king is invariably described in five stages—Beginning (*prārambha*) the effort (*prayatna*), the hope of achieving (*prāptyāśā*) the certainty of achievement (*niyatāpti*) and the achievement (*phalāgama*) for Bāṇa the end aimed at (*phalāgama*) was the meeting of Harṣa with the goddess of Royal Fortune or the accession to the thrones of Thanesar and Kanauj. Only when we look at the *Harṣacarita* in this way can we realize that it is a complete work organically designed and artistically composed with some specific purpose.²⁵ Only when the modern writer of ancient India, has this insight and interprets the historical works of ancient India in this way can he succeed in presenting a true picture of political ideals, institutions structures, environment and power.

As suggested by Prof. R.S. Goyal in his theme paper political history of ancient India can be enriched by a proper understanding of the significance of symbols and ceremonies

like coronation for example the ruler's taking a step in each of the four directions in the Rājasūya ceremony was symbolic of his conquest of the four quarters. The comparative study of the education of the Brahmanas and Kṣatriyas will also throw some light on the comparative distribution of power between these two upper castes.

In the new political history of ancient India the focal point should not be an individual but the political aspect of society. There is no need to give an account of all the coins, inscriptions or movements of a ruler. Reference may be made to only those coins, inscriptions or movements of a ruler which throw light on his domestic or foreign policy or his achievements or failures in establishing a welfare state in his dominions.

There is no doubt that majority of books, available at present, on political history of ancient India are dull and lifeless and devoid of interest the only course available to reinvigorate political history of ancient India is to study the political aspect against the background of all other aspects of society namely social, economic and religious which prompted the ruler or the government to act in a particular manner in a particular situation.

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QUESTIONS

1. Discuss critically how the work of a historian is more difficult than that of a chronicler.
2. What is the significance of the *Kaṇṭakaśodhana* courts and mining and metallurgy for writing the political history of the Mauryan period?
3. How did the state regulation of trade and industry in the Mauryan period affect the political history of the times?
4. In the Gupta period, the chiefs of local economic units; independent of central control, managed the affairs of trade and industry. How did this undermine the authority of the central government?
5. What is the significance of the imposition of fresh charges on land and its products for a writer of political history of India of the post-Gupta period?
6. What is the importance of the Gwalier inscription of Bhoj I for a writer of the political history of northern India in the post-Gupta period?
7. Discuss briefly how the knowledge of contemporary, social and economic conditions is necessary for a writer of the political history of ancient India.
8. Discuss why, according to Prof. V.S. Pathak, Dr. R.C. Mazumdar failed to understand why Bāṇa did not narrate events after Harsa had rescued his sister and then joined his large army on the banks of the Ganges which he had equipped for punishing Śaśāṅka.

Chapter 1

Important Indian Religions and Religious Beliefs

CHAPTER 1

Part One

SECTION - II

[Important Indian Religions, Religious Beliefs and Six Systems of Indian Philosophy]

Chapter 9

Important Indian Religions and Religious Beliefs

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION

All religions in the past were attempts to understand how this universe came into being and the nature of God who created the animate and inanimate objects of this world. All great teachers in different parts of the world tried to explain the nature of God who controlled this universe and man's duty towards Him. People were so afraid of the displeasure of gods that every action from birth to death in a man's life was carried out strictly in accordance with the rules laid down in his religious books. People everywhere believed that God Himself had inspired these teachers to write these truths hence it was their duty to obey them, if they wished to be happy in this world and to go to a happy world after death.

In India the word *dharma* has been used in the sense of religion. The concept of *dharma* is, however, all—comprehensive and may be, broadly speaking, said to comprise precepts which aim at securing the material and spiritual sustenance and growth of the individual and the society. As Margaretta Morris states, "the religion of a community is not something unrelated to its secular activities any more than the religious experience of an individual is apart from his general mental development".¹

The R̥gvedic Aryans realized that there was a cosmic order (*ṛtam*) which like a wheel circumscribes the universe, regulates it, and keeps it in place. It is Varuṇa's *pāśa* and has for its physical basis the belt of the zodiac

from which no luminary deviates and the penalty for transgression whereof is ensnarement by the shackles of *non-ṛta* or darkness and death. This *ṛtam* is the R̥gvedic concept of *dharma*. The controller of this cosmic order or *ṛta* is called Varuṇa. The R̥gvedic Aryans pray to Varuṇa who is called the supreme ruler that he may punish them if they do not fulfil their duty towards friends, guests, brothers and other members of their families.² In another context the term *dharma* has been used in the sense of that power which sustains the universe.³ The above discussion of the concept of *ṛta* or *dharma* makes it clear that its aim was maintenance of order in society. This order can be maintained if every individual regards every human being as the creation of God and treats him on a footing of equality. The last hymn of the R̥gveda throws some light on the R̥gvedic concept of *dharma*. It lays down that all human beings should move together, speak together and their minds be of one accord.⁴ In another context in that work it is said that *Soma* protects the truth and destroys what is untruth.⁵ A society can make progress if its members follow truth and avoid untruth and this can be the real basis of *dharma*. The same spirit of harmony is expressed in a hymn of the *Yajurveda*. It states that all the animate and inanimate objects of this universe are pervaded by God. Man should enjoy these blessings given to him by God. He should not be so greedy as to take by force things given by Him to others.⁶ If this attitude is adopted by every member of a community

it will lead to maintenance of good relations. By following this principle of *dharma* he will do only those deeds which are conducive to, not only his own well-being, but also to that of the society as a whole.

According to the *Brāhmaṇas dharma* comprised performance of sacrifices but the teachings of the *Upaniṣads* laid emphasis on good conduct. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* throws some light on the concept of *dharma*. It lays down that a virtuous man should develop the virtues of penance, charity, straightforwardness, non-violence and truth.⁷ In another context it regards stealing gold, drinking, killing a brāhmaṇa and desecrating the teacher's bed as great sins.⁸ It further lays down that a virtuous man should have noble thoughts, should behave politely with all women, think of the well-being of all, show respect to all learned persons and treat all human beings as he himself wished to be treated by them.⁹ In the words of S. Radhakrishnan 'the term *dharma* stands for all those ideals and purposes, influences and institutions that shape the character of man both as an individual and as a member of society. It is the law of right living, the observance of which secures the double object of happiness on earth and salvation.'¹⁰

The concept of *dharma* was not static. Its content changed in the changing contexts of time, place and social environment. It is why Baudhāyana states that there are three sources of *dharma* namely the Vedas (*śruti*), the law-books (*smṛti*) and the conduct of cultured persons in society (*śiṣṭātīcāra*). The law-books laid down rules to suit the changing times. The lawgivers could not foresee all the circumstances hence it was laid down that in such circumstances a person should follow the example of cultured persons as they were expected to act in conformity with the ideal social behaviour which in no way could be a

hindrance in the harmonious development of the society.

Dharma has two sides which are interdependent, the individual and the social. *Dharma* is that which holds together all living beings in a harmonious order. Virtue is conduct contributing to social welfare and vice is its opposite. In the *Sūtra* literature both these aspects of *dharma* are discussed under four sections namely *sāmānya-dharma* (rules which all classes should follow), *varṇa-dharma* (rules for an individual and social classes), *āśrama-dharma* (rules for the four stages of life) and *rāja-dharma* (rules which a ruler should follow). The rules of *sāmānya-dharma* include cultivation of such virtues as kindness, fortitude, avoidance of jealousy, purity in body, speech and thought, avoidance of being too ambitious, will to help others, sentiments of not being weak in intelligence, not to have a desire of having things belonging to others.¹¹ The evils to be avoided are speaking ill of others, pride, faithlessness, crookedness, self-praise, deceit, greed, anger etc.¹² According to Āpastamba a man should avoid all those evils which lead to his ruin and acquire all those virtues which help him in his progress.¹³ The above views of the authors of the *Sūtras* make us conclude that they did not attach as much importance to performance of sacrifices as to moral qualities in a man. They aimed at establishing a moral order. Similar views are expressed by Vālmiki when he makes Rāma declare that he will not forsake truth on account of greed, attachment, ignorance or any other wicked desires.¹⁴ The *Mahābhārata* lays down that not to be angry, speaking the truth, love of justice, to have children from married wife, good conduct, avoidance of quarrels, politeness and consideration for the welfare of attendants are duties which members of all the *varṇas* should fulfil.¹⁵ The author of the *Bhagavadgītā* prescribes that a

man should work with intelligence and faith.¹⁶ Intelligence is necessary to do an act efficiently and faith to do it with full devotion.

Of the *Smṛtis* the *Manusmṛti* is the earliest. It lays down that ten virtues are the constituents of *dharma*, namely fortitude, forgiveness, self-restraint, nonstealing, purity, restraint of passions, intelligence, knowledge, truth and freedom from anger.¹⁷ Thus *dharmaśāstras* also lay emphasis on these moral qualities. The *varṇāśramadharma* or the discipline of the classes and stages of life was according to S. Radhakrishnan is the Hindu's device for the gradual improvement of human nature.¹⁸

In considering the *varṇa dharma* we should remember that the main objective of the law-givers was the harmonious development of the society. It implies responsibilities not rights. The *varṇa* system was in accordance with an individual's temperament and his actions.¹⁹ On this basis the law-givers laid down the social functions of the four *varṇas*.²⁰ If the members of all the four *varṇas* do their duties sincerely it will lead to harmonious working of the society. It is for this reason that Manu lays down that a person who does his duties assigned to him as a member of a particular *varṇa* and stage in life (*āśrama*) gets all his wishes fulfilled in this world and gets immortality after death.²¹

In the *varṇa* system it is a mistake to regard one *varṇa* superior to the other as they are complementary and not rivals. The four classes *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra* correspond respectively to the intellectual, the militant, the industrial and the unskilled workers who are all members of one organic whole.

The aim of assigning duties of the four stages in life was to make every individual lead a disciplined life. As a student he was expected to acquire the knowledge which he

gets from his forefathers and lead a disciplined life to be able to face the problems of life with intelligence and fortitude. As a householder he had to discharge his duty towards his forefathers, guests, members of his family and other relatives. Thus the harmonious working of the society depended to a great extent on the proper discharge of his duties by every householder. The stages of a forester and a recluse were not only an opportunity for the individual to prepare himself for his own salvation but also for enabling him to give proper guidance, on the basis of his knowledge and experience, to the householders in discharging their duties towards the society.

The aim of *rājadharma* (rules for the rulers) was also maintenance of those conditions which might enable every member of the society to develop his faculties fully so that he may be able to discharge his duties towards the society efficiently. According to Kauṭilya the ruler should make all people do duties prescribed for them as members of the four *varṇas* and befitting the stage of life through which they are passing.²² In this way the ruler helped the individual and the society as a whole to act according to the tenets of *dharma*. Thus all the facets of *dharma*, namely *sāmānvadharma*, *varṇadharma*, *āśrama dharma* and *rājadharma* had one common aim namely the harmonious working of the society by enabling every individual to realize his ultimate aim in life namely salvation by fulfilling all his duties as a member of the society.

The above discussion makes it clear that *dharma* in India does not force men into virtue but trains them for it. It is not a fixed code of mechanical rules, but a living spirit which grows and moves in response to the development of the society. Even the State in India was a servant of *dharma*. It was not above

morality. Its function was not to altar or annual *dharma* but only to administer it.²³ *Dharma* was essential because it promoted individual security and happiness as well as the stability of the social order.

Religion played a dominant role in all ancient cultures especially in India where it was the prime factor moulding the lives of the people for ages. It was because our forefathers realized that man is not simply body-life-mind complex. He is essentially and fundamentally a spiritual being. They realized that he is endowed by God not only with his lower mind like other animals but also with a higher mind which connects him with the Divine. His conscience is pervaded by some higher spirit which enables him to distinguish the right from the wrong. They saw that the complexities of the universe could not be explained by man's senses alone. There are other powers within man himself of which he is normally unaware, that he is conscious only of a small part of himself, that the invisible always surrounds the visible, the supersensible even as the infinite always surrounds the finite. The spiritual self of man is an integral part of the self of the universe. Religion enables a man to control and regulate his lower self of desires by the law of the higher self. It places before him the ideal of perfection and provides the inner urge to move towards it. It is a part of the nature of man to aspire to transcend his finitude and become one with the Absolute. This supreme aspiration finds expression in the Vedic prayer:

From Unreality lead me to Reality,
From Darkness Lead me to Light,
From Death lead me to Immortality.²⁴

Religion is nothing but the process by which an individual is able to transcend all that is relative and finite in him and enter into communion with the infinite or Supreme Being. This supreme aspiration of man seems to have been the most important factor why

religion played so important a role in ancient India.

The general impression that the spirit of science is opposed to that of *dharma* is unfortunate and untrue. The spirit of science does not suggest that the ultimate beginning is matter. The mind of man which splits the atom is superior to it. The achievements of science stand as witnesses to the spirit in man. The nature of cosmic evolution with its order and progress suggests the reality of underlying spirit. The spirit of science leads to the refinement of religion. Religion is not magic or witch-craft, quakery or superstition. It is not to be confused with outdated dogmas, incredible superstitions, which are hindrances and barriers, which spoil the simplicity of spiritual life. Experience is not limited to the data of perception or introspection, It embraces para-normal phenomena and spiritual state. All religions are rooted in experience.²⁵

Faith without wisdom, without tolerance and respect of others' ways of life is a dangerous thing.²⁶ Aśoka's twelfth Rock-Edict sets forth the principle of religious toleration in very clear terms and constitutes one of the noblest documents of human history.

"King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects : both ascetics and householders; both with gifts and with honours of various kinds he is honouring them. But *Devānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so highly as this viz. that a promotion of essentials of all sects should take place. But a promotion of the essentials is possible in many ways. But the root is this, viz., guarding one's speech i.e. that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions or that it should be moderate in every case. But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case."

"If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects. If one of acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well. For whosoever praises his own or blames other sects—all this out of devotion to his own sect i.e. with the view of glorifying his own sect—if he is acting thus he rather injures his own sect very severely."

"Therefore concord alone is meritorious i.e. that they should both hear and obey each other's morals. For this is the desire of *Devānāmpriya*, viz. that all sects should be full of learning and should be pure in doctrine."²⁷

All religions lay down certain basic principles and values of life and all activities of man are guided by these basic principles, and values of life. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that we should know those basic principles and values of life which enabled our ancestors to make our culture so great that it has retained its individuality to the present day.

All religions help an individual in his efforts to realise an ideal, the accomplishment of a mission, the ideal of perfection and provide an inner urge to move towards it. If society is to be lifted out of the morass into which it has fallen today the individual men and women have to recreate themselves. They must find out the meaning and purpose of life. It is the business of religion to restore belief in the purpose of life and give best and meaning to it.

References

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3. Rv. I, 187, X. 92, 2.
4. संगच्छध्वं संवदध्वं संवो मनांसि जानताम् ।
देवा भागं यथापूर्वं संजानाना उपासते ।
—Rv. X, 191, 2.
5. Rv. VII, 104, 12.
6. ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किञ्च जगत्यां जगत् ।
तेन त्वक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् ।
—Vaj. Sam. XI. 1.
7. Chāndogya Up. III, 17, 4.
8. Ibid. V, 10.
9. Chāndogya Up. II, 11, 13, 17-20.
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11. अधाष्टावात्मगुणाः । दया सर्वभूतेषु शान्तिरनसूया
शौचमनायासो मंगलम कार्पण्यमस्पृहेति ।
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12. Vasiṣṭha Dh. Su. X, 30, 31, 1.
13. Āpastamba Dh. Su. I, 8, 23, 3-6.
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15. Mbh. Śanti, 60.7.
16. बुद्धियुक्तो जहातीह उभे सुकृतदुष्कृते ।
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17. धृतिः क्षमादमोऽस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः ।
धीर्विद्या सत्यमक्रोधो दशकं धर्म लक्षणम् ।
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18. Indian Religions, p. 76.
19. चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुण कर्म विभागशः ।
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20. Manu, Sm. I. 88-91.
21. तेषु सम्यग् वर्तमानो गच्छत्यमरलोकताम्
यथा संकल्पितांश्चेह सर्वान् कामान् समश्नुते ।
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22. Kauṭ. III. 1.
23. Radhakrishnan, Indian Religions, p. 61.
24. असतो मा सद् गमय,
तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय,
मृत्योर्माऽमृतं गमयेति ।
—Śat. Br. XV. 3.1.30.
25. S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Religions, p. 6.
26. Ibid, pp. 12-14.
27. Hultsch p. 21 quoted by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, pp. 235-236.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss briefly the concept of *Rtām* in the *Rgveda* and state how it affected the individual in the Hindu social organization.
2. Discuss the concept of *Dharma* in the later Vedic Period with special reference to the *Upaniṣads*.
3. "The *Dharmasūtras* did not attack as much importance to performance of sacrifices as to the development of moral qualities in an individual." Give evidence in support of the above statement.
4. Discuss how *varṇa-dharma* lays emphasis on responsibilities not rights.
5. Bring out the significance of the *Aśrama-dharma* in an individual's life?
6. How did the observance of rules laid down for the rulers (*rājadharmā*) enabled every member of the society to develop his facilities fully so as to be able to discharge his duties towards the society efficiently?
7. Discuss how *Dharma* enables an individual to control and regulate his lower self of desires by the law of the higher self?
8. "Faith without wisdom, without tolerance and respect for other's way of life is a dangerous thing." Discuss the above statement with special reference to Aśoka's *Dhamma*.

Chapter 10

Religious Beliefs of the Harappan People

The Harappan civilization extended in the west upto Sutkagen Dor near the modern frontier of Pakistan and Iran. In the east the remains of this culture have been found at Alamgirpur in Meerut district, in the north upto Manda in Jammu and in the south upto Bhagatrao. On the basis of Carbon-14 dating this culture flourished from C. 2300 to 1750 B.C. Thus it was the most extensive culture of this period.

No buildings have so far been discovered in the remains associated with this culture, which may be definitely regarded as temples. For reconstructing the religion of these people, we have to rely on the testimony of seals, sealing, figurines or stone images. The Harappan script has not yet been satisfactorily deciphered hence our knowledge of the religious beliefs of these people is limited. A number of figurines of terracotta and faience etc. standing or seated show a semi-nude female, wearing a girdle round her loins with an elaborate head-dress and necklace, sometimes with an ear ornament. Some of the figures are smoke-stained which makes us conclude that these figures were objects of worship and perhaps oil or incense was burnt before them. These figures are rightly taken to represent mother-goddess or Śakti. The worship of Divine Mother or Earth goddess is referred in the *Rgveda*, which calls her by the names of *Aditi*, *Prṛthvī* or *Prṛthivī*.¹ In the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* the Earth goddess is called *Prṛthivīm Mātaram*.² Thus it is clear that the Vedic Aryans also worshipped the mother goddess.

A sealing from Harappa shows on the obverse a nude female figure, turned upside down with outspread legs and a plant issuing from the womb. On the reverse of this sealing is depicted a man with a sickle in his hand and a woman seated on the ground with hand raised in the posture of prayer. Obviously this depicts human sacrifice in honour of the Mother-goddess.

Among the male deities the most important is a three-faced deity wearing a horned dress and seated cross-legged on a throne with penis erectus and surrounded by a number of animals such as elephant, tiger, buffalo, rhinoceros and deer. This deity has three features of Śiva; namely, he is three faced (*trimukha*), the lord of animals (*paśupati*) and a *Yogī*. Hence this deity has been called proto-Śiva. Buddha Prakash, however, lays emphasis on the absence of Nandi, the vehicle of Śiva and thinks that it will be more appropriate to identify the deity with *Prajāpati* or *Tvaṣṭṛ* from which emanates the creation. The figure tallies with the description of *Tvaṣṭṛ*, in the *Rgveda*. He is called the lord of animals and an incarnation of the creator in this universe.³ Two other seals show this deity with a sprig of flowers or leaves rising from his head between the horns. The sprig suggests that the deity was associated with vegetation or fertility.

This deity was worshipped not only in the human form but also in the form of phallus (*liṅga*) as a number of conical stones have been discovered in the excavations. That the

Harappan people were worshippers of phallus is also proved by the references to non-Aryans in the *R̥gveda* where they are called worshippers of phallus (*Śísna-devāh*).⁴

Small ring stones found in the excavations suggest that worship of *Yoni* (the female symbol of generation) was also prevalent, though not to the extent of the *liṅga* worship.

A seal from Mohenjodaro shows a standing deity between two branches of a tree. It is shown being worshipped by seven female devotees in a line with a mythical animal figure as the *vāhana* (vehicle) of the goddess. The tree is identified as *Pipal* tree. This shows that the worship of *Pipal* tree was also prevalent among the Harappan people.

Seals also portray figures of animals as objects of worship. Some of these animals are mythical while of others are real. They are shown eating offerings of food and are profusely decorated with ornaments as objects of worship. From the above account it is clear that the Harappan people also worshipped animals. They might have been considered sacred as *vāhanas* of deities e.g. the bull of Śiva, the lion of Durgā, the buffalo of Yama, the ram of Brahmā and the elephant of Indra. From a faience tablet it appears that some form of *Nāga* worship was also practised by these people. In this tablet a seated deity is shown with a hooded corba on his head. The worshippers are shown seated on either side of the deity.

Some six seals portray standing *yogis* who may be taken to be Jain ascetics in the *Kāyotsarga* posture.

The worship of fire also seems to have been known to the Harappan people as a number of fire altars have been found on raised platforms at *Kālībangān* in Rajasthan.

The direct evidence of water worship has been found in the form of the Great Bath at Mohenjodaro which shows that ceremonial

ablutions formed a feature of the religion of the Harappan people.

The representations on some seals of *Svastika* and the wheel suggest that the Sun was represented symbolically.

From the figures on some other seals it appears that the numbers three, five, seven and sixteen were considered sacred by the Harappan people. According to Buddha Prakash, three stands for the three elements namely, mind (*manas*), vital breath (*prāṇa*) and sacred speech (*vāk*); five stands for five varieties of each of the elements; seven stands for mind (*manas*), vital breath (*prāṇa*) and five elements namely fire, water, air, sky and earth. The number sixteen probably represents five kinds of each of *manas*, *prāṇa* and *vāk* together with the Supreme Being. In the *Vedas* the whole is called *Ṣoḍaśī Prajāpati*.⁵

These people had a belief in life after death. The dead bodies, therefore, were either buried or after cremation, their remains were preserved in a jar. With the dead bodies the Harappan people also buried animals, birds, fish, beads, bangles, etc. so that the dead person might use them in need.

It seems that the common people had full faith in witchcraft. It is possible that some of these seals were used as amulets.

In the past scholars have generally believed that the Harappan civilization was different from and anterior to the culture of the Vedic period of. As we have pointed out above, there are some similarities in the religious beliefs of these cultures. So long as the Harappan script is not satisfactorily deciphered the problem of the relationship of the two cultures cannot be solved with any amount of certainty.

It is, however, beyond doubt that modern Hinduism is indebted to a great extent to the religious beliefs of the Harappan people. The worship of Śiva and Śakti both in human and

symbolic form, worship of stones, trees and animals, and the worship of Nāgas, Yakṣas, etc., which are embodiments of good or evil spirits, can all be traced to Harappan culture. Even traces of offering oblations into fire, which was considered a distinctive feature of the Vedic religion can be seen at Kālibangān in the form of fire altars.

References

1. Rv. V. 85. 1-5, VI. 12.5., X. 187.2 etc.
2. Tait. Bra. II. 4.6.8.
3. Rv. III. 55. 19; X. 99.6.
4. Rv. VII. 21.5; X. 99.3.
5. Buddha Prakash, Bhāratiya Dharma evam Samskr̥ti, p. 5.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the archaeological evidence in support of the fact that the Harappan people worshipped the Mother goddess.
2. What features in the figures of a male deity on the seals makes us conclude that the Harappan people worshipped Proto type of Śiva?
3. What is the evidence in support of the view that the Harappan people worshipped the phallus?
4. How do we know that the Harappan people also worshipped trees and animals?
5. Discuss how modern Hinduism is indebted to a great extent to the religious beliefs of the Harappan people.

Chapter 11

The Vedic Religion

The *Vedas* are the earliest source books of early Indian culture and religion. There are four *Vedas* : the *R̥gveda*, the *Sāmaveda*, the *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. The *R̥gveda* is in poetical form with more than a thousand hymns in about ten thousand stanzas. The *Sāmaveda* is wholly derived from the *R̥gveda* and has a little less than two thousand stanzas. The *Yajurveda* (*Vājasaneyī* text) has both poetry and prose with a total of about two thousand stanzas and prose units. The *Atharvaveda* has over seven hundred hymns in about six thousand stanzas and prose units. The *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, too, have many *R̥gvedic* stanzas in them.

(a) The *R̥gveda*

Of the four *Vedas*, the earliest is the *R̥gveda*. It might be called a literary anthology drawn from family traditions. It is made up of contributions made to it in different periods by different seers. It comprises not only the hymns to God in his different manifestations as so many deities but also fragments of secular poetry together with hymns giving expression to philosophy. It throws sufficient light on the earliest religious beliefs of the Indo-Aryans. According to the Vedic seers there are two different ways of approaching the Ultimate Reality : one through an inner spiritual vision and another through poetic vision, which makes what is seen with the eye a symbol of what is seen with the spirit and the mind.

The descriptions of gods are not intellectual conceptions but experiences which have been lived through at the culmination of a state of mystic exaltation conceived as revelation.¹

The mythology of the *R̥gveda* is in the making constantly relating itself to the process of Creation and to the early ages of the world. Various planes are discernible in this mythology. On the farthest plane are *Dyaus* (Heaven) and *Pr̥thivi* (earth). In the middle distance is the figure of *Varuṇa*.² With him we associate *ṛta*. In the foreground stand *Indra* and his great cycle, aggressive gods, who have absorbed the substance of many other figures into themselves and now dominate the mythological legend. Lastly the fire in all its forms and *Soma* were given divine status.

In part the *R̥gvedic* gods are the transposition of natural phenomena to the mythical plane. Vedic nature-worship is undeniable. The Sun is an all-pervading, ever-present force shown in many forms now directly, now symbolically. *Varuṇa* and *Mitra* (the Sun) represent two complementary aspects of the sovereign power, one magical and terrible in character and the other juridical and benign.

In the inner vision of the *R̥ṣis*, the ultimate Reality is Pure Being, formless, attributeless, sexless and nameless, as is clear from the following description of the pre-creation state:

"There was neither existence nor non-existence then, neither the world nor the sky that lies beyond it....The One (*ekam*) breathed

airless by self-impulse, other than that (*tat*) was nothing what-so-ever. What was that One (*tat ekam*) as the unborn (*aja*)?"³

The Vedic sages also speak of the Absolute manifested through the glory of creation as *Devas* (a being of splendour), with form, attribute and name. In the following words a seer speaks of the *Devas* as the manifestation of the Eternal (*akṣaram*) : "When the earliest of mornings dawned, the Great Eternal was manifested (*jāta*-literally born) on the path of light. So these forms of the *Devas* will be honoured. Great and single is the godhood of the *Devas*".⁴

The Rgvedic Deities may be placed under four categories namely (i) those representing the principal phenomena of nature, (ii) domestic deities, (iii) abstract deities and (iv) minor deities.

(i) Deities representing phenomena of Nature are the following:

- (1) Father *Dyaus*, the radiant god of the upper region.
- (2) Mother *Prthvī*, Earth.
- (3) *Varuṇa*, the all comprehending sky.
- (4) *Indra*, the god of Thunder and Rain.
- (5) The Sun worshipped in five forms.
 - (a) *Sūrya*, as source of light.
 - (b) *Savitā*, as source of fertility.
 - (c) *Mitra*, as beneficent energy.
 - (d) *Pūṣan*, as source of plant life and agriculture.
 - (e) *Viṣṇu*, as the swift moving Sun.
- (6) *Rudra*, *Śiva*.
- (7) The two *Aśvins* representing the morning and evening stars.
- (8) The *Maruts*, the Wind gods attending on *Rudra*, together with

- (9) *Vāyu* and
- (10) *Vāta*
- (11) *Parjanya*, the god of rain and water, and
- (12) *Uṣas* the goddess of Dawn.
- (ii) Domestic Deities: (1) *Agni* (Fire) and (2) *Soma* of (A Plant).
- (iii) Abstract Deities: (1) *Dhātṛ*, creator (2) *Vidhātā*, ordainer (3) *Viśvakarmā*, creator of cosmos, (4) *Prajāpati*, lord of creatures, (5) *Śrddhā*, faith, (6) *Manyu*, wrath (7) *Rta*, truth, (8) *Hiraṇyagarbha*; the Implicit, (9) *Brahmaṇaspati*, Lord of prayer, and (10) *Virāṭpurusa*, Oversoul.
- (iv) Minor Deities (1) *Rbhus*, aerial elves, (2) *Apsaras*, water nymphs, (3) *Gandharvas*, aerial spirits and (4) *Ādityas* sons of *Aditi*, the primeval goddess.

Sometimes an object closely associated with the *Deva* becomes a name for him. According to the figure of speech Metonymy. *Agni* (meaning 'fire') into which offerings are made for the *Deva*—becomes the name of the *Deva*, without losing its original meaning. Similarly, *Soma* (the juice of a plant of that name) offered to the *Deva* and *Vāk* (sacred speech) used in prayers are respectively the names of a *Deva* and *Devī*.

But whatever the source of the names, the *Deva* or *Devī* bearing it is given common attributes applicable to the manifest Absolute.

The seers have repeatedly identified the *Deva* (the manifest-Absolute) with the Pure Being (the Unmanifest Absolute).⁶

It is evident then, that any one of *Devas* or *Devīs* may be regarded as the Supreme Being—the Absolute.⁷

In fact the underlying principle of the Vedic religion is monotheism. One Rgvedic passage states: "There is One Reality (*Ekamṣat*) whom the sages call by various names, they call it

Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan, Indra, Mitra or Varuṇa.”⁸

A sage in the *R̥gveda* says that at the beginning of creation, Cosmic order (*ṛta*) and truth (*satya*) were manifested through blazing spiritual fire (*tapas*)⁹. The *Devas* are promoters of *ṛta* and are pure in spirit and infallible. They embody *ṛta* in both its cosmic and ethical aspects.

Indo-European mythology served a number of social functions. These functions were respectively religious and juridical, military and temporal and economic.

“Bergaigne has shown us the right method, the method of seeking correspondence between the world of men, the performer of the sacrifice, the microcosm on the one hand, and the macrocosm on the other. The duty of the sages was to ensure the ordered functioning of the world and of religious ceremonial by reproducing the succession of cosmic events in their acts and the imagery they conceived. The term *ṛta* is designation of the cosmic order on which human order, ethics, and social behaviour depend. The images of the *Veda* have a ritual significance in themselves, they bring about the ordered functioning of the universe which is itself conceived as the scene of a vast sacrifice, the prototype of man-made sacrifices.”¹⁰

Ātman (the indwelling spirit)

The seers speak of the manifestation of the Absolute not only in the external universe, but also within man. In the *R̥gveda* we find the description of “two beautiful winged-birds united with each other, friends that have perched on the same tree, of which one eats the sweet-pippala fruit, and the other, not eating, looks around”. The tree is believed to signify the body of man, and the two birds the individual soul (*jīvātman*) and the Universal Soul (*Paramātman*) respectively. The

Universal Soul is described as desireless, serene, immortal, self-existent, satisfied with the essence of things, and lacking nothing. It is stated that one who has known the *Ātman*, serene, ageless, ever youthful is freed from the fear of death. When the individual soul, becomes perfectly pure, the dividing line between it and the Universal Soul disappears, and man claims his identity with *That*.

The individual soul is so near to the Universal Soul that there are many passages in which the individual soul identifies himself with the Universal Soul. Sage Vāmadeva says, “I am Manu, I am the Sun...I have given this earth to the Aryans...all gods carry out my orders.”¹¹

The Creation: Like the individual soul the creation is also divine. The Sun, the Moon, Fire, Air, Water, Earth are all gods according to the Vedic seers. According to the *Nirukta*¹² Fire on the earth, Air in the intermediate region between the heaven and the earth, and the Sun in the sky are the most important gods. Each of these three gods becomes thirty-three. These thirty-three gods again split themselves into three thousand, three hundred and thirty-nine gods.¹³ Thus the whole creation is called *Aditi*. She is complete, infinite and indivisible. She is considered the mother of all gods. She is the original form of creation.¹⁴ In reality all the gods are the part and parcel of one god. They are born as the result of contact with each other and are forms of each other.¹⁵

Ideal of Life: The Vedic Aryans seem to be a world-affirming and joyous set of people. In the *R̥gveda*, at any rate—in its earlier poems-world negation (*vairāgya*) does not seem to be a prominent feature. The ordinary people wanted purely material blessings: money, cattle, sons, good health, success in the arts of war and peace and a life of hundred years. In short, they wanted all earthly bliss. They believed that food is the source of much

that is excellent in man. The spirit of the great gods is lodged in food. With its help great deeds are done such as slaying *Vṛtra*, the dragon of wickedness.¹⁶ They prayed for freedom from all quarters.¹⁷ A sage requests Indra to fight *Vṛtra* bravely. It is also a call to men to fight the aggressor against their country.¹⁸

There are many hymns in the *Vedas* which speak of social concord, fraternity, peace, unity and happiness. In the *Rgveda* it is stated that all men should move together, speak together and let their minds be of one accord. Let their thoughts be common, the place of assembly common, common minds, hearts all united and a common purpose.¹⁹ In another hymn of the same *Veda* it is stated that none is superior or inferior, high or low. All men are children of father God and mother Earth. They should advance and flourish practising eternal and universal code of life.²⁰

The Vedic ideal was not confined to national harmony. It also aimed at establishing international harmony and concord. A Vedic seer prays, "Let us have concord (*sañjñāna*) with our own people and concord with foreign people too.... May we and the foreigners unite in our minds, unite in our purposes and not fight against the Divine spirit within us. Let not the battle-cry rise amidst many lying slain."²¹

The Vedic seers sought the harmony of the spirit of man with the profound serenity that lies in the heart of Nature and in the Divine. A peace-chant in the *Yajurveda* expresses this eloquently:

The serenity that is in the sky...in the atmosphere, in water, in plants, in forest trees; the serenity that is in the *Devas*, that is in *Brahman*, the serenity in the heart of serenity may that come to me.²²

Apart from the highest form of worship as meditating on the Absolute, the popular

worship was ceremonial and ritual in character in the form of sacrifice or offering of food and drink like milk, grain, clarified butter, flesh and *Soma* to the chosen deity for securing his favour or boon. The sacrifices were of two kinds. The first kind of sacrifices were those in which certain hymns and verses of the *Rgveda* were used as benedictions and prayers at birth, marriage, and other occasions of daily life, at funerals and ancestor-worship, as well as at ceremonies for ensuring the fertility of the cattle and the growth of fruits of the field. At these the householder officiated as the sacrificial priest. These simple sacrifices were performed by every one, rich or poor according to his means. The second kind of ceremonial worship was so elaborate that seven classes of priests were required to take charge of separate specialized functions such as:

The *Hotṛ* recited the hymns.

The *Adhvaryu* carried out manual functions.

The *Udgātṛ* sang the *Sāmas*.

The Ritual: There were no temples in the Vedic period. The term *āyatana* designated the ordinary domestic hearth. The centre of the sacred ground was called *vedi*. It was sometimes a raised mound, but more often a pit made to receive oblations.

Of the grand Vedic sacrifices, the *Soma* sacrifice relating to Indra was considered the most important. This was performed by the kings or aristocrats. Sixteen priests were appointed for the performance of this sacrifice. The *Soma* plant was purchased and brought in a cart. On the first day oblations of boiled milk were offered to the fire. On the second day the *Soma* juice was pressed and was purified upon a strainer for removing impurities. It was stored in jars and mixed with milk. Then it was offered to gods. Usually *Soma* juice was pressed three times a day. The *Soma* sacrifices were of seven kinds. The

Vājapeya sacrifice was one of them. It was performed for gaining strength. One feature of this sacrifice was the races of chariots. *Rājasūya* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices continued for many days and were performed by *Chakravartī* rulers. In some sacrifices animals were slaughtered, but later slaughter of animals was not considered proper by the society.

This religion of sacrifice had also its symbolic aspect. God offered up His own *virāṭ-deha* as a sacrifice for the sake of His creation. So self-sacrifice is the duty of every creature of God. Man like the creator, must also maintain his little system and serve the small world in which he moves by the utmost self-sacrifice of which he is capable. Life must be an offering to Duty. Religion is a course of self-sacrifice.

The hymns of the Vedas form the foundation of subsequent Indian thought. While the *Brāhmaṇas* emphasize the sacrificial ritual shadowed forth in the hymns, the *Upaniṣads* carry out their philosophical suggestions. The theism of the *Bhagavadgītā* is only an idealisation of *Varuṇa* worship. The great doctrine of *Karma* is yet in its infancy as *Rta*, which implies the primitive conception that good deeds are rewarded by a life of bliss and evil deeds by a life of torment.

(b) The Atharvaveda

In the *Atharvaveda* the divinities have become merely decorative in function. *Indra* is a shadowy figure of magic, *Varuṇa* loses his virility. The mention of most of the gods is more or less a distorted version of something that has come down from the *Ṛgveda*.

The religion of the *Atharvaveda* is that of the primitive man, to whom the world is full of shapeless ghosts and spirits of death. The divinities of the *Atharvaveda* are regarded with a kind of cringing fear, as powers whose wrath

is to be deprecated and whose favour curried.

The creed of the common people continued to be simple and consisted, in addition to more primitive forms of nature worship, in various practices such as incantations and charms intended to ward off evil and appease the dark spirits of the air and earth. The *Atharvaveda*, though dated somewhat later than the *Ṛgveda*, records in certain respects a more ancient phase of religious belief. In the *Atharvaveda* a religion of magic with its childish reliance on sorcery and witchcraft, takes the place of purer Vedic religion.

The chief gods of the *Atharvaveda* are *Skambha*, the cosmic support, and *Rudra*, the lord of animals.

Questions about who made the world and the human body constantly recur in the *Atharvaveda*. It is as though magical methods were thought to be more appropriate to the subject than the usual ceremonies of praise. Time, the breath, the cow, *Skambha*, the Golden Embryo (*Hirānyagarbha*), the *Virāj* and many other things are put forward as suggestions.

(c) The Brāhmaṇas

All the gods of the *Brāhmaṇas* are more or less exhausted by their functions and tend to lose their virility. In the *Brāhmaṇas* supreme power is vested in the *Prajāpati*. He is not only the lord of creation but also an ethical authority reminding us of the earlier view that gods were responsible for upholding moral as well as cosmic order. He is the symbol of the non-defined, non-determined. In another aspect—he is the sacrifice. The function of the sacrifice is to bring together all uncoordinated phenomena and build them up into an organic whole.

For the writers of the *Brāhmaṇas* the essential is to perform the prescribed sacrifice

with confidence in the efficacy of the sacrifices and with scrupulous exactitude.

The religion of the *Brāhmaṇas* was purely formal. The sacrifices please the gods and profit men. "Not only can the gods be compelled by the sacrificer to do what he likes; the gods themselves, it is thought, are gods and are able to discharge their function of maintaining the world-order by virtue of the offerings presented to them. In other words, the sacrifice is now exalted above gods. ...It is now commonly held that in this new turn in the efforts of the Vedic Indian to accomplish his desire, we discover a distinctly magical element introduced into the ritual; and that priest and prayer henceforward become transformed into magician and spell."²³

The elaboration of sacrificial religion and its rituals led to a growth of priesthood which now expanded from the *R̥gvedic* seven priests to seventeen priests among whom there was division of labour in their performance. The chief of these were four : (1) *Hotṛ*, (2) *Udgātṛ*, (3) *Adhvaryu* and (4) *Brahman* the presiding priest, each with his staff of assistants. We have already mentioned the first three of these four in connection with the *R̥gvedic* ritual. The *Brahman* was the repository of the unexpressed power of the formula. He was a silent spectator, whose duty was to see that the operation was carried out with accuracy.

There is no longer the spontaneity or simplicity of religious feeling that is associated in a large measure with the sacrifice in the age of the *R̥gveda*. But it should not be thought that ritualism in this extreme form was in any sense the creed of the people at large. The *Brāhmaṇas* were the compositions of poet priests who had developed a cult of their own, and unfold but an aristocratic religion. Even in the aristocratic circles the excessive development of ritualism does not seem to have wholly superseded the older idea of

sacrifice as what man owes to the gods. In the *Brāhmaṇas* sacrifice is sometimes pictured as a *ṛṇa* (debt) due to gods.

In spite of suggestions of a higher ethics and religion, it must be said that, in this period, people were more anxious about the completion of their sacrifices than the perfection of their souls.

(d) The Upaniṣads

The *Upaniṣads* cannot be regarded as representing a consistent, homogeneous or unified philosophical system. Divergences of method, opinion and conclusion are everywhere apparent even within a single *Upaniṣad*. Primarily they represent a spirit different from, even hostile to ritual and embody a theory of universe quite different from the one that underlies the teachings of the *Brāhmaṇas*. For example in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* it is stated 'whosoever hopes for real good to accrue from these rites is a fool and is sure to be overtaken again and again by death and decrepitude.'²⁴

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* gives a subjective turn to horse sacrifice, and transforms it into a meditative act in which the contemplative person offers the whole universe in place of the horse and by thus renouncing everything attains true autonomy. According to the *Īśa Upaniṣad* one should not renounce activity and withdraw from the world, but give up only all thought of reaping any personal benefit from it, thus anticipating the well-known teaching of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

The advance of the *Upaniṣads* on the *Vedas* consists in an increased attention or a shifting of the centre from the outer to the inner world. In the *Vedas* the vast order and movement of nature engage attention. Their gods represent cosmic forces. The essence of *Upaniṣads* is *mīmāṃsā*, reflection, as opposed to the intuitive quality of the hymns and the practical minded elaborations of the

Brāhmaṇas. The teaching of the *Upaniṣads* starts at the point where the exposition of the scriptures stops.

The *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* says that man is turned outward by his senses and so loses contact with himself. His soul has become immersed in outer things, in power and possessions. It must turn round (*āvṛtta cakṣuḥ*) to find its right direction and discover the meaning and reality it has lost.²⁵ The *Upaniṣadic* text *tat tvam asi* stresses the divine possibilities of man. The Supreme is in the soul of man. *Brahman* is the continuing power which pervades the world. He is the real of the real, the foundation on which the world rests.²⁶ In the *Upaniṣads* we return to explore the depth of the inner world. Instead of devoting attention to the gods and the outer world, the *Upaniṣadic* seers turn their attention to that all-transcending, truly supernatural principle from which the divine directors of the natural world proceeded. The *Upaniṣads* recognise only one spirit-almighty infinite, eternal, incomprehensible, self-existent, the creator, preserver and destroyer of the world. They are decisive about the principle that *Brahman* is the sole source of life in all that lives, the single thread binding the whole plurality into a single unity. He is the infinite spirit who is both in us and out of us. He is that eternal spirit which transcends and includes the objective world and the subjective man. In the highest state of spiritual experience; we see nothing else, hear nothing else, know nothing else. In the supreme illumination of soul we realize that this world is merely a bundle of names and forms, that there is only one permanent reality underlying the manifold phenomenal world, and that in the ultimate analysis the reality, called *Brahman*, is identical with the essential reality in human personality namely the Self (*ātman*). The *Upaniṣads* make out that of the finite

objects, the individual Self (*ātman*) has the highest reality. It comes nearest to the nature of the Absolute though it is not the Absolute itself. The different conceptions of *Brahman* correspond to the different ideas of the *Ātman* and vice-versa.

The teaching of the *Upaniṣads*, is monistic and idealistic. Not the so called gods, but the living God, the *Ātman* is to be worshipped. The one supreme power through which all things have been brought into being is one with the inmost self in each man's heart.

One *Upaniṣadic* teacher asks a question. 'Is there anything for the sake of which everything else is? If it is, then that for the sake of which everything else is moved, and towards which everything moves. What is this? This is the *Ātman*. In this context there is the famous *Upaniṣadic* passage : "Verily, not for the sake of husband is the husband dear, but a husband is dear for the sake of the Self,"²⁷ and so on. Therefore, "The Self should be seen, heard of, reflected on, and meditated upon Verily, by the seeing of, by the hearing of, by the thinking of, by the understanding of Self, all this is known."²⁸

Brahman and *Ātman* have been described as the two pillars on which rests nearly the whole edifice of Indian philosophy. The distinctive meaning of *Brahman* is the ultimate source of the outer world while that of *Ātman* is the inner self of man. Later *Ātman*, which as self is the inmost truth of man became, as the cosmic self, *Brahman*, the innermost truth of the world. Thus in the course of speculation Indians identified the outer reality with the inner, and by such a happy identification at last reached the goal of their long quest after unity.²⁹

The intent of the *Upaniṣadic* teachers was to awaken man from an eternity of ignorance. Their aim was to give him a seeing faith that makes him become a light unto himself. In

the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* it is stated that when the Sun has set and the Moon has gone out and speech has stopped the Self is a man's light.³⁰ When the *Upaniṣads* speak of *Ātman* they also speak of *ānanda* which is the substance of Being itself. A passage in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* states : "Brahman is bliss. For truly beings here are born from bliss, when born they live by bliss and into bliss, when departing they enter."³¹

The *Upaniṣadic* view is that there is in the highest condition a disintegration of individuality, a giving up of isolation but it is not a mere nothing or death. As the flowing rivers disappear in the sea, losing their name and form, thus a wise man, freed from name and form goes to the divine person who is beyond all.³²

It is clearly enunciated in the *Upaniṣads* that the highest kind of immortality is becoming one with *Brahman*.

The *Upaniṣads* determine the main issues of philosophical inquiry and mark out the lines of subsequent philosophical discussion. They represent the earliest efforts of man at giving a philosophical explanation of the world. They contain the elements of a genuine philosophical idealism, insisting on the relative reality of the world, the oneness and wholeness of spirit and the need of an ethical and religious life.

The antagonism between the teachings of the *Vedas* and the *Upaniṣads* gradually disappeared. The worship of God was regarded as an aid to the building up of the life of truth in the soul. While the speculative mind contemplates the being of God, the emotional nature in its passionate devotion for God loses itself in Him. This indicates that as the *Upaniṣadic* doctrine more and more triumphed, an attempt was made to reconcile the two. The reconciliation is clearly traceable in the later *Upaniṣads* e.g. *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣads*. It alludes approvingly to *Agni* and

Soma, chief sacrificial deities, and commends a return to the old ritualistic worship.

Ideal of Life

According to the *Upaniṣads* *Karma* rightly understood does not discourage moral effort. It only says that every act is the inevitable outcome of the preceding conditions. According to the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* one who performs good deeds is better than one who is well versed in *Brahmavidyā*³³. According to the *Īśa Upaniṣad* one should wish to live for hundred years doing his duty throughout his life.³⁴ In the *Upaniṣads* actions and knowledge are complementary. According to the *Chāndogya Upaniṣads* a house-holder by acquisition of true knowledge (*parāvidyā*), control of his senses and good conduct can attain *Brahmaloka* or immortality.³⁵ It is not necessary to renounce the world for attaining immortality. *Yājñavalkya*, a house-holder, demonstrated by his living example that the realization of the *Brahman* and life as a 'householder' are not incompatible.

The philosophical background of the *Gītā* is taken from the *Upaniṣads*. It tried to reckon with the past and brought a synthesis of the ideological elements in a more conservative spirit. In this work the discussion of *Kṣetra* and *Kṣetrajñā*, *Kṣara* and *Akṣara* are based on the *Upaniṣads*. The account of the Supreme Reality is also derived from the same source. *Bhakti* is a direct development of the *Upāsana* of the *Upaniṣads*. The love for the Supreme involves the giving up of all else. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* a seer remarks, "What shall we do with progeny, when we have got this being, this world to live in?"

(e) The Bhagavadgītā

All the scholars recognise in the *Gītā* a current of *Upaniṣadic* thought. The *Upaniṣadic*

references lead one to think that the work is entirely Vedantic. But there is another stream of thought mingling with it viz. theism of the Bhāgavata type. The teaching of the *Gītā* is a blend of these two distinct creeds. There is no intention of mixing doctrines of the two creeds in the *Gītā*.

In adapting the idealism of the *Upaniṣads* to a theistically minded people the *Gītā* attempts to derive a religion from the *Upaniṣadic* philosophy. It shows that the reflective spiritual idealism of the *Upaniṣads* has room for the living warm religion of personal devotion. It attempts a spiritual synthesis which could support life and conduct on the basis of the *Upaniṣadic* truth, which it carries into the life-blood of the Indian people. The central purpose of the *Gītā* is to solve the problem of life and stimulate right conduct.

The main teaching of the *Gītā* is *Karmayoga*, the mysticism of action which also involves the *Jñānayoga* (the mysticism of contemplation) and the *Bhaktiyoga* (the mysticism of devotion). The *Gītā* insists on an intuitive insight, accompanied by rational knowledge-*jñānam vijñāna-sahitam*. Without this logical support, intuition may turn out to be mere emotional subjectivity. The author of the *Gītā* suggests that the direct consciousness of the reality has universality about it.³⁶ *Karmayoga* is the way of finding God in the world. It is both action and renunciation. It is a renunciation of the fruits of action. Renunciation of the world consists in being constantly engaged in activity for the good of the world. Indeed *Karmayoga* is the activity of finding God in this world. It "is a process of transforming the activities of our everyday life by an inward spiritual consciousness in such a way that all we do is done in a spirit of self-surrender and dedication unto God. It is action and devotion; it is devotion that is also knowledge, it is a knowledge of the faith in God."³⁷

The *Gītā* refers to the attainable state of an inner stability of transcendental consciousness, an intelligence and vision which it calls the state of *sthitaprajña* and then raises a question "How does the man of settled intelligence speak, how does he sit, how does he walk?"³⁸ The answer to all these questions is detachment which enables us to be and enables us 'to act'. Detachment implies that in spite of a chaotic and threatening world one who is *sthitaprajña* has the courage to be his true-self and enjoy the delight of existence.³⁹

The *Gītā* advises us to endure the effects of external objects as they come and go. They are not permanent. One who has this kind of endurance and is not disturbed by happiness and sorrow becomes immortal or is fit for eternal life.⁴⁰ Detachment implies control of the senses by the mind. According to the *Gītā* one who controls the senses by the mind and without attachment engages the organs of action in the path of work is superior to one who remains inactive. Activity through detachment enables a person to lead a good life. The *sthitaprajña* does not act to obtain something. The action must be done regardless of its consequences. The *Gītā* advises us to arise for battle only after having considered within ourselves pleasure and pain, gain and loss, success and defeat—as if they were alike. Then, and only then, are we free from sin; then a new courage and a new resolution which shall not know defeat enters and transforms in the hour of crisis the faint-heartedness of even the heroic heart and destroys the delusion of fear.⁴¹

The *Gītā* asks us not to abandon activity but transform, through the ethics of detachment, its purpose. Man will, when transformed, think that we are not active because we have to obtain something by being active or inactive but because we have nothing to obtain by being involved in activity. "Activity

'for the good of the world' is not altruism but a detachment from the subtler egoism—the egoism that 'you were born to set right things'—that even altruism brings."⁴²

(f) The *Kalpasūtras*

The *Kalpasūtras* deal with Vedic sacrifices, household ceremonies and customary law. The principal aim of the *Brāhmaṇas* was to explain the significance of various acts in Vedic sacrifices and to settle ritualistic doctrines but the *Kalpasūtras* are chiefly concerned with giving a systematic account of all the Vedic sacrifices and customs prevalent at the time of their compilation. The *Kalpasūtras* are regarded as one of the six *Vedāṅgas*, which are auxiliary to the understanding to the *Vedas*. A complete corpus of the *Kalpasūtras* comprises the *Śrauta*, *Grhya* and *Dharma sūtras*. The *Śrautasūtras* describe great sacrifices which are discussed in the *Brāhmaṇas*. These great sacrifices were carried out by professional officiants and needed three fires. These ceremonies of religion took place on the days assigned to them in the calendar, daily, fortnightly and in certain seasons. There is also provision for votive rites (*Kāmyeṣṭi*) to obtain special favours. The most imposing ceremonies, the *Rājasūya*, the *Aśvamedha* and the *Vājapeya* were reserved for princes. They were rare and costly occasions which were a pretext for lavish celebrations.

The *Grhyasūtras* deal with household ceremonies such as marriage and *Upanayana*. The domestic rites took place on the family hearth and were performed by the householder, using a formulatary from a special collection. There were fourteen kinds of celebrations. Seven ordinary ones were celebrated with vegetable and animal offerings and seven others on the *Soma* oblation. The domestic rites are more closely related to every-day life.

They are of two kinds. Some are short daily practices accompanied by simplified form of oblations. The other rites constitute the *Samskāras*, the dedications by which the individual gradually approaches the state of Twice-born (*dvija*), reaches it and is confirmed in the privilege.

The *Dharmasūtras* deal with social usage and customary law. In the corpus of the *Kalpasūtras*, the *Dharmasūtras*, as a rule follow the *Grhyasūtras*. The *Dharmasūtras* lay down rules and regulations for the guidance of social as well as spiritual life of the community in its wider perspective. They deal with the rights and duties of different classes of society and prescribe the duties which an individual should discharge during different periods of his life. Matters relating to civil and criminal laws have also been dwelt upon in the *Dharmasūtras*. The *Grhyasūtras* deal with the rites and customs which are concerned with the domestic life of an *Ārya*, whereas the *Dharmasūtras* devote more attention to the social life of an *Ārya*.

When the *Āryans* settled in India, they came in contact with the non-*Āryans*. The *Āryan* and non-*Āryan* rituals mixed together. Probably a need was felt for the preservation of the *Āryan* character of the family. This gave an incentive to codify the rituals discussed in the *Grhyasūtras*. These 'set a stamp to the *Āryan* character of the family'. The *Śrautasūtras* 'had set a stamp to the *Āryan* character of public life of the *Āryan* people. But along with these two sets of religious literature in the separate domains of family and society, a third group of rules and customs was developing as a result of interaction between family and society. This was codified later in the form of the *Dharmasūtras* which subsequently gave birth to *Smṛti* literature'.⁴³

According to P.V. Kane the important *Śrautasūtras* such as those of *Āpastamba*,

Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Satyaśāḍha and some *Gṛhyasūtras*, such as those of Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana were compiled during the period C. 800 to C. 400 B.C. while the *Dharmasūtras* of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, and the *Gṛhyasūtras* of Pāraskara and others were compiled between C. 500 and C. 300 B.C.⁴⁴

The *Kalpasūtras* thus shed a good deal of welcome light on almost all the important aspects of ancient Indian life during the period C. 800 to C. 300 B.C. The rich store of cultural information contained in the *Kalpasūtras* is indispensable for a proper understanding of Indian culture.

References

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2. *Ibid*, pp. 13-14.
3. Rg. X. 1.29.
4. Rg. III. 56.1.
5. Bose, A.C. *The Vedic Seers* p. 6 in the *Seers and Thinkers*.
Rv. IX. 86. 29 (for *Soma*)
Ibid, X. 125. 8. (for *Vāk*).
6. *Agni is That (Tat), Vāyu is That...Brahman is That, Apas. (Waters) are That, Prajāpati is That*
Rv. I. 164.46.
7. Bose, A.C., *The Vedic Seers*, p. 7 in *The Seers and Thinkers*.
8. एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधावदन्ति,
अग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ।
—Rv. I. 164.46.
9. Rg. X. 190.1.
10. Louis Renou, *Religions of Ancient India*, 1972, pp. 17-18.
11. Rv. IV. 26. 1-2.
12. *Nirukta* VII. 5.
13. Rv. III. 9.9.
14. Rv. I. 89.10.
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22. Vaj. Sam. XXXVI. 17.
23. Hiriyanna, M., *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1968, p. 36.
24. प्लवा ह्येते अदृढा यज्ञ रूपाः
मूढा जरां मृत्युं पुनरेवापि यन्ति ।
—Mundaka Up. 1.2.7.
25. S. Radhakrishna, *Indian Religions*, p. 8.
26. *Ibid*, pp. 20-21.
27. न व अरे पत्युः कामया पतिः प्रियो भवति,
आत्मनस्तु कामया पतिः प्रियो भवति ।
28. *Bṛhadāranyaka Up.* II. 4.5.
29. अङ्गुष्ठं मात्रं पुरुषो मध्यं आत्मनि तिष्ठति ।
ईशानो भूतं भव्यस्य न ततो विजुगुप्सते ।
एतद् वैतत् ।
—Kāṭha Up. IV. 12.
30. *Bṛhadāranyaka Up.* IV. 3.
31. आनन्दो ब्रह्मेति विजानात् आनन्दाद् ह्येव
खलु इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, आनन्देन जातानि जीवन्ति,
आनन्दं प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति ।
—Tait. Up. III. 6.1.
32. यथा नद्यः स्यन्दमानाः समुद्रे
अस्तं गच्छन्ति नाम रूपे विहाय,
तथा विद्वान् नाम रूपाद् विमुक्तः
परात्परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम्॥
—Mundaka Up. III. 2.8.
33. *Mundaka Up.* III. 1.4.
34. *Īśa Up.* 2.
35. *Chāndogya Up.* VIII. 15.1.
36. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Religions*, p. 56.
37. N.A. Nikam : *Some concepts of Indian Culture*.
p. 63.
38. स्थितं प्रज्ञस्य का भाषा समाधिस्थस्य केशव ।
स्थितधीः किं प्रभाषेत किमासीत् ब्रजेत् किम् ॥
—Gītā, II, 54.
39. N.A. Nikam, *Some concepts of Indian Culture*.
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40. *Gītā* II. 14-15.
41. N.A. Nikam, *Some concepts of Indian Culture*.
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p. 9.
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QUESTIONS

1. Discuss how in part the *Rgvedic* gods are the transposition of natural phenomena to the mythical plane.
2. Discuss the concept of the ultimate Reality as gleaned from the *Rgveda*.
3. Give evidence from the *Rgveda* in support of the view that the underlying principle of the vedic religion is monotheism.
4. Give in brief a critical account of the two kinds of Vedic sacrifices. Also point-out the symbolic aspect of the religion of sacrifice.
5. Discuss how the religion of the *Atharvaveda* is that of a primitive man.
6. Explain how the sacrifice is exacted above gods in the *Brāhmaṇas*.
7. "The *Upaniṣads* represent a spirit different from and even hostile to ritual and embody a theory of universe quite different from the one that underlines the teachings of the *Brāhmaṇas*." Elucidate the above statement in all the aspects referred to in the above statement.
8. "The aim of the *Upaniṣads* was to give man a seeing faith that makes him become a light unto himself." Elucidate by giving appropriate views from the *Upaniṣads*.
9. Discuss how the later development of Indian philosophical schools is based on the views expressed in the *Upaniṣads*.
10. How is the *Karmayoga* of the *Bhagavadgītā* the way of finding God in the world?
11. Explain, in brief, the significance of the *Gṛhyasūtras* the *Srautasūtras* and the *Dharmasūtras* in preserving the Aryan character of the society when the Aryans came in contact with the non-Aryans.

Chapter 12

Buddhism

In the later Vedic period the authors of the *Upaniṣads* had questioned the cult of sacrifice. According to them this would not lead to eternal peace but to a life of perpetual flux. The majority of people were of opinion that eternal peace could be had only by renouncing the world. They were opposed to the life of plenty led by a house-holder.

Sixth century B.C. was a period of great religious upheaval not only in India but also in other countries of Asia. In Persia Zoroaster had called upon people to follow the principle of goodness and light and avoid the principle of evil and darkness. In China Confucius (born C. 551 B.C.), as a practical philosopher, said, "Repay kindness; but repay evil with justice". In India according to the Buddhist *Sūtras* there were 62 or 63 religious sects. Of these we know the views of at least six religious leaders. Mahāvīra was a reformer of the Jain sect who preached extreme non-violence, Makkhali Gosāla, who was the founder of Ājīvika sect, was a fatalist. He believed that everything is fated. There is no cause for it. He denied free will to an individual and preached extreme forms of mortification and absolute nudity. According to him every one has to suffer for sometime in this world. Pūranakassapa believed that there was no virtue or sin in any action. According to him there is no merit in virtue and no harm in vice, even in murder. Ajitakeśakambalin was a materialist. He had no belief in the other world or supernatural powers. He advised people to enjoy the pleasures of life. There is no need to practise

austerities. According to him nothing exists in this world except the four elements namely earth, water, fire and air. Pakudhakachchāyana said there were only seven eternal elements. All other things in this world were transitory. Sañjaya Beluṭṭhiputta had no definite answer to any question.

Both Mahāvīra and the Buddha had thus to face these extremists. Mahāvīra chose the path of austerities while the Buddha preached the middle path (*majjhima patipadā*). When the movement of the *Upaniṣads* became lost in dogmatic controversies, and the fear of dialectical disputation lulled the spirit of religion the Buddha insisted on the simplicity of truth and the majesty of moral law.

The excesses of the Brahmanic cult in the later Vedic period led to a sort of intellectual revolt by those people, mostly non-brāhmaṇas, who could not participate in these sacrifices. From the *Dīghanikāya* we know that people shed tears when they were forced to kill animals for sacrifices, cut vast fields of grass to obtain the sacrificial *darbha* grass and denude forests in the search for *yūpas*, (the sacrificial posts, to which animals intended for sacrifice were tied).¹ The *śramaṇas* had no faith in the efficacy of these costly sacrifices. The *kṣatriyas* became the leaders of this intellectual revolt which culminated in the religious movements of Jainism and Buddhism.

Gautama Buddha was distressed by the spectacle of human suffering in this world. He left his royal palace to find out the cause of

suffering in this world and discovered the four noble truths (*ārya satyāni*)

- (i) that there was suffering in this world (*duḥkha*).
- (ii) that desire (*trṣṇā*) was the cause of suffering.
- (iii) that it was possible to make an end of suffering (*nirodha*).
- (iv) that there was a way to end suffering namely the noble eight-fold path (*ārya aṣṭāṅgika mārga*) consisting of right views, intention, speech, action, livelihood, effort, mindfulness and concentration.

This was the first teaching of Gautama Buddha which he preached to the five brāhmaṇas who had deserted him after he had taken solid food, rice and sour milk and were living at Sāranātha near Vārāṇasī. This is called *Dharma-chakra-pravartana-Sūtra* as it marked the beginning of the propagation of his religious views.

The Buddha also discovered the Law of Causation or the Law of Dependent Origination (*Pratītyasamutpāda*). According to this law nothing is unconditional. As the existence of every event depends on some conditions there must be something which brings misery into existence. Life's sufferings are there because there is birth. Birth again has its condition. It is the will to become which causes our birth. Our mental clinging to the objects of the world is responsible for our desire to be born. This clinging is due to our craving to enjoy object-sights, sound etc. Previous sense experience tinged with some pleasant feelings is the cause of our craving. The craving arises because of the contact of sense organs with objects. This contact would not arise, had there not been the sense organs, the five senses and mind. These six depend for their existence on the body-mind organism which constitutes the perceptible being of man. This organism is

only the effect of the impression of our past existence. If the transitory, painful nature of the worldly existence were perfectly realized there would not arise any *karma* resulting in the rebirth. Ignorance of the four noble truths is, therefore, the root cause of impressions or tendencies that cause rebirth.

The object of Buddhist life is to attain emancipation from the bondage of ignorance and *karma*.

According to the Buddhist conception worldly things possess three cardinal characteristics.

- (i) they are transient or impermanent (*anitya*)
- (ii) they are inseparable from suffering (*duḥkha*)
- (iii) they never contain anything which can be called one's own (*anātma*).

According to the Hindus *Ātman* (soul) and *Paramātman* (the Higher Soul) are not subject to these characteristics mentioned above. The Buddhists do not accept this position. The Buddha taught us to pursue *prajñā* (knowledge) and practise *karuṇā* (compassion). He aimed at a new spiritual existence attained through *jñāna* (knowledge of the reality) and *bhakti* (devotion). He himself said, "I deem the highest goal of a man to be the stage in which there is neither old age, nor fear, nor disease, nor birth, nor death, nor anxieties and in which there is no continuous renewal of activity."² He aimed at a spiritual experience in which all selfish craving is extinct and with it every fear and passion. According to the Buddha our aim is to conquer time, overcome *saṃsāra* (a stream where the law of *karma* functions) and the way to it is the moral path which results in illumination. When the individual knows that what is impermanent is painful, he becomes detached from them and becomes free.

Though it is difficult to define *Nirvāṇa* it means freedom from the cycle of births and

deaths. It is a guarantee that rebirth will not occur because the conditions which result in rebirth have been destroyed. One who has attained *Nirvāṇa* enjoys perfect peace even in this life, so long as he lives after enlightenment.

According to the Buddha the law of change is universal; neither man, nor any other being, animate or inanimate, is exempt from it. The Buddha denies the existence of soul, but life according to him is an unbroken series of states; each of these depends on the condition just preceding it and gives rise to one just succeeding it.

There are two sides of the the Buddha—the individual and the social. The individual Buddha, as conceived by the *Hīnayāna* school, was a meditating sage absorbed and withdrawn, lost in joy of his inner meditation. For them Buddha was a man not God, a teacher not a saviour. The social side of the Buddha can be seen in the concept of the *Mahāyāna* school. According to this school he was concerned with the sorrows of men, eager to heal their troubles and spread his message of good to many. This concept of the Buddha based on his compassion for humanity, developed the ideal of salvation for all by the discipline of devotion and the way of universal service. Thus Buddhism of individual emancipation (*Hīnayāna*) became the Buddhism of universal salvation by faith, (*Mahāyāna*). The *Hīnayāna* tradition prevails in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand while the *Mahāyāna* tradition is found in Nepal, Tibet, Korea, China and Japan.

In the *Hīnayāna* the Buddha is worshipped as the Divine. He is to be adored as the saviour of man through the truth which he exemplified in his life. In the *Mahāyāna*, the earthly Buddha is a form of the eternal Buddha who reveals himself in the world. Gautama Śākyamuni is an earthly incarnation of the Eternal Buddha who exists in countless worlds. From this

concept the *Mahāyānists* developed the *Trikāya* theory. Śākyamuni is the *Nirmāṇakāya* (possessing an earthly body) of the eternal Buddha. *Saṃbhogakāya* is the manifestation of the eternal Buddha for the benefit of all *Bodhisattvas*. The *Dharmakāya* is the permanent, undifferentiated, all comprehending Truth. It is the ultimate reality. It is the true Buddha.

The *Hīnayānists* relied more on personal effort at good living as the way to salvation. This sect holds that the experience of enlightenment which was realized by the Buddha is attainable by other individuals if they follow the path in his footsteps. Every individual has in him the ability to become an *arhat* (one who is superior to Time and has conquered the world). The *Mahāyāna* adopts the ideal of *bodhisattva*, who, though he has attained release, out of concern and love of mankind lives in the world where he may serve men by bestowing hope and guiding their steps. The *Mahāyāna* preaches universal salvation. The great difference between the *arhat* and the *bodhisattva* is that the former is intent upon his own enlightenment and liberation while the latter wishes to help all creatures and bring them to full enlightenment. The *Mahāyānists* began to worship the images of the Buddha and the *bodhisattvas* and relied more on the worship of the Buddha as a means of salvation. In the *Mahāyāna* school faith took the place of reason and devotional worship replaced self-effort.

The canonical texts of *Hīnayāna* school were all written in Pali while those of *Mahāyāna* school were written in Saṃskṛt.

Main Schools of Buddhist Philosophy

1. *Śūnyavāda*: Nāgārjuna, (1st Cent. A.D.) who was a contemporary of Kaniṣka, propounded the theory of relativity and called it *Śūnyavāda*. He considered the world from

the point of view of absolute truth as *Śūnya*, i.e. devoid of an inherently persisting reality, being subject to change and dependent upon other causal factors. His school is called *Mādhyamika* because it teaches the middle doctrine where existence and non-existence have only relative truth and true wisdom is the knowledge of *Śūnyatā*.

2. *Vijñānavāda*: Asaṅga (4th century A.D.) declared that the objective world is merely the projection of one's mind, which alone has a real existence (*Vijñaptimātratā*). He considers *Vijñaptimātratā* equal to *Śūnyavāda* (*Tathatā*). His school is called *Vijñānavāda* or *Yogācāra*. His Highest Reality, the *Śūnyatā* of the *Mādhyamikas*, and the *Tathatā* of the *Vijñānavādins* is beyond description. Thus the Buddhists who started with a belief in Plurality of essential elements finally came to accept one essential element in the universe corresponding to the Brahmanic conception of the one principle accepted by the *Vedāntic* schools.

3. *Sarvāstivāda*: Vasubandhu, the youngest brother of Asaṅga, was a follower of *Hīnayāna* in the beginning. He propounded the principle that every object in the world was real. He believed that there are 75 elements in this world. From the synthesis and separation of these 75 elements all the objects of this world are created. The followers of this sect were also called *Vaibhāṣikas* because they had full faith in the commentaries on the *Sūtras* which were written in the reign of *Kaṇiṣka*. Later Vasubandhu accepted *Vijñānavāda* of Asaṅga.

4. *Sautrāntikas*: They had faith only in the *Sūtras* and bitterly opposed the realism of the *Sarvāstivādins*. According to them external objects were appearances and their existence could be proved only by inference. According to the *Sautrāntikas* there is no substance (*anātma*), no duration (*anitya*) and no bliss (*duḥkha*) except *nirvāṇa* (*sukha*). It was also a school of *Hīnayāna*.

The Buddha aimed at the development of a new type of free man, free from prejudices, intent on working out his own future, with one's self as one's own light. The free spirit sees no bounds to its love, recognizes in all human beings a spark of the Divine, and offers itself up a willing victim to the cause of mankind. It casts off all fear except that of wrong doing, passes the bounds of time and death and finds inexhaustible power in life eternal.³

It is a mistake to regard Buddhism as a revolt against Brahmanism. It grew out of the previous Brahmanical thought.

The Buddha agreed with Hinduism on the fundamentals of metaphysics and ethics, he rejected the infallibility of the Vedas, condemned animal sacrifices and meaningless ceremonies in worship, the superiority of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the caste system. He protested against certain practices which were in vogue. He laid more stress upon conduct and character than upon ceremonial worship, upon virtues rather than rituals. His main object was to bring about a reformation in the religious practices and a return to the basic principles. The Buddhists were organised as purely ascetic brotherhoods. Vedic religion contemplates asceticism at the third stage of life. But Buddhism recruits monks from its first stage with permission to return to a householder's life.

Scholars have assigned different reasons for the decline of Buddhism in India. From the account of Yuan Chwang it is clear that when he visited India Buddhism was on the decline. There were many factors which led to its decline in the seventh century A.D. By that time Buddhism had lost its vitality. Śāṅkarāchārya by calling this world *māyā* (illusion) had adopted those very arguments which were the bases of Buddhist criticism against Brahmanical concept of the universe. *Mahāyāna* had brought Buddhism nearer to

Hinduism. The Buddha himself was recognised as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The Tantras altered the shape of Buddhism beyond recognition and further narrowed down the gulf that still separated the Buddhists from the Hindus. Brahmanical influence pervaded Buddhist theology and iconography. The identity of the Buddha with Brahma Prajāpati began at least with the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka* (Best known *Mahayanist Sūtra*). The most important reason of the disappearance of Buddhism from India seems to be, as

S. Radhakrishnan has stated, that Hinduism had absorbed all the good principles of Buddhism such as non-violence and sympathy for others. Buddhism did not actually die in India but was reborn in the form of reformed Hinduism.

References

1. Kūṭada Sutta of Dīghanikāya (Vol. I, 5th Sutta).
2. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Religions*, p. 164.
3. S. Radhakrishnan *Supra*, pp. 171-172.

QUESTIONS

1. State how the sixth century B.C. was a period of great religions upheaval not only in India but also in other countries of Asia.
2. Discuss briefly the factors responsible for the rise and growth of Buddhism in India in the sixth century B.C.
3. Discuss the four noble truths and the law of causation and how they are inter-related.
4. How did Gautama Buddha attain the emancipation of man from the bondage of ignorance and *karma*?
5. Discuss the concept of *Nirvāṇa* in Buddhism.
6. Discuss the two sides of the life of the Buddha and how they led to the development of the two schools of Buddhism, the *Hīnayāna* and the *Mahāyāna*.
7. Explain the *Trikāya* theory of the *Mahāyāna* school of Buddhism.
8. Bring out the difference between the concept of an *arhat* in the *Hīnayāna* school and that of a *Bodhisattva* in the *Mahāyāna* school.
9. Bring out the main differences between the two schools of Buddhist philosophy *Śūnyavāda* and *Vijñānavāda*.
10. Differentiate between the two schools of *Hīnayāna* Buddhism namely the *Sarvāstivādins* and the *Sautrāntikas*.
11. Discuss how it is a mistake to regard Buddhism as a revolt against Brahmanism.
12. Discuss the factors which led to the decline of Buddhism in India.

Chapter 13

Jainism

According to the Jainas their religion is very old and the first *tirthankara* (one who provides the ship to cross the world of *saṁsāra*) was Rṣabhadeva. But modern historians do not regard the first twenty-two *tirthaṅkaras* as historical persons. They think that most probably *Pārśvanātha*, the twenty-third *tirthaṅkara*, is the first historical person who flourished about 250 years before Mahāvīra. Mahāvīra was the twenty-fourth *tirthaṅkara* and was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha.

Pārśvanātha was a prince but renounced the world and after 83 days' deep meditation attained the highest knowledge called *kaivalya*. He prescribed four prohibitions for his followers. These prohibitions were : not to injure life, not to tell a lie, not to steal and not to possess any property. To these four prohibitions Mahāvīra added the fifth which was the vow of chastity. *Pārśvanātha* is said to have instituted the practice of confession. It was he who required his monks to dispense with clothing.

Mahāvīra held that all inanimate objects have consciousness because they are endowed with soul. They can feel hurt by bad treatment. For this reason non-injury (*ahimsā*) was carried to an extreme degree by him. According to the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* the essence of the wisdom of a wise man lies in this that he hurts no creature. To be equal-minded to all creatures and regard them as one's own-self is *ahimsā* (non-violence).

According to Jainism there is no God or creator and man's emancipation from

suffering does not depend upon His grace. According to the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* the self is the creator of happiness and suffering and also their destroyer. It is the self that is one's friend or foe as it is engaged in doing good or is attached to the sensual objects, even when he sees the right path or truth. According to Jainism, God is only the highest, the fullest manifestation of all the powers that lie latent in the soul of man. Man's nature is dual, having both material and spiritual existence, each containing both living and dead matter. Man is not perfect but he can, in his soul, attain perfection by his spiritual nature, and if he does so he becomes a liberated soul or *Jaina*. Man alone is responsible for all that is good or bad in his life. The singular rigour or purity of *Jaina's* ethics may be directly attributed to the belief that man is totally responsible for himself, and partially responsible for others, in so far as it is essential for him to avoid doing any harm to others. By living a virtuous life of purity and austerity man can escape from suffering. By a life of renunciation one can attain salvation. According to Jainism salvation can be obtained by freeing the soul from earthly bondage. By means of right faith (*samyag darśana*), right knowledge (*samyag jñāna*) and right action (*samyag carita*) one can be free from earthly bondage. These three are called the three jewels of Jainism.

The Jainas have full faith in the theory of *karma*. According to them good or bad deeds of an individual have their effects on his rebirth and ultimate salvation. Detachment from the

sensual world, rather than denial of it is the Jaina goal. It is not possible to stop the sounds that enter your ears, forms that come before your eyes, smells that come into your nose, tastes that you feel upon your palate, touch of objects upon your body but according to the *Āchārāṅgasūtra* one should renounce all attraction and repulsion towards them. For salvation one's *karma* has to be annihilated by observance of the five vows prescribed by Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra and by not eating at night. To achieve freedom from affections by *karma āsravas* one should restrain body, mind and speech (*guptis*). Jainism also prescribed external and internal austerities. The external austerities include humility (*vinaya*), service, study (*svādhyāya*), meditation (*dhyāna*) and remaining motionless in all positions (*vyutsarga*). When the forces of passions and desires in the soul are annihilated the soul regains its natural perfection. The soul attains infinite knowledge (*jñāna*), infinite perception (*darśana*), power (*vīrya*) and happiness (*sukha*). This is the state of liberation (*mokṣa*). Such a man becomes a perfect being (*siddha parameṣṭi*).

Jainism teaches that the world is eternal, self existent and is composed of five constituent real substances : *dharma* (the medium of motion), *adharma* (the medium of rest), space (*ākāśa*), time (*kāla*) and particles of matter (*puṇḍra*).

According to Jainism there are nine substances which every individual should know. These are soul (*jīva*), non-soul (*ajīva*), influx (*āsrava*), the coming together of soul and *karma* (*bandha*), freedom from *karma* (*saṁvara*), the process of freeing the soul from the passions (*nirjarā*), release (*mokṣa*), actions which cover the natural enlightened form of the soul (*pāpa*) and actions which lead the soul towards salvation (*puṇya*).

Another important contribution of Jaina philosophy is the theory of *Anekāntavāda* which recognises the objectivity of the material universe. It implies that the universe is independent of the mind or consciousness. The mental or the subjective world consists of an infinity of independent minds in their conditioned or free existence. There is not only diversity but each real is equally diversified.

Nayavāda or the theory of stand-points is principally an analytical method of investigating a particular stand-point of a factual situation according to the purpose and level of equipment of the knower (*jñātṛ*). The particular stand-point investigated is one among a multitude of different view points, which in their totality, reflect the full situation.

Syādvāda or *saptabhaṅgī* is essentially a synthetical method designed to harmonise the different view points arrived at by *nayavāda*.

The various stand points offer an analysis of the manifold reality from their respective angles of vision. Such an analysis results in a wealth of partial truths which can be harmonised into a coherent scheme of knowledge by the employment of the synthetical method of *syādvāda*.

One who has faith in the principle of *anekāntavāda* will have the spirit to discriminate between the right and the wrong in his own and in the opposite views and try to work for a greater synthesis. He will thus feel the necessity of self-control, the practice of *ahimsā* and also tolerance and appreciation of other's point of view. These are some of the lessons from the teachings of Mahāvīra.

Thus Jaina philosophy is more intellectual and scholastic than Buddhist philosophy. Bhadrabāhu was the most remarkable of the early leaders of Jainism. He lived in the fourth century B.C. (He was a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya). It fell to him to take the

initiative in the famous migration to the south when there was a famine in Magadha. When some of these emigrants returned to Magadha in 79 B.C. there was a schism in the Jaina Church. Those who returned from the south (*Digambaras*) were strict in religious observances while those in the north (*Śvetāmbaras*) were relaxed in religious observances.

The *Śvetāmbara canon* was revised and written down by a Council at Valabhi in Gujarat in the middle of the fifth century A.D. The *Digambara canon* is said to have been codified in the second century A.D. but seems to be posterior to that of the *Śvetāmbaras*.

The northern group of Jainas first spread to Orissa and then to Bengal. Later they reached Uttar Pradesh where the extraordinary rich finds at Mathura are evidence that the Jainas flourished there at a very ancient date. Northern Gujarat became the principal centre of Jainism in the thirteenth century. Kumārapāla, the patron of Hemachandra, patronised Jainism in Gujarat.

In the tenth century A.D. many sects arose among the northern Jainas (*Śvetāmbaras*). These are called *gacchas*. Their number is said to be 84. The *Digambaras* have only four *gaṇas* (sects).

The practice of austerities is carried to great lengths. Physical asceticism is practised by keeping the body in unnatural positions and especially by fasting which may last as long as 522 days. Mental asceticism consists of progressive exercises in concentration, by which the higher state of consciousness that of *kevalin* may be attained. An extreme form of asceticism takes the form of committing suicide by abstaining from food. This is called *saṃlekhanā*.

Jainism is a faith of great purity. Its first principle is that of *ahimsā* or the avoidance of causing injury to any animate or inanimate

object. It is a system of ethical behaviour. One of its chief distinctions and perhaps its most meaningful accomplishment is that, though it places emphasis on personal salvation, this salvation can be accomplished only by social consideration for others.

The great message of Jainism is that an individual must become a man before he can think of heaven. Men's heritage as man is far superior to any other riches in the world. 'Be a man first and last for the kingdom of God belongs to the son of Man.' It is the same truth that is proclaimed in the unmistakable terms by the *Upaniṣadic* text, *Tat tvam asi* (That thou art).

Jainism and Society: Jainism lays great stress on equality. Among the twelve *Āṅgas* of Jaina scripture *Sāmaīya* (*Sāmāyika*) occupies the first place. Whenever a layman or an ascetic takes the vow of religious conduct, he utters the oath. 'I undertake to observe, O, Lord, the attitude of equality.' The attitude of equality has found expression in non-violence both in the domain of religious conduct and in that of philosophical thought. All the Jaina religious rites were formulated around non-violence. In the domain of philosophy, the attitude of non-absolutism (*anekāntavāda*) is an expression of the principle of non-violence. This is why the Jainas in ancient times advocated the division of society on one's actions and occupation. They were against caste system on the basis of birth but later they accepted it on account of their close contact with the Hindus.

Comparison of Buddhism and Jainism

Buddhism and Jainism had many elements in common. They both started from the same fundamental principle that the world is full of misery and that the object of religion is to find means of deliverance from the endless cycles of births and deaths which bring man

again and again into this world. *Karma* or the individual's actions are the root cause of birth. So emphasis is laid on conduct and practice of austerities in varying degree of severity as the chief means of salvation, rather than on performance of sacrifices or prayers to a personal god. Both are against slaughter of animals and caste system and both do not accept the authority of the *Vedas*. Both did not recognise God as the creator of the world, and both laid emphasis on non-violence, good conduct and purity of mind, speech and action. Both believe that complete emancipation from rebirth is attainable only by the homeless ascetic but both regard the life of the layman as an initial or preparatory stage in the process. Different moral and spiritual codes are prescribed for both.

The ideas of these two sects however, differ considerably on the concept of soul. The Buddhists do not accept the existence of soul while the Jainas hold that even inanimate objects possess consciousness.

Buddhists do not favour the extremes of asceticism and abstention from taking life advocated by the Jainas or some of their practices like going naked. Buddhism

advocates the golden mean in all these matters.

Both arose in the same region and about the same time. They both possess a common background of Aryan culture and are inspired by the ascetic ideals and the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*.

Both may be regarded as an outcome and modification of Brahmanic thought by overstressing the ascetic side, such as renunciation of the world, self-denial and *ahimsā*.

In both we may also detect the influence of the pre-Aryan culture of eastern India which germinated at a late date. The introduction of the practice of image worship may be attributed to the same primitive influence.

Both share a kind of pessimism, a conviction that human life is full of misery, no trace of which is to be found in the optimistic attitude of the Vedic Aryans.

Buddhism lost its separate entity in India after the tenth century A.D. but Jainism is a living religion in India upto the present day because of its close contact with the Hindus in the form of matrimonial and business relations.

QUESTIONS

1. Mention the five prohibitions which Mahāvira prescribed for his followers and the reason why the Jainas lay so much emphasis on non-injury (*ahimsā*).
2. Discuss the concept of God in Jainism.
3. Mention the three jewels of Jainism and their significance and state how they enable a soul to be free from bondage.
4. Elucidate how detachment from the sensual world, rather than denial of it is the Jain goal.
5. According to the *Uttarādhyaṇa sūtra* the self is the creator of happiness and suffering and also its destroyer. Elucidate the above statement.
6. How can soul regain its natural perfection according to the Jainas?
7. Discuss how the attitude of non-absolutism (*anekāntavāda*) in Jain philosophy is an expression of the principle of non-injury (*ahimsā*).
8. Bring out the common elements in Buddhism and Jainism.
9. Point out the differences between Buddhism and Jainism.
10. How has the attitude of equality influenced religious practices of the Jainas? Also state how non-injury (*ahimsā*) is an expression of this attitude of equality.

Chapter 14

Śaivism

Buddhism and Jainism were heterodox and revolutionary in character while the other two sects which also arose in this century namely Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism may be regarded as reformist movements. Buddhism and Jainism passed over in silence the doctrine of the existence of God and laid down self-abnegation and a course of strict moral conduct as the way of salvation. The new theistic sects of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavisms however, centred round the idea of a Supreme God conceived as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti or some other form. Salvation was possible through His grace alone and this could be attained only by *bhakti* i.e. intense love and devotion leading to complete surrender of self to the personal God.

The Harappan people according to some scholars were of the Mediterranean race. Their original home were the islands of the Aegean Sea and tracts of mainland along the Aegean Sea namely Greece and Asia-Minor. They worshipped the Mother Goddess having her vehicle the Lion. They also worshipped the Father God having as his vehicle the bull. Thus Śiva and Umā were most probably the deities of the Dravidians. The figure of a god which seems to be a prototype of Śiva has three characteristics of Śiva. It is lord of animals (*paśupati*), it is three-faced (*trimukha*) and a great *yogī* (ascetic) because it is shown sitting in a cross-legged posture with his eyes turned towards the tip of the nose. The conical stones found at Harappan sites suggest that the worship of phallus (*Śivaliṅga*) was also prevalent among these people. This fact is corroborated by a reference in the *Rgveda*

where the non-Āryans are contemptuously called *śiśnadevāḥ* (worshippers of the phallus).

In the *Rgveda* Rudra is mentioned only in three *sūktas*. According to Bhandarkar Rudra represents the destructive power of nature. He destroys men and animals but in the *Rgveda* itself at some places he is described as a benevolent god. People pray to him for having children and being prosperous. He is called the best physician and *kapardin* (having long hair).

In the *Atharvaveda* the malignant aspect of Śiva is emphasised. He is called fearful (*bhīma*) and destroyer (*upahantu*). He is described as having dark blue colour (*nīlaśikhaṇḍin*) and is for the first time called the lord of animals.

The Atharvan hymns suggest the presence of a Śaiva cult quite different from that presented by the Vedic world. In these hymns extravagant respect is paid to the *Vrātyas*. Either these hymns were composed by the followers of the *Vrātya* cult or by the Vedic Āryans themselves fascinated by their non-Āryan practices and wild mysticism. The *Vrātyas* were worshippers of Śiva. Their chief gods were Rudra, Īśāna and Mahādeva. The worshippers of Rudra were generally regarded irreligious in those days hence the *Vrātyas* have been called irreligious.¹

In the *Yajurveda* there are references to Rudra in two *sūktas* (*Tryambaka-homa* and *Śatarudrīya*). In one of these (*Tryambakahoma*) he is called a physician and the lord of animals. In the other *sūkta* (*Śatarudrīya*) he is called Śiva, Śivatara and

Śaṅkara. From the above references it appears that by the time the above two *sūktas* of the *Yajurveda* were composed some features of a non-Vedic tribal aboriginal god of vegetation were absorbed with the Vedic god Rudra.

In the *Brāhmaṇas* Rudra is called the chief of gods (*devādhipati*), Lord (*Īśāna*) and the Great god (*Mahādeva*). He is also called Bhūtapati and is a dread figure who usurped the dominion of Prajāpati over all cattle.

In the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* Śiva is called the supergod (parabrahma) and it is stated that with his power the *prakṛti* (Nature) becomes active. This statement shows the influence of Sāṅkhya philosophy. In the *Mānavagṛhya-sūtra* he is associated with the cremation ground. In some *Gṛhyasūtras* his wife, for the first time, is called Durgā. She is called by various names such as Āryā, Bhagavatī, Devasaṁkīrti, Mahākālī, Mahāyoginī and Saṅkhadhārīnī. In the *Āpastamba gṛhyasūtra* Śiva is still classed among the minor gods.

The *Aṣṭādhyayī* mentions Maheśvarasūtra. Kauṭilya refers to the construction of Śiva temples but Śiva was still a minor god. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* we see full development of Śaivism. There are many stories connected with Śiva such as the Descent of the Gaṅgā, the Burning of Anaṅga and the Birth of Skanda. In the *Mahābhārata* he is called the creator and destroyer of the universe. Śiva is called *Mahāyogin*. There are also references to Śiva temples in the epics. It is stated that Kāpālīka Śiva lives in the cremation ground. He moves about at night and eats the meat of dead bodies. There are Śaivite coins of Gondophernes (Beginning of Christian era). On the coins of Wīm Kadphises Śiva is shown with a trident in the right hand. On the coins of Kaniṣka we find the figure of four-armed Śiva with a trident, a *ḍamaru* (a musical instrument) and a *kamaṇḍalu* (the bowl used by mendicants). On the coins of Huviṣka we have the figure of Skandakumāra.

On the punch-marked coins of the second and the third centuries A.D. we see the figure of Nandī carved on the reverse.

Dissatisfied with the classical position of the *Smṛtis* and the *Mahābhārata* the authors of the *Purāṇas* seemingly accumulated a parallel learning of their own, more in tune with the needs of the Hindu public. The earlier Hindu scriptures had excluded the non-Hindus from the Vedic learning. The *Paurāṇikas* keeping their eye on various types of humanity before them meditated on the slow, unsteady upward march of man. They came to the conclusion that the humanity had emerged from a blissful state of Nature. This more optimistic outlook on man's background and man's potential appealed to the people and at times the *Śāstras* borrowed the Purāṇic lore. They incorporated whole sections of the *Purāṇic* learning.

In the *Purāṇas* he is called Śiva. From his name *Triyambaka* he came to be called three-eyed. On the basis of his name *Nilāśikhaṇḍin* the story of his taking poison was invented. Because he had long hair he was called *kapardin* and *keśin*. Because he had his abode on the mountains he came to be called *Kailāśavāsin*.

By the time of the completion of the *Purāṇas* in their present form the amalgamation of the non-Vedic tribal god with the Vedic god Rudra was completed. The Vedic Aryans looked down upon the worship of phallus and the worship of Śaktī was non-Vedic. Both these non-Vedic elements were absorbed in the cult of Śiva worship before A.D. 300.

Schools of Śaivism

1. *The Pāśupatas*—The earliest of the Śaiva sects was the Pāśupata sect. According to the *Mahābhārata* Paśupati, Śrīkaṇṭha or Śiva, the consort of Umā and son of Brahmā revealed the *jñāna* (knowledge) known as

Pāśupata to the people. In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* it is stated that Maheśvara would incarnate as a *brahmacārin*, by name Nakulin, after entering a dead body in the burial ground of Kāyārohaṇa, a land of *siddhas* and that he would have four pupils : Kuśika, Gārgya, Mitraka and Ruṣṭa. In the *Liṅga Purāṇa* the name of the incarnation is Lakulin and not Nakulin. In some inscriptions also Lakulin is called an incarnation of Śiva. Before the beginning of the Gupta period (C. 300 A.D.) four important schools of Śaivism arose viz. (a) *Pāśupatas*, (b) *Śaivas*, (c) *Kāpālikas* and (d) *Kālāmukhas*.

The *Pāśupatas* besmeared the body with ash, made a sound resembling that of an ox and did things condemned by all. All these actions, they believed, would bring about righteousness and enable them in attaining the highest power of knowledge and action. These revolting activities of the followers of the *Pāśupata* sect seem to be a revolt against the rigidity of the caste system as prescribed by the *brāhmaṇas*. In the *Mahābhārata* Śiva clearly says that his teachings are against *varṇāśrama* organization of society. Some foreign rulers of India like the Śakas, the Pārthians and the Kuṣāṇas, who had no faith in the caste system, became followers of Śaivism.

They hold that Maheśvara taught five categories for the sake of releasing the soul from its bonds. The five are : 1. *Kārya* (effect), 2. *Kāraṇa* (cause), 3. *Yoga* (path), 4. *Vidhi* (rule) and 5. *Duḥkhānta* (End of misery—final deliverance from sorrow).

2. *The Śaiva School*—It professed more moderate and rational doctrines. It laid stress on twilight adorations, worship, muttering of formulas (*japa*), throwing oblations into the fire, occasional ceremonies for the attainment of eternal bliss, methods of restraints of breath, abstraction, meditation, concentration, absorption in thought (*smādhi*), penances,

purificatory ceremonies and worship of the various phallic forms.

3. *Kāpālikas* : They maintain that a man who knows the six marks and who is skillful in their use, attains the highest bliss by concentrating on the soul seated on the female organ. The six marks are (1) a necklace (2) an ornament (3) an ear ornament (4) a crest jewel (5) ashes and (6) the sacred thread (*Yajñopavīta*). He whose body bears these marks is free from transmigration.

Some of their practices are : eating food in skull, besmearing the body with ash, holding a club, keeping a pot of wine and worshipping the God as seated therein.

4. *Kālāmukhas* : They hold that the practices followed by the *Kāpālikas* are the means for the attainment of desires concerning this world and the next. They maintain that people of other castes may become *brāhmaṇas* by a process of simple initiation.

There is no great difference between the religious views of the *Kāpālikas* and *Kālāmukhas*. Both these were extreme schools, and gave expression to their revolt against the Brahmanical organisation of the society based on *Varṇāśrama dharma*.

Śaivism in South India

Tirumūlar's Tirumaṇḍarim is a highly abstruse work. It expounds the Śaiva doctrine. The author tried to compare the *Āgamas* (Śaiva canon) with the *Vedas*. According to him : Becoming Śiva is the *Vedānta siddhānta*, *Caryā*, *Kriyā*, *Yoga* and *Jñāna* are the four stages in the *sādhana*. When the aspirant has reached the last stage the grace of God descends on him and by that he is released.

The highly sectarian character of Śaivism in South India in the time of Tirumūlar may be inferred from one of his statements in which he says that 'to feed a *Śivajñānin* once is more meritorious than the gift of a thousand temples

or the feeding of a crore of brāhmaṇas versed in the Veda.' He regards the Śaiva canon as truly the word of God.

After Mahendra Pallava became a convert to Śaivism, Kāñchī became a centre of Śaivism. This great upsurge in favour of Śaivism was due to devotional poetry that flowed from the lips of the Śaiva saints who lived in this age. Appar (A.D. 602-639), Sambandhar (contemporary of Appar), Sundaradaramūrti and Māṇik-kavācakam—all were inspired saints, who flooded the country with a great wave of devotional poetry and thus created in the minds of men a disposition for the pursuit of spirituality. These Nāyanārs (Śaiva saints) set up Śaivism on a strong foundation in South India.

Kashmir Śaivism : Śaivism in Kashmir kept clear of the wild and fantastic courses of discipline followed by the other schools and created an honourable place for Śaivism among the different systems of religion. This changed aspect of Śaivism seems to be due, in no small measure, to the influence of Śaṅkarācārya (C. 788-820 A.D.). Śaṅkara met in argument several groups of pseudo-Śaivas who were responsible for left-handed practices and quelling them, freed the followers of Śaivism from their baneful influence. He cleansed the Hindu faiths of the excrescences that had gathered round them due to accidents of history. He composed hymns in praise of the major gods of Hinduism. Several of these glorify Śiva as the God of gods.

Kashmir Śaivism is a kind of monism. It regards the individual soul and the world as essentially identical with Śiva. It recognises a triple principle (*triṇa*) in the form of Śiva-Śakti-aṇu (the principle of individuation). It is called *Spanda Śāstra* because it believes in the principle of apparent movement or change from the state of absolute unity to the plurality

of the world. It is also called *pratyabhijñā śāstra* because recognition here refers to the way of realising the soul's identity with Śiva.

Śiva sūtras which are the basis of Kashmir Saivism are said to have been revealed to a sage named Vasugupta who lived towards the end of the eighth century A.D. His pupil Kallaṭa (A.D. 854) wrote the *Spandasarvasva*. Abhinavagupta (A.D. 991-1015) wrote glosses on the *Spandasarvasva*. According to Abhinavagupta the ultimate reality is Śambhu or Śiva, the supreme God. Śiva is the Ātman, the self of all beings, immutable and ever perfect. This ultimate reality is beyond the reach of thought and language.

Pure consciousness, which is the supreme reality is referred to as Śiva and is the material as well as the efficient cause of the universe. For *Advaita Vedānta* the manifested world is unreal but for Kashmir Saivism it is real.

The supreme aim of this system is to enable the individual to find salvation. The salvation consists in the soul's recognition of its identity with the Ultimate Reality. As bondage is the result of ignorance, release is to be attained through knowledge. Mere human effort will not be of much avail in the path of salvation. What really moves is the Divine Will. Besides the three powers of creation, sustenance and destruction of the universe, God has the powers of concealment and grace. His real nature is concealed from the soul and after the soul has played out its part in *saṁsāra* God's grace descends on the individual and the individual is released.

According to this system *mokṣa* is a return to the original state of perfection and purity of consciousness.

Kashmir Śaivas do not bring in the idea of God as a constituent cause undergoing development and seem to admit the doctrine of creation out of nothing.

The metaphysical conceptions of this school were characterised by bold originality, and the religious practices enjoined by it were healthy and conducive to the growth of spirituality.

The Liṅgāyatas : Among the important Śaiva sects of south India mention must be made of the *Vīśāivas* or the *Liṅgāyatas* whose philosophy was influenced both by the teachings of Śaṅkara and those of Rāmānuja. The followers of this sect gave great prominence to the *liṅga* and the Nandin or the bull. Bāsava, the Prime Minister of the Kalacuri king Bijjala (A.D. 1156), raised this sect into prominence. He laid great stress on *bhakti* i.e. love and self-surrender, truth, morality and cleanliness. This sect was characterised by an anti-Brahmanical spirit. The widows among the *Liṅgāyatas* are allowed to marry again. Instead of *Yajñopavīta* (the sacred thread) they hang the *liṅga* by a silken cloth, suspended round the neck and a Śaivite formula is substituted for the *Gāyatrī mantra*.

The *Liṅgāyatas* regard Śiva as supreme and must worship only Him, hence they are called *Vīra Śāivas* or stalwart Śāivas. They must also worship each his own *guru*. Reverence is paid by the *Liṅgāyatas* to the 63 *Nāyanāras* of the Tamil country whom they regard as elders (*Purātanas*). They also honour 770 later saints among whom are included Bāsava and his chief disciples.

According to the *Śiva Jñāna Bodham* by Meykaṇḍa Devar (first half of the 13th century) the world, animate and inanimate, passes through a cycle of three phases : evolution, maintenance and dissolution. Of the three phases dissolution is primary because all evolution is the manifestation of the inherent potentialities of the unevolved or dissolved. The purpose of the periodic reproduction is to free souls from *āṇava* (the impurity born together with the soul) by association with which, from eternity, souls have been enveloped in the

darkness of unconsciousness. This release is effected by providing for souls the earthly experience in the midst of which they may receive by divine grace the light of the knowledge of their oneness with God and their dependence upon Him.

The soul, which is neither real nor non-real can depend on and identify itself with either. In association with the non-real, it can by its help know the non-real and in association with the real it can with its help know the real.

It is Śakti (power of Śiva), not *karma* which provides souls with the condition of finite experience; but *karma*, the principle of action and reaction determines the form and quality of the experience. When God comes as a *guru* and teaches the soul, the soul is made to see that the world of experience evolved from *Māyā*, is non-real. *Jñāna* (knowledge) follows upon *Charyā* (menial service in a temple), *Kriyā*, (acts of worship) and *Yoga* (inward spiritual worship). It is, in all cases of divine, not human, origin, but the manner in which it is imparted varies according to the class of soul.

Śiva is the source of all enlightenment, sole embodiment of intelligence and hence the true object of all devout aspirations. The system transcends caste and ritual, and calls for inner devotion. According to one writer contentment, justice and wisdom are the flowers of worship.

Śaivism attaches great importance to the practices, especially to asceticism, but it values *bhakti* (devotion) less highly. It leans towards asceticism. It was Śaivism that gained the firmest foothold in Eastern Asia and produced a vast body of speculative literature principally in old Javanese.

Reference

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QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the concept of *Rudra* in the *R̥gveda* and that of *Śiva* on the *Atharvaveda*.
2. Elucidate how in the later Vedic period some features of a non-vedic tribal aboriginal god of vegetation were absorbed with the Vedic god *Rudra*.
3. Describe how we find full development of *Śaivism* only in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.
4. Discuss the various factors which led the authors of the *Purāṇas* to conclude that the humanity had emerged from a blissfull state of Nature.
5. Discuss how by the time of the compilation of the *Purāṇas* in their present form the amalgamation of the non-vedic tribal god with the Vedic *Rudra* was completed.
6. Write short notes on any two of the following schools of the *Pāśupatas*; the *Saiva schools*, the *Kāpālikas*, the *Kālāmukhas*.
7. Discuss in brief, the main features of Kashmir *Śaivism*.
8. Describe critically the main teachings of the *Lingāyatās*. Also account for its popularity in South India.

Chapter 15

Vaiṣṇavism

The Origin of Bhāgavatism

From Patañjali's comment on Pāṇini's sūtra IV. 3.98 we know that in Pāṇini's time Vāsudeva was considered a divine person. From Ghosunḍi (Rajasthan) inscription of about the 2nd century B.C. we know that Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva were worshipped as gods at that time. Heliodorus inscription of the same century shows that Vāsudeva was worshipped as a god at that time and his worshippers were called *Bhāgavatas*. From the Nānāghāṭa inscription of the first century B.C. it is clear that Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva were worshipped as gods all that time.

According to the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* Nārāyaṇa himself explained the religion of Vāsudeva to Nārada because the latter was devoted to him. Vāsudeva belonged to the Vṛṣṇi race. Saṁkarṣaṇa and Aniruddha were also members of this race. They worshipped Vāsudeva as the Supreme Being and believed that devotion to him would lead an individual to salvation. It appears that the *Bhagavadgītā* was composed before the doctrines of the *Bhāgavata* school were reduced to a system. In the *Gītā* Bhagavat teaches Arjuna to surrender himself with all the heart to God who abides in the hearts of all beings and moves them. Arjuna is advised to surrender himself to Bhagavat alone and Bhagavat would free him from all his sins.

In the later Brahmanic period, prior to the cult of Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa was regarded as

the Supreme Being. In the Nārāyaṇīya section it is stated that Nārāyaṇa, the eternal soul of the universe, with four forms became the son of Dharma. The four forms were Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa. Thus it seems that the Brahmanic god Nārāyaṇa was identified with Vāsudeva by the time of compilation of the *Mahābhārata* in the present form.

Viṣṇu was not an important god in the *Rgveda* but began to rise in importance in the *Brāhmaṇas*, but in the epics and the *Purāṇas* he rose to the rank of the Supreme Spirit. In the *Anugītā* portion of the *Aśvamedha parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* it is stated that the universal form which Kṛṣṇa showed to Arjuna was his Vaiṣṇava form. Thus between the period of the *Bhagavadgītā* and that of the *Anugītā* the identity of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu had become an established fact.

From the above accounts it is clear that first of all, the Vṛṣṇis worshipped Vāsudeva as a god. In the *Purāṇas* three streams of this devotional religion, namely one flowing from Viṣṇu, the Vedic god, at its source, another from Nārāyaṇa the cosmic and philosophic god and the third from Vāsudeva, the historical god mingled together decisively and thus formed the later Vaiṣṇavism. There is, however, a fourth stream, which resulted from the identification of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa with the cowered god (Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa).

The Ābhīras occupied the tract of the country from Mathurā to the regions about Dvārakā. They enjoyed high political position in the second and the third centuries of the

Christian era. They probably brought with them the worship of the boy-god and the story of his humble birth, his reputed father's knowledge that he was not his son and the massacre of the innocents. It appears that the story of Kṛṣṇa's bodyhood in Gokula was absorbed in the three streams described above, when the Ābhīras enjoyed high political position in the second and third centuries of the Christian era. In some of the systems of Vaiṣṇavism this stream has acquired an almost exclusive predominance.

Schools of Vaiṣṇavism

The *Pañcharātra* or *Bhāgavata* System

The *Bhagavadgītā* promulgated the nontheistic (*ekāntika*) religion but the *Pañcarātra* system, consisting of the worship of Vāsudeva and his several forms, had no organic connection with that work though *bhakti* (divotion) is common to both. This system must have developed in about the third century B.C.

The *Pañcharātra* system is discussed in the *Pauṣkara saṁhitā*, the *Satvat saṁhitā* and the *Parama Saṁhitā*. The *Nārada Pañcarātra* has a section called *Jñānāmṛtasāra saṁhitā*. It is entirely devoted to the advancement of the cult of the Kṛṣṇa of the cow-settlement (*Gokula*) and of his beloved mistress Rādhā. The *vyūhas* (forms) which form a peculiarity of the *Pañcharātra* school are not mentioned in it. This *saṁhitā* seems to have been written about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Rāmānuja considers this *saṁhitā* to be of doubtful authority.

From the *Amarakośa* it appears that in Amarsimha's time the four forms or the *vyūhas* of Vāsudeva were recognised by the *Bhāgavatas*.

We have evidence of the existence of the cult of Viṣṇu, principally in accordance with

the mode professed by the *Bhāgavatas* from the fourth to the eleventh century A.D. The doctrine of incarnation had also become an article of faith with them.

The *Gītā* and some other sections of the *Mahābhārata* represent Viṣṇu as an ideal divinity and almighty saviour working for the salvation of mankind and delighting in moral goodness and ritualistic purity and as incarnating from time to time in human or animal form in order to maintain the standard of righteousness. The *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata* mentions four incarnations of Viṣṇu namely boar (*Varāha*), dwarf (*Vāmana*), man-lion (*Narasimha*) and man (*Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa*). Some other verses of the same section mention Rāma, Paraśurāma, *Haṁsa* (Swan), *Matsya* (fish), *Kūrma* (tortoise) and *Kalki* incarnations of Viṣṇu. Later Gautama Buddha and Mahāvīra also came to be recognised as incarnations of Viṣṇu.

Development of Vaiṣṇavism in South India

The Tamil songs of Ālvārs or Vaiṣṇava devotees are so much marked by depth of feeling and true piety that they are looked upon as Vaiṣṇava Veda. The images of Ālvārs are worshipped side by side with those of Viṣṇu and his incarnations. The earliest Ālvārs may be placed about the fifth or the sixth century A.D. They devoted themselves to the culture of the feeling of love and devotion for Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa and composed songs. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is generally believed to have been composed in the ninth or tenth century A.D. somewhere in South India. It represents a liberal reformist trend within brahmanism. It plays the leading role of diffusing social tension and containing protest by lending the movement the prestige of the *Vedas* and thus securing its acceptance of the basic brahmanic ideals.

Rāmānuja's Vaiṣṇavism (Śrī Sampradāya)

The Āchāryas of the south tried to establish their own theories and creeds. The earliest of the Ācāryas seems to have been Nāthamuni. His successor was Yamunāchārya. Yamunāchārya was succeeded by Rāmānuja (Born A.D. 1016-17). The great wish of the Vaiṣṇava Āchāryas of the South was to overthrow the doctrine of illusion or *māyā* propounded by Śaṅkara. According to Rāmānuja there are three eternal principles, the individual soul (*cit*), the insensate world (*Acit*) and the Supreme Soul (*Īśvara*). According to him the individual soul and the insensate world are the attributes of the Supreme Soul. Īśvara appears in five different forms which are as follows:

1. *Para* or the highest as Nārāyaṇa, Pāra-Brahma and Para-Vāsudeva.
2. *Vyūha*—four forms namely Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha.
3. *Vibhava* (the ten incarnations).
4. *Antaryāmin* (he dwells in the heart).
5. Idols or images set up in houses, villages and towns etc.

Rāmānuja's Vaiṣṇavism is the Vāsudevism of the old Pañcharātra system combined with the Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu elements. The tendency of Rāmānuja's system seems to be to give an exclusive Brahmanic form to the traditional method of *bhakti* (devotion) to God. His system is known as *Śrī Sampradāya*.

Nimbārka School

The founder of another school of Vaiṣṇavism supporting the cult of *bhakti* against the doctrine of *māyā* was Nimbārka. The doctrines of the Nimbārka school of Vaiṣṇavism resemble in some respects those of Rāmānuja's school. But Nimbārka preached *bhakti* in its original sense of love and gave

exclusive prominence to the conception of Kṛṣṇa attended by the cowherdesses headed by Rādhā. According to this school the Supreme Soul, the individual soul and the inanimate world are both identical and at the same time distinct from one another. They are identical in the sense that the individual soul and the inanimate world are entirely dependent on God and have no independent existence. The Rādhā cult preached by Nimbārka was further stressed by Chaitanya in the sixteenth century and it is still the most popular aspect of North Indian Vaiṣṇavism.

Madhva or Ānandatīrtha (thirteenth century A.D.)

Madhva did not favour the conception of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa attended by Rādhā and the cowherdesses. According to him, God is the substance entirely different from the individual souls and the inanimate world. The relation between God and the individual souls is like that between the master and his servant. By serving and worshipping God the individual souls become like God, in most respects.

The Popular basis of Vaiṣṇavism

The *Pāñcharātra Samhitās* do not attach any importance to the division of society on the basis of *Varṇa* system. According to them all human beings are equal before God. It was why foreigners like Heliadors became followers of Bhāgavatism. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the Kirātas, the Hūṇas, the Āndhras, the Pulindas, the Pukkasas, the Ābhīras, the Sumhas, the Yavanas, the Khaśas and other sinners become purified if they take refuge in God. It was why even the members of the lower classes in Hindu society became followers of Vaiṣṇavism. Some Śaka and Kuṣāṇa rulers were also interested in this religious sect. The Vaiṣṇavas did not kill

animals for sacrifices and laid great stress on devotion. In the early centuries of the Christian era the *Purāṇas* probably spread the teachings of Vaiṣṇavism among the common people. In the Gupta period the *Purāṇas* tried to bring about a synthesis between the teachings of the *Vedas*, the *Smṛtis*, the *Bhāgavata* sects and Buddhism and Jainism. Thus Bhāgavatism was raised to the status of one of the most important religious sects of India. The imperial Gupta rulers called themselves *paramabhāgavatas*. In this period the *Purāṇas* once again tried to establish the organisation of Indian society on the basis of *varṇas* (classes) and *āśramas* (stages in life)

and laid stress on the performance of duties assigned to members of each *varṇa* and each stage in the individual's life. Later the *Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās* also accepted the division of society on the basis of *varṇas* and *āśramas*. Thus through the medium of the *Purāṇas* both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism became supporters of the division of society on the basis of *varṇas* and *āśramas*. But the message of humanism, equality of human beings, was not lost sight of by the Bhakti saints of the medieval period like Rāmānanda, Kabir, Caitanya, Ekanātha, Tukārām and Nānaka. Thus Vaiṣṇavism has all along been propagator of universal humanism.

QUESTIONS

1. Bring out the evidence in support of the view that Vāsudeva was considered a divine parison from the fifth century B.C. to 1st century B.C.
2. Show how Vedic god *Viṣṇu* and the Brāhmaṇic god *Nārāyaṇa* were identified with Vāsudeva before the compilation of the *Mahābhārata* in its present form.

Chapter 16

Tāntrikism

Origin of *tāntrikism* can be traced to early Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Buddhism. In *Pāñcharātra* sect of Vaiṣṇavism we have references to *mantras* in the *Sātvatasamhitā*. But *tāntrikism* developed fully in Śaivism. The *Āgamas* of Śaivism discuss *Śaiva tantras*. The *Yāmāla* works of Śaiva sect show that developed from the Śaiva *tāntrikism*. In early Buddhism we have references to people's faith in super-natural powers (*ṛddhis*). The earliest *tāntrik* work of Buddhism seems to be the *Guhya samāja tantra* (3rd century A.D.) but according to Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian, Nāgārjuna had full faith in Tantrik Buddhism (1st Cent. A.D.).

The *tāntrik* religion and practices were firmly established in India in the seventh century. Tantra literature generally deals with five principal topics—viz. creation and dissolution of the universe, the worship of deities, the attainment of certain super-human powers and the union of the individual soul with the universal soul. For the attainment of the last two objectives certain yogic exercise were regarded as essential. By about 1000 A.D. the *tāntrik* elements were found in all the religious sects of India.

The Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava religious literary works agree on one point that a female principle representing the *Śakti* or energy must be associated with *Puruṣa* (The ultimate reality or the source of power considered as male). The *Puruṣa* is not only the cause of manifestation but is also responsible for differentiation. A diversified world in time and

space, including finite individuals, comes into being because of the association of the male principle with the female one, as in the generation of the world of living beings. The human body was regarded as the seat of divine energy in every part thereof. In *Śākta tantra* the technical word *Kula*, used in the tantric literature, has a two-fold meaning. On the philosophic side *Kula* means the assemblage of three similar things namely soul (*jīva*), knowledge (*jñāna*) and world. It is one and the same consciousness that takes these forms of perceiver, perception and the perceived. Ultimately there is no duality. In the *Kaula Jñāna* the mind and the sight become united; the sense organs lose their individuality and *Śakti* becomes identical with *Jīva* and the sight merges into the objective to be visualized. On the *yogic* side *kula* is *ādhārachakra* connected with it is the *suṣumnā* (the artery) through which psychic energy travels to *sahasracakra*. From it trickles the ambrosia (*kulāmṛta*) which enables one to conquer even death. *Parama Śiva* is the ultimate reality into which merge the three aspects of *Śakti* namely *icchā*, (the will of self-manifestation), *Jñāna* (the consciousness of manifestation) and *Kriyā* (the aspect which gives rise to activity). When *Jīva* realizes its identity with *Śiva*, getting free from limitations, there is *mukti* (salvation). *Tāntrik* practices are mostly connected with *yogic* processes which make *Śakti* merge with *Śiva*.

In the performance of *sādhana* for the attainment of mystic power the accessory means were *mantra* i.e. prayers, *bijamantras*

(mystic-syllables) and *mudrās* (postures of hands and fingers).

The two most important brahmanical *tantrik* sects were those of *Kaulas* and the *Kāpālikas*. The *Kaulas* indulged in drinking and flouted moral and social conventions to prove their complete adherence to non-duality. The *Kāpālikas* used a human skull as their begging bowl and were experts in the use of *tantrik* rites. They offered oblations of human flesh into fire, broke their fast with a drink of spirituous liquor in the skull of a *brāhmaṇa* and worshipped Mahā-Bhairava with fresh blood gushing from the neck of their victim.

Tāntrik Buddhism

Several centuries after the death of Buddha the spirit of revolution which characterized its early stages began to be retarded as a result of its contact with current Hindu thought and practices. *Mahāyāna* Buddhism was followed by people of various tastes, temperaments and capacities. *Tāntrikism* made its way into Buddhism. *Tāntrik* Buddhism was due to the mixture of *Mahāyānist* and aboriginal superstitions absorbed through the medium of Hinduism. Aboriginal deities were identified with Hindu deities. Buddhism did not have sufficient independence to keep its pantheon distinct. So *Vairocana* and *Tārā* received most of the attributes *brāhmaṇas* had given to Śiva and *Kālī*.

For the purpose of making Buddhism broad-based the Buddhist leaders allowed their followers to worship numerous gods and goddesses. Esoteric elements like *mantra*, *mudrā* and *maṇḍala* (mystic circles) also found their entry into Buddhism. Buddhism had now to find a place even for the weird rites of *abhichāra*, *māraṇa*, *mohana*, *stambhana*, *vidveṣaṇa*, *uchchāṭana* and *vaśīkaraṇa*. Nor did it leave out the *pañcha-*

makāras, *matsya*, *madya*, *māṃsa* etc. These were introduced for the realization of the ultimate truth. According to one tradition Asaṅga, the great exponent of the *Yogācāra* school of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism introduced *tāntrikism* into Buddhism. According to another tradition Nāgārjuna the famous exponent of the *Mādhyamika* school was the real founder of *tantrik* Buddhism.

The *Mantrayāna* school of *Mahāyāna* seems to be the introductory stage of *tantrik* Buddhism from which all the other off-shoots of *Vajrayāna*, *Kālachakrayāna* and *Sahajayāna* etc. arose in later times. In *Mantrayāna* the ordinary followers were enjoined to commit to memory and regularly recite the *mantra*, with implicit faith and it was assured by the *Bodhisattvas* that the recital of these *mantras* was capable of producing infinite merit in the reciter and conferring immense benefit on him. It is said that in response to the muttering of *bījamantras* the ultimate void (*Śūnyatā*) will transform herself into the particular from the god or goddess and confer infinite benefit on the reciter the *mudrās* (postures) contained the secrecy of touch as associated with the potency of the physiological system and *maṇḍalas* (mystic circles) were associated with certain rites for worshipping the deities. These elements of esoterism have by nature a propensity to generate beliefs in magic, sorcery, charms etc.

Vājrayāna : In Buddhist *tāntrikism* two aspects of the ultimate reality *Prajñā* (the passive principle of Reality) and *Upāya* (the active principle of Reality) were respectively identified with *Śūnyatā* and *Karuṇā* of the *Mahāyāna* school. *Vajrayāna* is the common name of *tāntrik* Buddhism. *Vajrayāna* means the path of void (*Śūnyatā*) which is the adamant path. The aim of the *Vajrayanists* was nothing but realization of the adamant void nature of the Self and the not-Self. By

Vajra is meant *Śūnyatā* and by *sattva* is implied pure consciousness. The *tāntrik* Buddhists conceive *Vajra-sattva* as the Supreme Being—sometimes as the personal God, the Lord Supreme. According to them the *sādhaka* who realizes *Vajra-sattva* himself becomes *Vajra-sattva*. To realize the *Vajra-sattva* is to realize that all existence is nothing but *Śūnyatā* in its pure nature, but once the *sādhaka* becomes endowed with the wisdom, through his realization he becomes the *Vajrasattva*. The *Vajrasattva* is not merely of the nature of *Śūnyatā* it is a nondual state of *Śūnyatā* and *Karuṇā*. It is said that when *Prajñā* or *Śūnyatā* (knowledge) commingles with *Karuṇā* (universal compassion), there remains no thinker, no thinkable, no thought. It is the state of non-duality and is called *Bodhicitta* (the perfectly enlightened one). This is perfect wisdom. The fundamental aim of uttering of various *mantras* and various forms of worship was producing the *Bodhicitta*. In the Buddhist *tantra* *Prajñā* has been designated as the goddess *Bhagavatī* or *Vajrakanyā*. All young women are described as the embodiment of *Prajñā*. In some *tāntrik* works *Prajñā* is described as the female organ and *Upāya* as the male organ, because it is the abode of all pleasure which is great bliss (*Mahāsukha*). The central point of all the *sādhana* of the *tāntrik* Buddhists was a principle of union i.e. in this state of union all duality is syncretised.

Kālacakrayāna

Kālacakrayāna means the absolutely unified principle of *Prajñā* and *Upāya*. The conception of Lord *Vajrasattva*, the Godhead of *tāntrik* Buddhism is also exactly the same. Thus there is no difference between the conception of Lord Śrī *Kālacakra* and the Lord *Vajrasattva*. The aim is perfect enlightenment not only for the self but for all the beings.

Kālacakra is the *Bodhicitta*. He is the ultimate immutable substance in the form of motionless great bliss (*acintya-mahāsukha*).

Sahajayāna: About the tenth century A.D. an off-shoot of *tāntrik* Buddhism developed which has some tendencies of its own with exclusive stress on a system of *yoga*. This school is popularly known as *Sahajayāna*. The exponents of *Sahajayāna* put the whole emphasis on their protest against the formalities of life and religion. Truth is to be intuited within in the most unconventional way through the imitation of the *tattva* and the practice of *yoga* to realize the innate nature of the self (*Sahaja*). *Sahaja* also means the most natural way (with no undue strain on human nature) to realize the truth.

In practice this esoteric *yogic* school of Buddhism holds that the body is the abode of truth and at the same time, the best instrument or medium for realizing the truth. With this belief it located four plexuses or lotuses in different parts of the body namely *maṇipurachakra* (situated in the naval region), *anāhatachakra* (situated in the cardiac region), *saṁbhogachakra* (situated near the neck) and the *uṣṇīṣa-kamala* (located in the head). The cosmic energy (conceived as a feminine principle) remains fire-force in the *nirmāṇa-chakra* and is here associated with all gross principles of defilement. She acts as the principle of phenomenalism. She must be roused and disassociated from all principles of defilement and given an upward motion, so as to reach the *uṣṇīṣa-kamala*, which is the region of perfect rest and purity. The important nerve on the left side of the body (called the *Gaṅgā*) represents *Prajñā*, the lady and the nerve on the right side (called the *Yamunā*) represents *Upāya*, the Lord. The left and the right should be controlled and commingled in such a way that all their functions (including the flow of vital currents (*Prāṇa* and *apāna* in

the two nerves) may be completely unified in the middle path, called *avadhūti*. Such perfect unification results ultimately, in the realization of infinite bliss (*mahāsukha*) which is the quintessence of the *bodhicitta*. The *bodhicitta* state of Self is the state of supreme realization.

There was no essential difference between Hindu and Buddhist *tāntrikisms*. They both assert that truth lies within the human body and can be realized through it. Both hold that ultimate truth has within itself, in seed form, the aspects of *nivṛtti* and *pravṛtti*. Both aim at ending all the elements which result in the duality of the world and thus realizing the Ultimate Reality. The crude enjoyment derived from sexual intercourse is regarded as Bliss by the *tāntrikas*. They think that in the state of Bliss the individual soul and the universe merge into the all pervasive Unity. According

to the Buddhist *tāntrikas* this state is *nirvāṇa*.

The path of *tāntrikism* is a complete reversal of the usual values. According to it perfection can be attained easily by satisfying all the desires. For the *yoga* of asceticism is substituted the *yoga* of indulgence (*bhoga*). In the words of Louis Renou 'nowhere in the world is there is a system of speculative thought, or rather a representation of mystical truth, that is more radical or more paradoxical in form than *Tāntrikism*.'¹

The pitfalls in the way of *tantrik sādhanas* were many and where some succeeded many failed. The ultimate result of the pursuit of *tāntrikism* might have been an appreciable lowering in the moral condition of the people.

References

1. Louis Renou, *Religions of Ancient India*, p. 88.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the full implications of the word *kula* in the *Śākta tantra*.
2. "In the performance of *Sādhana* for the attainment of mystic power the accessory means were *mantras*, *bijamantras* and *mudrās*." Discuss the role of these three accessory means with reference to *Tāntrik Buddhism*.
3. Discuss the concepts of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* in *Vajrayāna* school of *Tāntrik Buddhism*.
4. Bring out the salient features of *Sahajayāna* school of *tāntrik Buddhism*.
5. Compare Hindu and Buddhist *tantrikisms*.

Chapter 17

Future of Religion

Religion, as pointed out by S. Radhakrishnan, is the fulfilment of man's life. It is an experience in which every aspect of his being is raised to its highest extent. To get at the inner experience we must get away from the tumult of sense impressions, the riot of thoughts, the surging of emotions. All religions require us to look upon life as an opportunity for self-realization. They call upon us to strive incessantly and wrest the immortal from the mortal. God is the universal reality, wisdom and love and we are His children irrespective of race or religious belief. Religion in this sense will be a binding force which will deepen the solidarity of human society. We are all members of the one invisible Church of God or one fellowship of spirit, though we may belong to this or that visible church. True religious life must express itself in love and aim at the unity of mankind. This goal of unity is to be achieved by *ahimsā*. We must give up the view that any one religion contains the final, absolute and whole truth and adopt the Indian attitude that the faith is realized in historical patterns, though no one of these patterns should regard itself as the sole and exclusive truth for all. We must be on our guard against

the enemies of truth, men of fixed ideas and fanaticism. If the world is to be united on a religious basis it will be not on the basis of this or that religion but by a co-operation among the different religions of the world. If different religions of the world strive to achieve their common ideals and seek to understand the differences in a sympathetic spirit the world will be relieved of the misery and fear which now engulf it.

We are suffering from an exhaustion of spirit, an increase of egoism, individual and collective, which seem to make the ideal of a world-society too difficult to desire. The enemy we have to fight is within ourselves. It is no use railing against God or Destiny, for we bring disgrace on ourselves. What we need today is a spiritual view of the universe for which India has stood which may blow through life again bursting the doors and flinging open shutters of man's life. If we wish to achieve peace we must maintain that inner harmony, that poise of the soul, which are the essential elements of peace.¹

References

1. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Religions*, p. 171.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss how true religion is a binding force which deepens the solidarity of human society.
2. Mention briefly the main causes why there is so much discord and upheaval in society in the name of religion these days.
3. Discuss how world can be united on a religious basis. Also state what are the hindrances in achieving the ideal of a world-society.

Chapter 18

Six Systems of Indian Philosophy

Philosophy in India has never been a mere speculative interest irrespective of its bearing on life. Perfection in knowledge was believed to culminate in perfection in life although the conception of perfect life was not uniform or identical. Salvation is the summum bonum and the ultimate objective of philosophic enquiry. The interest is more practical than theoretical.

The earliest philosophical writings are the *Upaniṣads* but in them the thought is not systematised. In the *Upaniṣads* the Vedic knowledge is considered lower knowledge (*aparāvidyā*) and knowledge of the Indestructible is considered higher knowledge. A higher value was assigned in the *Upaniṣads* to meditation and this gave us our philosophy. Out of meditation two main questions emerged viz. The validity of the *Vedas* and the validity of the Vedic gods. The first grew into the problem of knowledge and the second into the problem of reality. The first question is about how we know and what our sources of knowledge are and whether the *Vedas* are a source of knowledge at all and the other question is about 'what it was, in the last analysis that we know. According to the orthodox school one who accepts the *Vedas* and believes in their validity is an *āstika* (theist) and an unbeliever who rejects the *Vedas* is a *nāstika* (athiest). The first is an orthodox while the second is a heterodox.

Sources of Knowledge

According to the orthodox schools the *Vedas* are a collection of words which were

revealed to inspired seers. To reject the *Vedas* meant the rejection of the testimony or evidence of other men as a source of knowledge. As an example of heterodox school we may take the case of Chārvāka. His teachings are a complete denunciation of the *Vedas*, their authors and the religion they taught. According to him the *Vedas* were the work of cheats, hypocrites and flesh-eaters. His followers believe in four elements of the body namely earth, water, fire and air. According to them from the combination of these four elements emerges consciousness.

According to Cārvāka *perception* was the only source of knowledge. That which could not be perceived by the senses did not exist. But even perception need not always be right. Sometimes one may see a thing which is not there. The two other heterodox schools were those of Jainism and Buddhism.

In the Buddhist view *inference* also was a source of knowledge. The root of inference is experience or perception. But deeper spiritual truths like God and the other world could not be known even by inference. According to all orthodox schools of philosophy perception, inference, comparison and verbal testimony are the four kinds of valid sources of knowledge.

The orthodox thinkers also agreed that life was full of ills and escape from them was the highest object of desire. They further agreed that this escape could be effected only by meditation on the highest truth.

Six Systems of Indian Philosophy

1-2 *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* : The word *Vaiśeṣika* is derived from *Viśeṣa* which means different and the doctrine is so designated because, according to it, diversity and not unity is at the root of the universe. The word *nyāya* indicates the method followed in the system which is predominantly intellectualistic and analytical. The compound designation *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* refers to the method followed in the system as also the result finally reached viz. pluralistic realism. Probably *Vaiśeṣika* school is older than *Nyāya* school.

The earliest work of *Vaiśeṣika* school is the *Vaiśeṣika sūtra* of Kaṇāda. Praśastapāda wrote a commentary on the above in the fifth century A.D. Gautama wrote *Nayāy sūtra* and Vātsyāyana wrote a commentary on it in C. 400. A.D.

The two schools had a common theory about the sources of knowledge. They accepted the *Vedas* as one source of knowledge. They believed in soul, God and in the reality of the outside world. According to them the world has got an independent existence.

World : According to the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* school the world was a conglomeration of atoms which were themselves uncreated. These atoms exist independent of our thought. They are of four kinds, having the qualities of smell, taste, touch and light. When they combine, they make the things of the world and when they disintegrate, these things are destroyed. The world spreads out in space and in a series of events which occupy time. Space and time are divisible in thought but not into atoms.

The things of the world are by themselves individual, each is distinguishable from another by a quality specially its own which is called *viśeṣa*. But they also form classes and have qualities common to them, all called *sāmānya*. The distinction between one class

and another, like that between one individual and another, is also a *viśeṣa* or a specific quality.

In the world of things changes also take place, one event following another. This means there is causation. Causation implies that something new is brought into existence. The things, their qualities and their relations in time and space are all real, and these make up the world.

Pluralistic Realism : The *Vaiśeṣika* system starts with the postulate that all knowledge by its very nature points to an object beyond it and independent of it. These objects are independent not only of knowledge but also of one another whence the doctrine may be described as pluralistic realism.

A substance (*dravya*) is defined as a thing having *guṇa* or *karma*. The *dravyas* are nine in number namely (1) earth (*pṛthvī*), (2) Water (*ap*), (3) fire (*tejas*), (4) air (*vāyu*), (5) *ākāśa* (6) time (*kāla*) (7) space (*dik*) (8) the self (*ātman*) and (9) *manas*.

They together with their various properties and relations explain the whole universe.

Earth, water, fire and air : By these four terms we should not understand the discrete things of common experience bearing these names but their ultimate material causes which are supra-sensible—the atoms (*paramāṇu*) which are partless and eternal. *Ākāśa* is also an element but it is partless and infinite. It is not atomic. *Time* and *Space* are infinite and partless like *ākāśa* and are non-atomic. *Self* : it is many, each being regarded as omni-present and eternal. In this system knowledge (*jñāna*) is an attribute of self, two other attributes are desire (*ichchhā*) and volition (*yatna*). These three attributes are transient, non-atomic and eternal, *manas* is atomic and eternal but unlike the first four *dravyas* does not give rise to any product. The cooperation of the *manas* is a necessary

condition of knowledge whether it refers to external objects or internal states. The *manas* helps the self in acquiring knowledge, but at the same time acts as a check upon it by narrowing its fields to a single object or a single group of objects. The *dravyas* do not by themselves explain the whole universe. They serve merely as its framework.

The Qualities (Guṇas) : These are attributes which pertain to one or more *dravyas*. Though these *guṇas* are dependent upon *dravyas* they are conceived as altogether distinct from them for they can by themselves be known and as such must, according to this doctrine, be independent realities. But they are not necessarily eternal. They have been enumerated as 24. The true nature of *dravyas* is revealed by the qualities in which they differ rather than by those in which they agree.

The Actions (Karma): They represent various kinds of movements. The doctrine admits stability as a possible characteristic of reality.

The Universal quality (sāmānya) and *Particularity (Viśeṣa)*: *Sāmānya* stands for a property common to two or more things. *Viśeṣa* is the differential of ultimate things which are otherwise alike. Two jars may be exactly alike in size, colour etc. but they can be distinguished from each other by means of the material out of which they are made.

Necessary Relation (Samavāya): In this system the relations are conceived as real. *Samavāya* may be described as an intimate relation. Unlike *saṁyoga* which is adventitious or contingent *samavāya* is necessary.

Negation (Abhāva): According to this system the absence of object is not the same as the knowledge of its absence. By *abhāva* we should understand only the negation of something and not absolute nothing.

Idea of God: According to this school there is a God who made the world out of the eternally existing atoms. The existence of God

has to be inferred as the cause of the universe. God not only created the universe, but He also created the Vedas, which are thus a source of knowledge. It was God who gave to words the power to mean what they mean.

There are no references to God in the *Sūtra* of Kaṇṇada but both *Praśastapāda* and *Vātsyāyana* recognize God. The God that is recognised is classed under *ātman* and described as *paramātman* to distinguish Him from the *Jīvātman* or the individual self. The existence of God is established through inference. The doctrine gives prominence to reason. The world is an effect and like all other effects points to an efficient cause. There is observed in the created world a physical order which indicates a controller or lawgiver. The moral government of the world implies a governor who dispenses justice in accordance with desert.

Soul (Jīvātman): The *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* believes in a permanent self and makes consciousness (*jñāna*), which it describes as the basis of all life activity one of its possible attributes. In addition to this, five other specific attributes which the self may have are love (*rāga*), aversion (*dveṣa*), pleasure (*sukha*), pain (*duḥkha*) and volition (*yatna*).

Nyāya: The *Nyāya* philosophy laid special stress on its theory of knowledge. As a result of this emphasis on sources of knowledge this school discovered the syllogism as the method of inference. The Indian syllogism consists of propositions. Besides inference there were three other sources of knowledge according to this school. These were perception (*pratyakṣa*), analogy or comparison (*upamāna*) and authority of the Vedas.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SYSTEMS

The *Vaiśeṣika* views the world from the ontological stand while the *Nyāya* does so from

the epistemological point of view. The aim of Nyāya is first to win the field of truth and then to secure it with the fence of dialectics against the encroachment of error and sophistry.

The Nyāya differs from the Vaiśeṣika in admitting two more sources of knowledge viz., verbal testimony (*Śabda*) and comparison (*Upamāna*).

The chief value of Nyāya philosophy consists in its contribution to method and terminology, which have been invariably adopted by all other schools of thought.

3-4 SĀṆKHYA-YOGA

The Sāṅkhya supplies the metaphysics where as the Yoga delineates the psychological discipline by which the results contemplated by the system may be actually achieved.

The original work on which the Sāṅkhya philosophy is based was the Sāṅkhya-sūtra by Kapila. The commentary on this work was written in the sixth century A.D.

Puruṣa and Prakṛti

According to this system the world is evolved out of a primitive principle, an eternal feminine the *Prakṛti*. It consists of three *guṇas* namely *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. Besides *Prakṛti* there are infinite number of individual souls as *Puruṣas*, who do not act but under certain circumstances are able to feel and be misled. *Puruṣa* represents the element of awareness or sentience in the universe. *Prakṛti* is the result of arguing from the things of the world of their first source or first cause and *Puruṣa* result of arguing from them to their aim or final cause.

Puruṣa is static, knowing neither change of place nor change of form. It is passive while *Prakṛti* is active. *Puruṣa* (Spirit) without Nature (*Prakṛti*) is inactive and Nature without Spirit is blind. In the resulting union each finds its

complement and the defects of both are made good.

When *Prakṛti* comes into contact with a *Puruṣa* the world begins to be unfolded, through a series of stages. Intelligence (*Mahat* or *Buddhi*), self consciousness (*Ahaṁkāra*), mind (*manas*), five sensory organs (eyes, ear, nose, tongue and nose), five motor organs (mouth, head, feet, anus and sex), five subtle elements (*tanmātrās*), of earth, water, fire, air and space and five gross elements called by the same names. These twentythree together with *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* give us the list of 25 *tattvas* (truths).

The tragedy is that while *Prakṛti* is active she is unconscious and *Puruṣa* who is conscious is inactive. This is the great truth by meditating on which the evils of life can be escaped. Indeed *Puruṣa*'s liberation (*apavarga*) is the ultimate purpose for which the *Prakṛti* evolves.

The *Yogasūtra* was written by Patañjali. Vyāsa wrote a commentary on the work. For Yoga also, it is the same truth i.e. the *Prakṛti* is active but unconscious and *Puruṣa* is conscious but inactive on which man should meditate. But Yoga bestows more care in describing the mental effort necessary for this meditation and the physical discipline by which the body may be made fit for such meditation.

By practising physical discipline and different kinds of meditations, many extraordinary and even superhuman powers could be acquired. This is a means and end is the escape from the ills of life.

Citta

According to Yoga, *citta* differs from individual to individual. Past *Karma* has set limits to its capacities. Therefore, the same disciplines are not necessary for all to bring about spiritual insight. A deposit of impressions of previous lives is left in the *citta* as *vāsanās*.

Yoga is defined as *citta-vṛtti-nirodha* (suppression or modification of the mind-stuff). It aims at uprooting of potencies that make for fresh bondage through lapse in inhibition. Intelligence stuff (*buddhi*), egoity (*ahamkāra*) and mind are all successive stages in the evolution of blind *Prakṛti*. The unknowable *Puruṣa* and the undifferentiated *Prakṛti* must cooperate before phenomenal knowledge can arise and a sense of agentship can invade the soul.

According to Yoga concentration (*dhyāna*) becomes perfect when self-reference is lost and the self becomes almost emptied of all contents and only the object to be contemplated shines forth. This indicates that, prior to the final leap, the spirit loses the activity that differentiates and reacts upon the object and being divested of all relativity it loses the flow of awareness which is responsible for the sense of activity.

A careful analysis was made of the impediments of concentrated thinking and moral earnestness and practical steps to overcome them were laid down. Sickness, listlessness, doubt, failure and instability in attention and worldiness are obstacles to concentration. The aids to concentration are cleanliness of the body, *āsanas*, *prāṇāyāma*, monotonous repetition of the syllable 'Om', mastery of organs (*indriyanigraha*), a progressive scheme of fixation of attention in order to avoid distraction. Yoga advocates practice of non-injury (*ahiṃsā*), truthfulness (*satya*), non-stealing (*asteya*), continence (*brahmacharya*), non-acceptance of gifts (*aparigraha*), contentment (*santoṣa*), cordiality (*maitrī*), pity (*karuṇā*), happiness (*muditā*), and disregard towards the vicious (*upekṣā*).

In the last stage the *Yogin* discovers that neither the gross nor the subtle things of nature are really final objectives and the identification with neither in a state, where the object alone

seems to exist and the self reference is almost lost, is conducive to the realization of the true self. In *Sānanda samādhi* there is an identification with the means of knowledge. The *Yogin* may transcend both the object and the process of thought and fix his attention on the consciousness of self itself.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SĀṆKHYA AND YOGA

Sāṅkhya does not recognize the existence of a God whose benediction may be invoked for according to this system there is no evidence that there is God. The *Yoga* only speaks of God indirectly as an object of meditation by pondering on whom the mind may be steadied in contemplation. According to *Yoga*, however, God exists and is immensely superior to man, because he is not touched by evil that encircles man. Even when God is mediated upon, the ultimate aim is to stop the flow of mind in its conscious and subliminal aspects and to bring about the cessation of the modification of its thinking principle. In this system there is no intention to preach identification with or the dissolution in God (*Brahman*) as the ultimate condition of finite soul. The soul is above all opposite modes of awareness (*dvandvātīta*) and relativity of subject and object. It is non-modifiable (*aparīṇāmin*) and in it thinking and being coincide.

5-6. THE TWO MĪMĀṆSĀS

Mīmāṃsā means the reasoning which has to be adopted in order to understand the connotation of a word or a sentence. *Pūrva* means the earlier portion which deals with performance of Vedic rites with reference to the *Brāhmaṇas*. The *Uttara Mīmāṃsā* or *Vedānta* interprets the *Vedas* with reference to the *Upaniṣads*. According to the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* the *Upaniṣads* had only a

secondary importance and the philosophy based on these was of inferior value.

The two systems accept the same sources of knowledge. For both *Brahman* is the ultimate reality. Regarding evolution and dissolution of the world there is little difference among the *Mīmāṃsakas*. They regard *Vedānta* superior to all other systems of philosophy.

The earliest work on the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* system is the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra* by Jaimini (C. 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.). The commentary on the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra* is by Śabara-svāmī (A.D. 200). Prabhākara and Kumārila wrote their commentaries on these *sūtras* in C. 650 A.D. and C. 700 A.D. respectively.

The *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* philosophy deals mainly with the ways and methods of sacrifices in accordance with the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Śrautasūtras*. But it lays great emphasis on the theory of Vedic commandments i.e. all Vedic passages are to be explained and interpreted as commands (*vidhi*) or prohibitions (*niṣedha*). According to these systems the *Vedas* were unassailable as a source of knowledge, therefore they are the foundation of true philosophy. From the above the followers of this school derived two following propositions :

(1) that the relation between words and their meanings was eternal, permanent and unalterable and the meanings they expressed were equally eternal and unchanging.

(2) that knowledge carried its own proof. The words of the *Vedas* give us knowledge and there is no reason whatever to doubt its validity.

The followers of the Prabhākara school (A.D. 650) of *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* recognise only five sources of knowledge namely preception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), verbal testimony (*śabda*), comparison (*upamāna*) and presumption (*arthāpatti*), while those of Kumārila also recognise Non-presumption (*anupalabadhi*) as a source of knowledge.

World

According to this system there is a world of things and qualities that we experience. It is real and endures in exactly the same form even when a self becomes free. *Mokṣa* means only the realization that the relation of the self to the world though real is not necessary. The world changes but was not created.

Soul

There is a soul which was created and when liberated, lives a life of blessedness. The soul can and does act and enjoys the fruits of its actions and there is a plurality of such souls.

Karma

Karma necessarily brings its own fruits in its trail but does not require a dispenser of reward and punishment. The *Vedas* enjoin the performance of certain actions. There are actions which must be done in all circumstances (*nitya*). They are imperative duties. There are others which should be performed if something is desired and as means to the attainment (*kāmya*) of that something e.g. for a son (*putreṣṭi*). There are certain actions which must not be performed or the performance of which is a sin. There are some actions which should be performed as an expiation of the sin of having done a prohibited action (*naimittika*).

The system held that the duties belonging to the *varṇa* (class) and *āśrama* (stage in life) to which an individual belonged were imperative and must continue to be performed till death.

God

Jaimini, Śabara Svāmī and Kumārila are silent about God. But the later exponents of the philosophy like Gangābhaṭṭa declare unhesitatingly that it is not the aim of the

philosophy to deny the existence of the benevolent God.

Dharma

True spirituality consists in fixing one's attention on *dharma* or such acts of duty as lead to success in the life beyond.

Aim of Life

According to this school heaven is the goal of a man's life. Heaven does not mean anything else but bliss in the life beyond.

Means of attaining Heaven

The *Mīmāṃsakas* do not believe that knowledge divorced from ritualistic work can enable a man to rise to the full status of his being. Performance of sacrifices (*yajña*), the offering of oblations (*homa*) and charity are the means of attaining heaven.

An invisible potency issues from the sacrifice and endures till the fruit is generated and resides in the soul of the sacrificer. This is called *apūrva*. It ceases on producing the result. It is otherwise called merit or demerit.

Kumārila believes in *Jñānakarma-samuccayavāda* or in a harmonious combination of knowledge and action as a means of liberation. He believes that action is not an end in itself but only a means to obtain liberation. He accepts the view that knowledge of the self born to true meditative act is the immediate cause of liberation. Kumārila thus represents the transitional phase from *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā* to the *Vedānta*.

UTTARA MĪMĀṂSĀ OR VEDĀNTA

The earliest work on *Uttaramīmāṃsā* is the *Brahma-sūtra* or *Vedāntasūtra* by Bādarāyaṇa. He refutes the view that the *Upaniṣads* propound the dualistic philosophy of Sāṅkhya

and does not accept the ritualistic view of *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā*. But the philosophy was fully propounded by Śaṅkarācārya (C.A.D. 788 to 820). For him *Brahman* alone is real and the self and the world of things only an appearance, an illusion of the finite mind in its state of ignorance. In his commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra* Śaṅkarācārya maintains *Vivartavāda* or the doctrine that the world is a phenomenal appearance of *Brahman*.

Soul (ātman)

That the *ātman* is immutable and indestructible is declared by the *Vedānta* to be a self-evident truth. The body, the mind (*manas*), intellect (*buddhi*) and ego (*ahaṁkāra*) are all objects of knowledge, are variable and are, therefore not *ātman*. The *ātman* is neither the *kartṛ* nor the *bhokṛ* and is in reality ever free. To think that *ātman* is in bondage is wrong and it is due to sheer ignorance of its essential nature. *Jīva* is a subject-object complex.

God (Brahman) : Brahman is *nirguṇa* (without any attribute), *niṣkriya* (without any action), *niravayava* (without any parts), *nirupādhika* (unconditioned and absolute) and *nirviśeṣa* (having no distinguishing element in it, a simple homogenous entity). Owing to the resemblance, though only seeming of his doctrine of *nirguṇa Brahman* to that of *Śūnya* (void) of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism Śaṅkara is called *pracchanna Bauddha* (disguised Buddhist).

Identity of Soul and God : Brahman alone is real, the world is false, the individual soul is Brahman and nothing else. The individual soul (*Jīva*) is to be regarded as perfectly identical with the Absolute (*Brahman*). The Upaniṣadic saying that thou art (*tat tvamasi*) expresses this truth.

The element consciousness is known as *Sākṣin* and corresponds to *Puruṣa* of Sāṅkhya-

Yoga, the passive observer of the states of the internal organs as they unfold themselves. It is only the unity of the passive *Sākṣin* (consciousness) and the active *antaḥkaraṇa* that is real for all practical purposes. That is what knows, feels and wills. In this complex from it is known as the *Jīva* or the empirical self. The *Jīva* is spirit as immanent in the *antaḥkaraṇa* while the *Sākṣin* is spirit as transcendent.

World : The whole of the universe in the form in which it is experienced by us is due to a metaphysical error wherein the empirical is mistaken for the real. There is a higher stand-point from which even empirical things are only appearances. It is in this sense that the *Advaita* (non-duality) school maintains that the world is not real (*mithyā*) and that *Brahman* is the sole reality.

Māyā : *Māyā* (illusion) is the principle that mysteriously unifies contradictions and is as such inexplicable and undefinable (*anirvacanīya*). It is the principle that makes a thing appear as what it is not. You take a rope to be a snake this is *adhyāsa* or *Māyā*. In reality there is no snake, no world and there should not be any superimposition. The one cannot be the other. You take *Brahman* to be the world, this too is *adhyāsa*. *Māyā* or *avidyā* is the first cause of the physical universe and corresponds to the *prakṛti* of the *Sāṅkhya-yoga* philosophy. From *Māyā* sprang into being not only organic bodies that house *Jīvas* but also all inorganic nature. The things arising from *māyā* are commonly regarded as real, but truly they cannot be described as either *sat* or *asat*. They are *mithyā* because they are not ultimate. Their reality is relative and they may be regarded as appearances when contrasted with the higher reality *Brahman*. From the standpoint of *Brahman*, *māyā* is negligible (*tuccha*), from the standpoint of strict logic it is inexplicable (*anirvacanīya*) and from the

stand-point of common experience *māyā* is real (*vāstava*) the very life of the world.

Īśvara : *Īśvara* of *Advaita* is the cause of the world. It is spirit together with *māyā*. *Māyā* is the potency (*śakti*) inherent in *Īśvara* through which he manifests the objective world with all its diversity of names and forms. In this sense *Māyā* cannot be the source of the universe, but is merely accessory to *Īśvara* in bringing it into existence out of himself. *Māyā* in its *āvaraṇa* aspect accounts for the bondage of the *Jīva* and the freedom of *Īśvara*. *Īśvara*'s world is described as *prātibhāsika* so that its unity with himself may always be realized. All variety as such is known to him to be a mere abstraction. The world is, no doubt, an appearance to *Īśvara* but not to us who have not realized its unity with ourselves. Thus according to *Sāṅkara* *Brahman* is the reality from the point of view of the Absolute and the world is a reality from the practical (worldly) point of view.

Saguṇa Brahman : It involves *adhyāsa*, and like *Īśvara* cannot be regarded as ultimate. The *Saguṇa Brahman* includes not merely reality but also appearance which is something less than the real. The ideal of *Saguṇa Brahman* is not useless. It furnishes an ethical ideal by following which the disciple can rise above his congenital limitations and acquire that moral fitness which is indispensable for success in achieving the *advaitic* goal.

Aim of Life: According to the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*¹ 'All knots of the heart are cut, all doubts dissolved and all actions (*karmans*) are ended when the highest *Brahman* is realized as one's self'. According to *Sāṅkara* *Mokṣa* (salvation) is not a state to be newly attained. It is the very nature of the self. It is realizing what has always been one's own innate character but happens for the time-being to be forgotten.

The *Jīvan-mukta* (an individual who attains salvation in this life itself) : It is either *samādhi*

(mystic trance) when he turns inwards and loses himself in *Brahman* or it is *vyutthāna* (reversion to common life) but the spectacle of the world does not delude him since he has once for all realized its metaphysical falsity.

Means to attain Mokṣa (salvation)

For attaining *mokṣa* one has to undergo discipline in two stages. In the preliminary stage one qualifies oneself for entering upon the serious study of the *Advaita*. This stage is identical with the *karmayoga* of the *Gītā* and its aim is the cultivation of detachment. The second stage consists of Vedantic training proper which aims at self-realization. In this stage an individual should study and discuss (*śravaṇa*) the teachings of the *Upaniṣads* with the assistance of a *guru* (teacher). He should argue within himself (*manana*) and meditate upon the identity between the individual-self and *Brahman*. It should be continued till the intuitive knowledge arises and that identity becomes immediate (*aparokṣa*).

Knowledge: The Vedānta recognizes all the six sources of knowledge mentioned in connection with *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* of Kumarila's school and generally agrees in matters of detail also.

DIFFERENCES IN THE TWO SCHOOLS OF MĪMĀṂSĀ

Pūrvamīmāṃsā rejects the view that the *Veda* was ever composed by anybody. Śāṅkara admits that the *Veda* is *apauruṣeya* (not produced by any human being) but according to Śāṅkara it is resuscitated at the beginning of each *kalpa* by one who cannot interfere either with its content or with the order of its words.

Śāṅkara, following Kumarila, admits that *Śabda* is a valid source of knowledge outside the *Veda* also. But he says that there is no

need to subordinate the *Upaniṣads* in one way or another to ritualistic commands as in the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*.

The nature of the Vedānta : Vedānta may be called a rationalistic religion. It avoids the two extremes of blind faith in authority and belief in the omnipotence of reason. The spiritual truths that constitute it are revealed in the *Vedas*. These were realized by the seers in their mystic intuition of *Brahman* and are justified by reason or critical intelligence (*yukti*). Faith in what is revealed in the scriptures has to be verified by intuition or personal experience and intuition should conform to the rational demands of certainty and universality. It is reason which mediates between faith and intuition and makes the truths of revelation realizable and those of intuition intelligible.

VIŚIṢṬĀDVAITA

The most striking feature of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* is the attempt which it makes to unite personal theism with the philosophy of the Absolute. Theism implies belief in a personal and transcendent God who saves out of mercy, such as are whole-heartedly devoted to him and are for that reason described as *ekāntin* (single-minded). The philosophy of the Absolute is based upon the *Upaniṣads*. From the *Upaniṣads* we derive the ideas of the unity of ultimate reality and of its immanence in the universe, as also the doctrine of *jñāna* as the means of salvation.

Brahman: According to Rāmānuja the central point of the teachings of the *Upaniṣads* is the unity of *Brahman*. He, like Śāṅkara, cites in support of his view the two kinds of coordinate propositions that occur in them, one affirming the identity of soul and *Brahman* and the other that of the *Brahman* and the material world. According to Rāmānuja the identity by the expression 'that thou art (*tat*

tvam asi)' is of God as the indweller (*antaryāmin*), of the *Jīva* and God as the source of the world. *Brahman* is real (*satya*), is self-conscious (*jñāna*) and is infinite (*ananta*).

The entire creative process is the self-expression of the Absolute. God reveals Himself as the *Sat* without a second, wills the many and becomes the manifold of sentient and non-sentient beings, and the purpose of the cosmic process is to provide an opportunity for the *Jīva* or the finite-self to realize its divine destiny. While being immanent God also transcends it. That God is the life of all life is the central idea of *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. In its practical aspect it insists on the idea of God as redemptive love and lays down the path of *bhakti* (devotion) or *prapatti* (self-surrender) as means for the attainment of eternal bliss.

Dharmabhūtajñāna: It characterizes *Jīvas* or *Īśvara* and is always secondary to them the relation between them being inseparable. It is conceived as both *dravya* and *guṇa*. It is *dravya* because it changes through contraction and expansion. It is a *guṇa* in as much as it is necessarily dependent upon a *dravya* viz. *Jīva* or *Īśvara*. *Dharmabhūtajñāna* has a three-fold function. It can know things as they are in reality, it is self-luminous and it can reveal the Absolute. It is thus a vital link between *cit* and *acit*, *Īśvara* and Nature and Self and God.

Jīva (finite self) : The finite self is really an organ of the Absolute drawing its sustenance therefrom and serving as a willing instrument for its cosmic purpose of redemption while life pulsates through every cosmic part and determines its form and function. It is the essence of spirit and has *dharmabhūtajñāna* always associated with it. The *Jīva* is not here, as in the *Advaita*, merely the assumed unity of the individual experience but an eternal reality. In its natural condition of *mokṣa* its *jñāna* expands to the maximum reaching the ends of space and there is nothing

then which it fails to comprehend. In *saṁsāra* as a whole the *jñāna* is more or less contracted but never absent. *Jīva* is in reality both a *kartā* and a *bhoktā* i.e. an active and purposeful being. The finite self has the freedom to grow into goodness of God or lapse into wickedness and vice.

Īśvara : He is of the nature of spirit or intelligence and is of the essence of the unsurpassable bliss. Like the *Jīva* he also possesses *dharmabhūtajñāna*. In dissolution (*pralaya*) *Īśvara* subsists as the cause with the whole of the universe latent in him. In creation what is latent becomes manifest. Subtle matter becomes gross; and souls, expanding their *dharmabhūtajñāna*, enter into relation with physical bodies appropriate to their past actions.

World : Rāmānuja recognizes as ultimate and real three factors, matter (*acit*), soul (*cit*) and God (*Īśvara*). Matter and soul are dependent upon God. These two subordinates are termed *viśeṣaṇas* and the predominant one *viśeṣya*. Because the *viśeṣaṇas* cannot by hypothesis exist by themselves or separately, the complex whole (*viśiṣṭa*) in which they are included is described as a unity. Hence Rāmānuja's system of philosophy is called *viśiṣṭādvaita*.

Knowledge : Rāmānuja recognizes only three sources of knowledge namely perception, inference and verbal testimony. He accepts the word of God not only the *Vedas* but also the *Pañcharātras* and the utterances of the *Ālvārs* are ranked by him as being equally authoritative.

According to him throughout *saṁsāra jñāna* operates under limitations for defects of one kind or another interfere with its free activity. Consequently common knowledge reveals only half reality. Its full revelation is possible only in *mokṣa* when all deficiencies are overcome and all possibility of error is removed.

Mokṣa : It consists in the attainment of freedom from the shackles of *Samsāra* by seeking the redeeming love of God. When the false self or *prakṛti* is removed the real self is realized. *Prakṛti* is the dwelling place of the soul and through it of God Himself. Over the above freedom from mundane existence, in this system, there is the idea of reaching a supra-mundane sphere and there in the presence of God, the highest bliss.

In the state of *Mukti* the self realizes its essential and eternal nature and is deified and thus attains the being of its being. Its consciousness limited by *avidyā* and its result *karma* in the empirical world of space-time, now expands into omniscience and cosmic consciousness. It is a state of unitary consciousness in which the self is immersed in the bliss of *Brahman* and its thought expires in enjoyment.

Means for the attainment of Mokṣa. As in the Advaita the practical discipline here also begins with *karmayoga* in the *Gītā* sense, which purifies the heart, but the training of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* has two distinctive characteristics. It also expects the *sādhaka* to practise *jñānayoga* and *bhaktiyoga*. *Jñāna yoga* means meditation upon the *Jīva* after knowing its true character through *śravaṇa* or study of the scriptures under a proper teacher. *Bhaktiyoga* marks the culminating stage of the discipline. It presupposes a reasoned conviction of the nature of God as taught in the *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. According to this system loving contemplation of a personal God is

called *bhakti*. For *bhakti* a person must belong to one of the three higher castes. *Prapatti* is irrespective of caste. Rāmānuja makes *prapatti* essential to *bhakti* also in its final stages. *Prapatti* consists in absolute self-surrender and signifies a resolve to follow the will of God, not to cross his purposes, to believe that he will save, to seek help from him and him alone and to yield up one's spirit to him in all meekness.

Avidyā and *karma* form an endless cycle and their effect cannot be removed by death or retribution. *Mukti* would be impossible if divine justice functioned through the mathematical rigour of the law of *karma* and becomes ruling principle of religion. The saving grace of God mediates between the two and transforms the ruler into a saviour (*rakṣaka*). *Karma* then becomes an attitude of self-surrender. Overpowered by mercy and tenderness God realizes His godliness by saving the sinner and seeking the saint.

Thus in this system the ultimate of philosophy has been identified with the ultimate of religion. Thus *Viśiṣṭādvaita* secured for Vaiṣṇavism the much needed support.

The view that God is immanent in all faiths for the purpose of cosmic redemption inspires the feeling that the God of all religions is ultimately one, though the seers and sects may give expression to Him in different ways.

Reference

1. Mund. Up. II. 2.8.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the concept of the world in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school.
2. Describe in brief, the idea of God in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika schools.
3. Mention attributes which a soul (*Jivātman*) has according to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school.
4. Point out the main differences between the Vaiśeṣika and the Nyāya schools.
5. Discuss briefly the concepts of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* in the Sāṅkhya-yoga schools.
6. What is the method adopted by a follower of yoga school for uprooting of potencies that make for fresh bondage?

7. Describe the state when concentration (*dhyāna*) becomes perfect according to the *Yoga* school.
8. Bring out the main differences between the principles of the *Sāṅkhya* and the *Yoga* schools.
9. Mention the five sources of knowledge according to the *Prabhakar School of Pūrva-mīmāṃsā*.
10. Discuss the concept of *karma* in the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā*.
11. How can a soul, according to *Kumārila*, attain liberation?
12. Discuss the concept of *ātman* in the *Vedānta* and distinguish it from *jīva*.
13. Explain how according to the followers of *Vedānta*. The whole of the universe which is experienced by us is not real (*mithyā*). Elucidate the principle of *māyā* in the *Vedānta*.
14. Bring out the concept of *jīva* in the *Viśiṣṭadvaita* school of *Rāmānuja* and distinguish it from that in the *Advaita* school.
15. Explain the state of *mokṣa* in the *Viśiṣṭadvaita* school.

Appendix 3

Kaniṣka I : His Contribution to Buddhism, Art and Culture

Kadphises-II, the predecessor of Kaniṣka-I, was a worshipper of Śiva. Kaniṣka himself became a follower of the Buddha. Kaniṣka, as a king, must have been influenced by the concept of an ideal ruler enunciated both in the early Brahmanical and the Buddhist canonical literature. According to the *Dharmasūtras*, the king was expected to protect his subjects because it was his duty imposed upon him by divine ordination¹, by virtue of his being kṣatriya² and because he was bound to protect them in return for the taxes paid by them³. That Kaniṣka and his successors used the epithet *Devaputra* is a clear evidence to the fact that they considered themselves bound by the obligation of divine ordination. The *Dīgha Nikāya* expects a *Chakravarti* to provide right watch and ward and protect his people, army, nobles, Brāhmaṇas and beasts and birds, throughout his kingdom and there should prevail no wrong doing in his kingdom, financial help should be given to any one who is poor in his kingdom and he should deter the recluses and Brāhmaṇas from evil and bid them take up what is good⁴. According to Kautilya *danḍa* is a means of ensuring security and prosperity of the three sciences, namely sacred Canon (*Trayī*), Philosophy (*Ānvikṣiki*) and economy (*Vārttā*); in fact *danḍa* is their root : the course of worldly affairs (*lokāyatta*) depends upon *danḍa*, and therefore, he who seeks this course should constantly be ready to apply *danḍa*⁵.

The above description of the obligations of a ruler shows that he regulated all the activities of an individual concerning his family, religion, ethics and society and economic culture. The primary aim of the ruler was the welfare of the people. The scope of state activity being all comprehensive it could easily be an instrument of cultural change in all its aspects namely society, economy, religion, art and literature.

Kanishka-I belonged to an alien race but he freely, imbibed in himself the culture of India. He fully realized the duties and responsibilities which an Indian ruler was expected to discharge. When he became a patron of Buddhism, he probably tried to follow the tradition of ancient Indian rulers whose obligations both according to Brahmanical and Buddhist Canon we have described above.

Religion

The Mahāsāṅghika sect at its early stage had its centre at Vaiśālī and was scattered all over northern India. Later it became located in the Andhra country. The Mahāsāṅghikas deified the Buddha and asserted that he was supramundane (*lokottara*). According to them arhathood was not the highest or the fully emancipated state and every individual should aspire for *Buddhahood* and not *arhathood*.

The deification of the Buddha, the introduction of the Bodhisattva conception, the change of ideal from *arhathood* to *Buddhahood*

prove that the Mahāsāṅghikas were the precursors of Mahāyānism⁶.

The doctrine of *pāramitā* was evolved in the third/second century B.C. A Bodhisattva, whether as a householder or a recluse, was required to acquire, all the six or ten *pāramitās* in order to qualify for the attainment of Buddhahood. The credit for popularising it among the masses goes to the Mahāsāṅghikas who preached that everyone should aspire for Buddhahood and aim at becoming a Bodhisattva by acquiring the appropriate virtues⁷.

The monks of the Sarvāstivāda sect predominated at the Fourth Buddhist Council. Five hundred Buddhist scholars who assembled in this Council compiled commentaries on the *Tripiṭaka* which were engraved on copper plates and buried in a *stupa* by the orders of Kaniṣka. It would appear from the account of Kaniṣka's council as given by Paramārtha and Tārānātha that Mahāyāna was already a living force at that time⁸. The Fourth Buddhist Council seems to have influenced Buddhism and perhaps was the cause for spread of Buddhism in China and Tibet. In the first century A.D. Buddhism was playing an important role in the area north of Afghanistan along the Oxus river valley almost up to Samarkand and eastward towards the Gobi desert. The western and northern limits of Kaniṣka's empire mark the approximate extent of the spread of Buddhism in those directions in Central Asia but for a thousand years Buddhism moved eastward from Central Asia along the trade routes of China, Korea and Japan⁹.

According to Yuan Chwang Kaniṣka was at first unsympathetic to Buddhism but later embraced it¹⁰. The earliest writer on Mahāyāna philosophy was Nāgārjuna who most probably propagated his teachings in the first century A.D.¹¹

The keynote of Mahāyāna ethics was altruism envisaged in the development of *Bodhichitta* and fulfilment of six principal and four supplementary *pāramitās*. Anyone, be he a householder or a recluse, was entitled to perform these *pāramitās* in order to attain Buddhahood ultimately. The six principal *pāramitās* consisted of *dāna* (liberality), *Sīla* (righteousness), *Kṣānti* (Forbearance), *vīrya* (mental strenght), *dhyāna* (mental concentration) and *prajñā* (realisation of truth). The four supplementary *pāramitās* were: *upāyakauśala* (Skilfulness in expedients), *pranidhāna* (vow or resolution), *bala* (attainment of certin powers) and *jñāna* (knowledge). According to them a Mahāyānist must take a vow that he would not seek his own happiness unless and until he had been able to do his bit to make all other beings happy. By dedicating his life to the service of others he developed *Bodhichitta* and became a *Bodhisattva*. Whatever merit a Bodhisattva acquired by the fulfilment of *pāramitās* was meant not for his own benefit but for the benefit of all beings of the countless worlds. He claimed to work for the maximum good of the maximum number of living beings.

When Kaniṣka embraced Buddhism he propagated it throughout his empire not only in India but also in Central Asia. But his great zeal for Buddhism did not make him intolerant of other religious sects followed by his subjects all over his empire. He respected the local religion of each area of his empire as is evident from the figures of Zoroastrian, Brahmanical, Greek and Roman gods and goddesses on the reverse of his gold and copper coins.

Kaniṣka's patronage of Buddhism and the popularity of Mahāyāna Buddhism contributed a good deal to the development of Buddhism during this period. The epigraphic records and monumental remains prove that in the first three centuries of the Christian era Buddhism

was the dominant religion from North Western Frontier Province to Amaravati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the South. The Kuṣāṇas had intimate association with Western and Central Asia. Through these regions Buddhism gradually penetrated into China, Burma and other parts of eastern and south eastern Asia.

Society

Kanishka's empire extended from Central Asia to Magadha. His subjects included people of varied temperaments and interests. In the Mahāyāna sect everyone who practised *pāramitās* could hope to become a Bodhisattva and by doing the greatest good to the greatest number of his fellow beings he could hope to get *nirvāṇa*. Such a religious sect must have appealed to majority of his subjects. This is evident from the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of a Kuṣāṇa king who was ruling Taxila region in A.D. 79. The Inscription states that a pious Buddhist who was a native of Uraśā (Hazara District) constructed many Buddhist structures for the health and prosperity of the *Devaputra* Kuṣāṇa emperor of whom he was a subject, for the worship of Buddhists, of Pratyeka Buddhas and *Arhats*, irrespective of their sects or doctrines, for the worship of all beings and for the worship of his parents, friends, relations and kinsmen in blood, his supreme object being the attainment of *nirvāṇa* by all¹². In ancient India people generally followed the footsteps of the ruler, when Kanishka became a Buddhist many of his subjects must have constructed Buddhist structures for the attainment of *nirvāṇa* by all. Another inscription discovered at Zeda dated A.D. 89 records the gift of a well and channel for the benefit of Sarvāstivāda monks. Popularity of Buddhism must have led to the development of this altruistic attitude on the part of Kanishka's subjects. It must have generated a spirit of co-operation which must

have resulted in the harmony in the society. Kanishka's tolerance and regard for the gods and goddesses of all his subjects must have endeared him to all his subjects and they must have fully co-operated with the emperor in maintaining peace and order in the empire.

Another characteristic of the social organisation of this period was the coalascence of foreigners with Hindu Society. Even before Kanishka's accession to the throne many Greeks and Śakas had become followers of Brahmanical religious sects. No trace was left of their individuality or separate existence. The Śakas who were worshippers of the Sun were called Śakadvīpī brāhmaṇas. Kanishka's tolerance and patronage of Buddhism must have accelerated this process.

Another social development seems to have been the rise of a rich middle class; the result of flourishing crafts and trade. There are a number of inscriptions of the first two centuries of the Christian era which record costly gifts¹³. These gifts could have been made only by members of a rich middle class.

The social changes described above may to a great extent, be ascribed to Kanishka's benevolent rule over his subjects.

Economy

Under Kanishka's rule there was no danger of foreign invasions and on account of a good system of administration there was peace and order in the empire. Hence articles of merchandise could be sent safely from different parts of the empire. So India's trade was at its zenith during this period. As Rome and Parthia were keen competitors in the East-West trade, the Roman emperors seem to have been eager to make the Kuṣāṇas, who were ruling in the valleys of the Oxus, the Indus and the Ganges, their friends in order to maintain their control over Indian trade and commerce¹⁴. We know from the Chinese

Tripitaka that Kaniṣka himself fought against the Parthians. Towards the end of his reign he also fought against the famous Chinese General Pan-Chao, when the latter challenged his authority over Central Asia.

This political factor greatly helped the development of India's trade with the West, in the first two centuries of the Christian era. Articles of export to Rome were mainly luxuries like precious stones and pearls, silk and muslins, scents, incense, and spices. The prosperity of Kaniṣka's region is attested by the 'fixed deposits' which the people made with the guilds for charitable purposes. For example we know from an inscription of A.D. 106 of the reign of Huviṣka, that 1100 *purāṇas* were invested as fixed deposits with two guilds¹⁵ and from a Nasik inscription of the reign of Nahapana we know that Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapana invested 3000 *kārṣapaṇas* with two guilds of weavers. The interest on these fixed deposits was spent of charitable purposes¹⁶. The beautiful gold coins of Kaniṣka also prove the prosperity of his reign.

Language and Literature

In this period classical Saṅskṛt became the language of the canonical texts of northern Buddhists. Even in Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions Saṅskṛt stanzas appear. The Sui-Vihara Copper plate inscription of Kaniṣka is a good example of this linguistic and cultural change. Previously all Buddhist canonical works were written in Pali Language. The literature of this period reflects the change in ideology of the Buddhist thought. The biographies of the Buddha, now, emphasize his divine qualities. The Sarvāsti-vādins wrote the *Lalitavistara* in Saṅskṛt, the Mahāsāṅghikas the *Mahāvastu* in mixed Saṅskṛt and Aśvaghoṣa, the *Buddhacharita* in the epic style in Saṅskṛt.

The Buddhist scholars like Asvaghosha, Parśva and Nāgārjuna were contemporaries of Kaniṣka. This linguistic change was also most probably due to Kaniṣka's patronage of these scholars.

Even in the Buddhist philosophy we find that Nāgārjuna's thought being very much akin to Vedānta philosophy. He considered the world a *śūnya* from the standpoint of absolute truth. The Mahāyānists considered the *śūnyata* of Nāgārjuna the Highest Reality, almost the same as *Brahman* of the *Upaniṣads*¹⁷. The Sarvāstivādins believed in the plurality of the essential elements but the Mahāyānists accepted one essential element in the universe. This change in the Buddhist thought was revolutionary.

Art

The change in the Buddhist thought found expression in the Buddhist art of this period. In the Hinayāna sculpture, the Buddha was never shown in iconic form. His presence was shown by such symbols as the *stūpa*, his footprints or the Bodhi tree with the *vajrāsana* beneath it¹⁸. In the Mahāyāna the images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were considered objects of worship. The representation in human form of Buddha, the previous Buddhas and the images of several Bodhisattvas can be seen in the contemporary art of Gandhāra and Mathurā.

The earliest figure of Buddha can be seen on the top of the lid of the Peshawar relic casket. Several gold and copper coins of Kaniṣka bear the figures of Buddha in usual standing or sitting postures with descriptive legends¹⁹. To popularise Buddhism Kaniṣka patronised artists to carve statues of Bodhisattvas and Buddhas in various postures (*mudrās*). Many rich merchants and traders, who had amassed wealth, also got images of

Buddhas and Bodhisattvas made as an act of piety. This shows that Kaniška's patronage of Buddhism contributed a good deal to the development of Gandhāra art. Indian art at this time came under foreign influence. Greek artistic technique and craftsmanship were freely employed in making images of Buddha. They were rendered in terms of identical characters of Graeco-Roman pantheon²⁰. But all these images have iconographic traits and attributes of Indian tradition. They represent as in a mirror a vivid image of almost every phase of north India, lay and clerical, during the early centuries of the Christian era. But as Havell points out, the influence of Hellenistic art was purely technical in character and was in no way the spiritual or intellectual force which rendered its form of expression.

Under the Kuṣāṇa emperors the Gandhāra art considerably influenced the Mathura School of Art²¹. Mathura became a workshop for making images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas which were in great demand.

The above survey of cultural developments in India during the first two centuries of the Christian era makes us conclude that Kaniška's reign was a political factor of great significance which brought about great changes in all aspects of Indian culture, religion, society, economy, language, literature and art. It also opened the way for the spread of Indian Civilization to Central and Eastern Asia.

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The Art of India

Part One SECTION - III

Part One
SECTION III

Chapter 19

The Art of India

The art of India reveals the deepest recesses of the human mind and offers a mirror to the Indian soul as perhaps nothing else does. The spiritual and religious content of India's creative genius has found full and perfect expression in her aesthetic creations. Art, by its nature, is a vital commentary or concrete manifestation of thought which is abstract and invisible. Objects of art are like documentaries of a thought-world that has departed. These creations have preserved the thought-forms of by-gone ages with all the vitality and inspiration of the consciousness that brought them into existence. It is more so in India, where the story of art is as old in the history of the race—a panorama of five thousand years.¹

The essential quality of Indian art is its pre-occupation with things of the spirit. As Professor V. S. Agrawala has stated there are three special features of Indian art. First, the truth of the divine essence of reality. The essential truth in the literature and art of India is the homage to the abstract and unmanifest power behind the material world. The second feature is the depiction of the opposite principles of the cosmos which appear as combatants. The wheel of life moves on, bringing victory to the *devas*. The entire range of the artistic heritage shows the conflict between the good and the evil waged incessantly. The created world presents a diversity where force meets force for fulfilment of the higher purpose of life. This is known as *devāsūram* in Vedic terms, that is, the conflict between the two powers of the *devas* and the

asuras, the forces of light and darkness, which are symbolized as the *garuḍa* and the *nāgas*. The third feature of Indian art is the place of human life in the divine scheme of things. Man here serves an essential purpose. He is placed in the centre of things. All the symbols of art and religion primarily portray his finer images. They explain his emotional life in terms of raging conflicts, the ultimate consummation of which is peace and self-fulfilment.²

These main elements that have gone into the making of Indian art express external beauty or the aesthetic element. The decorative motifs in which the genius of the Indian artist found its fullest expression are a source of perennial pleasure to the critic and the connoisseur.

To sum up, Indian art has four elements for its theme, namely, the divine principle, the cosmos in its two-fold manifestation of good and evil, man, and the material world.

I. PRE-HISTORIC AND PROTO-HISTORIC ART

Rock Art : Whether people of Early and Middle Stone Age times found any means of artistic expression other than that shown in the making of tools, we do not know. The rock art of Central India, where caves and rock shelters have proved favourable to its survival, appears to date from Late Stone Age and even later times.³

Rock shelters are fairly numerous in Central India, particularly in the Vindhyan

sandstone region, which lends itself to their formation. A fair proportion of them are decorated with drawings upon the walls and ceilings, the majority executed in varying shapes of purple, red, and light orange-brown. Some clearly belong to later times, but many of the drawings are equally clearly associated with the hunting cultures of Stone Age and immediately post-Stone Age times. They show animals of many kinds, including deer, antelope, wild pig, rhinoceros, elephant, buffalo, humped cattle, and monkey, the majority of which are clearly wild species. Then there are human figures, sometimes together with animals in hunting scenes and other large compositions, and sometimes alone or in groups. Finally there are objects and designs less easily identified.⁴

The granite rocks of north Karnataka and Andhra also provide suitable protected surfaces for rock-art at such sites as Kupgan, Maski, Piklihal, etc. Most of this can be attributed—on account of its content—to the Neolithic people who settled on these hills, but it is quite possible that a few may be attributed to the hunting people who preceded them. Others again are certainly later. The pictures are made by crayoning rather than painting, in a similar range of colours as those seen in Central India. The most frequent subjects depicted are cattle, long-horn humped bulls, unmistakably *Bos indicus*. They are shown singly and in groups, some with their horns decorated as though for a festival. Other animals, such as deers and tigers are occasionally illustrated, and it is these that suggest links with the hunting people. There are also elephants, some with riders and human figures. Some of the men carry axes or spears and occasionally they ride horses.⁵ The presence of horses in the region in late Neolithic or Chalcolithic times is further suggested by horse bones found at Hallur.

Painting on Pottery

The painting of pottery appears almost from the beginning of settlement in Baluchistan. The most common elements are linear or geometric designs, but occasionally animals are represented as early as in Mundigak I. These decorative designs soon blossomed into more complex patterns including quite elaborate geometric motifs, as in the Quetta ware or the pottery of Mundigak III. Already friezes of cattle, and other animals occur in north or central Baluchistan showing a measure of stylistic execution, as in the Rana Ghundai 'bull' pottery or the Togau ware. Stylised plant motifs, particularly the *pipal* leaf, occur as well as less obvious plant and bird motifs.⁶

Modelling in clay to make terracotta figurines

Terracotta figurines occur in Baluchistan almost from the earliest ceramic levels. The most common subject is *Bos indicus*, often with a heavy and exaggerated hump. In the later pre-Harappan stages, stick modelling for the heads and eyes is found along with painted decorations of heads and bodies. It is remarkable that throughout the region, from Mundigak or Quetta and Zhob in the north to the Kulli and Shahi-tump in the south, cattle depicted are almost always the humped variety. Other cattle are rare, and so are other animal species, although sheep, goats and birds are sometimes found. Human figurines form the second subject, although less common than animals and their appearance is somewhat later. In the immediately pre-Harappan and even Harappan period, a definite type of series emerges through the region with the so-called Mother Goddess. They exhibit a minimum of modelling of the body, with heavy applied details, such as breast, head and neck ornaments, etc., with eyes formed by deep

stick incisions. They may be divided into the northern group including those from sites such as Mundigak IV, Damb Sadaat II-III, Sur Jangal III Chhangarhi etc., and the southern group typified by the Kulli types with more intricate ornamentation and eyes often formed with an incised line around the pupil. A very different style is exhibited by two pieces one from Chhargarhi and one from Mundigak IV. The latter, which is more complete is evidently a kneeling figure and in both cases the head is tilted backwards and the eyes are half closed. These two have a far more special quality than the goddesses and immediately recall Harappan stone sculpture, with which they may be contemporary.⁷

THE ART OF THE HARAPPAN CULTURE (c. 2750 B.C. TO c. 1750 B.C.)

Architecture

Mohenjo-daro : The city shows remarkable skill in town-planning and sanitation. It was entered from the north and south by the first street which is amply wide for both wheeled traffic and pedestrians. East street, which is the main thoroughfare through the ruins is wider than the first street. The junction of these two is nick-named "Oxford Circles" by archaeologists. The city was the creation of careful forethought and planning, as is indicated by the striking regularity of the divisions. Streets varied from 90 feet to 34 feet in width and ran straight sometimes as far as half a mile. They intersected at right angles dividing the city into square or rectangular blocks. Inside the square there were a number of narrow lanes crowded with houses. Each lane had a public well and most of the houses had each a private well and a bath. The city had an elaborate drainage system consisting of horizontal and vertical drains, street drains, soak pits, etc. It also

had industrial and commercial quarters as well as small houses for artisans and shopkeepers and palatial mansions of the rich.⁸

The architecture of Mohenjo-daro, in general, is plain and utilitarian, rather solid than beautiful. The true arch was unknown and the corbelled arch and square or rectangular columns were used instead. The aim in the Harappan culture was to make life comfortable and luxurious rather than refined or artistic.

Harappa : Harappa is larger in extent than Mohenjo-daro but presents nearly the same features. Wells at Harappa are rare as compared to Mohenjo-daro. The most remarkable and largest building at Harappa is the Great Granary measuring 169 feet by 135 feet which comprises two similar blocks with an aisle 33 feet between them. Each block has six halls, alternating regularly with five corridors and each hall is further partitioned into four narrow divisions.

Another discovery at Harappa is the workmen's quarters which comprise fourteen small houses built in two blocks separated by a long narrow lane. Each house is open on all sides, rectangular and consists of a courtyard and two rooms.¹⁰

In building wells, pavements, bathrooms, drains, etc. burnt brick was lavishly used. Sun-dried brick was used only for foundations and packing of terraces etc. Sawn bricks were used in bathrooms to ensure evenness of floor. Curved bricks were used in lining of wells.¹¹

Foundations were carried to considerable depths and crude brick was used for infilling. Buildings were erected on artificial mud platforms as a precaution against floods.¹²

The Great Bath is a swimming bath on a scale which would do credit to a modern seaside hotel. The overall dimensions of the building housing it are 180 feet by 108 feet. The actual bathing pool measuring 39 feet by 23 feet with a depth of 8 feet is situated in the

middle of a quadrangle having verandahs on all sides. At either end there is a raised platform and a flight of steps, with another platform at the base of each flight of steps. The floor is made of bricks laid on edge, and the walls have been made water-tight by employing especially trimmed brick in gypsum mortar with an inch of damp proof course of bitumen. There is a vaulted culvert, 6 feet 6 inches high at the south west corner, which could fill and empty the tank. On three sides at the back of the verandahs are various rooms and galleries. There is a spacious verandah with a small room at the southern end. There are six entrances to the building containing the bath.

Near the south-west corner of the Great Bath is a *hammam*. It has a number of rectangular platforms of bricks about five feet high having a series of vertical chases sunk in their sides.¹³

Sculpture

(a) **Terracotta figurines:** The Harappan culture produces evidence of the universal popularity of terracotta figurines, whether as toys or cult objects, or more probably as both. Technically they show little to distinguish them from those of Baluchistan, hand-modelling and applied detail being general. A few pieces are certainly made in single moulds. They include a range of birds and animals, including monkeys, dogs, sheep and cattle. Both humped and humpless bulls are found, the pride of place seemingly going to great humpless bulls, well modelled and with stick details of eyes, head and neck. Both male and female human figurines are found, the latter being more common. The head dress is often quite elaborate, some figures have heavy applique dress or ornament on their bodies. Seated women, and mother and child groups, are often among the most lively modelling. Of special

interest is a group of heads with either horns or horn-like appendages.¹⁴ These appear on both male and female torsos, and may be associated with the horned figures on seals and elsewhere so that we may with some certainty regard them as deities.

(b) **Stone sculpture :** Stone sculptures are not very common, only about a dozen pieces have come from Mohenjo-daro and two or three from Harappa. Most are mutilated. The stone employed was usually soft, either steatite, limestone or alabaster. These seemed to be cult objects. The size is never great and in each case well under life-size. The outstanding pieces are the bearded head and shoulders from Mohenjo-daro and two small figures from Harappa. The Mohenjo-daro piece is either seated or kneeling, with hair tied in a bun or hanging in a long plaited lock. In some instances the hair is tied in a fillet.¹⁵ From Mohenjo-daro come two reclining animals, either bulls or rams, in each case carved from a block of limestone. One has an elephant trunk recalling the composite beasts of the seals. The head in both instances is missing. The modelling of the larger of the two, which incidentally was finished by polishing, is surprisingly sensitive. Of the two examples of stone sculpture from Harappa, the first figure is a tiny nude male torso of red sand-stone, less than four inches in height with a pendulous belly. The second figure is no larger, made of grey stone. It is a nude dancing figure, also made with twisting shoulders and one raised leg. A dowel pin was used to attach the now missing head.¹⁶

(c) **Bronze Sculpture :** The most significant specimen of bronze sculpture from Mohenjo-daro is a little figure of a dancing girl about 4½ inches in height. The head is inclined back, giving the eyes a characteristically drooping quality, the right arm rests on the hip, and the left which is

heavily bangled, hangs down. She is naked, except for a necklace and her hair is plaited in an elaborate manner.¹⁷

Seals : The seals form an impressive part of the surviving examples of Harappan art. The number so far discovered in excavation must be around 2,000. Of these the great majority have an animal engraved on them, and a short inscription. The animal most frequently encountered is a humpless bull, shown in profile with its horns superimposed on each other and pointing forward. Other animals on the seals have a standard or *mangers*, among them the elephant, the bison, the rhinoceros and the tiger. Of special interest is a considerable group of seals with 'cult' motifs, evidently containing material of a religious character. The craftsmanship of these seals is generally excellent and shows at once considerable skill in the depiction of animals and a tendency to run into accepted schemata or clichés.¹⁸

Other Arts : Other Arts in Harappan culture which need mention, were making of ornaments of gold and silver, and cutting of beads in various semi-precious stones like agate, carnelian, chalcedony, ivory-carving and weaving.¹⁹ In a class by themselves are the animal figurines and ornaments and beads made of faience which are regarded as masterpieces of craftsmanship. Faience was a special paste of crushed steatite. It was

coated with a glaze and fused in a kiln, to produce extreme fineness of texture and a light blue or greenish colour. Beads of clay, steatite and semi-precious stones were fashioned in many shapes, some of them finely decorated with a trefoil pattern beautifully etched on the surface. Of exceptional charm are the hordes of gold necklaces and chest ornaments of elongated beads with domed hollow terminals.²⁰

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QUESTIONS

1. What information do we get about the art of the Late Stone Age people of Western Central India from the rock paintings of that area?
2. How do the rock paintings of North Karnataka and Andhra differ from those of Western Central India?
3. Give a brief description of the designs on the painted pottery of Baluchistan.
4. What difference do you find in the designs of the painted pottery of Harappan civilization from those of the pre-harappan period?
5. Differentiate the designs of the Malwa ware from those of the pottery of the Harappan civilization.
6. Mention some important types in the terracotta figurines of the Harappan civilization.
7. Mention some outstanding pieces of bronze and stone sculptures discussed in the Harappan civilization.
8. "The seals discussed in Harappan excavations form an impressive part of the surviving examples of Harappan arts." Justify by giving suitable examples.

Chapter 20

The Mauryan Art (c. 325 B.C. to c. 185 B.C.)

The numerous objects and buildings unearthed in the Harappan culture, which have been described above, constitute the earliest examples of the art and architecture of India. Then follows a long gap, and it is not till about the third century B.C. that we once more come across the vestiges of a flourishing artistic culture.

Cities: The Buddhist canon testifies to the existence of populous cities with large buildings long before the time of Buddha. The cities were surrounded by a moat or moats and further protected by a wall running all around. The plan of the city was rectangular, usually square, with gate or gate houses in the middle of each side, the gateway being approached by a bridge across the moat. Four main streets from the four gateways led to the centre of the city which was laid out in quarters.¹ The idea of the buildings within the cities may be gained by reference to early Indian reliefs. The appearance of the buildings, shown in early relief carvings, leaves no doubt that they were made of wood.²

Mauryan Architecture

The greatest monument of the period, executed in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, was the old palace at the site of Kumrahar. Excavations at the site of Kumrahar nearby have unearthed the remains of the palace. The palace appears to have been an aggregate of buildings, the most important of which was an immense pillared hall supported on a high

substratum of wood. The pillars were set in regular rows, thus dividing the hall into a number of smaller square bays. Fragments of stone pillars, including one nearly complete, with their round tapering shafts and smooth polish indicate that Aśoka was responsible for the construction of the stone columns which replaced the earlier wooden ones. The number of columns is eighty, each about twenty feet high.³ According to the eyewitness account of Megasthenes, the palace was more magnificent than the Achaemenian palaces of Susa and Persepolis.⁴

Religious Architecture

The Stūpa : The Buddha had exjoined Ananda to erect at the crossing of four highways a stupa over the remains of his body, after it had been burnt on the funeral pyre, in the same manner as the stupa of a universal monarch. As enshrining a relic symbolising the Buddha himself, a devotional aspect was implicit from the very beginning. The gift of a stupa was reckoned as meritorious as that of an image.⁵

The earliest of the stupas now extant represents a plain and simple structure, consisting of a hemispherical dome, placed on a low circular base and surmounted by a square box, which is further crowned by the umbrella the symbol of universal paramountcy.⁶ The dome was the principal element of the stūpa and was surrounded by a passage for circumambulation, occasionally

fenced off by a railing or a wall. This original form of the stupa may be recognized in the Great Stūpa at Sanchi (Bhopal State), which represents the earliest specimens now extant. Originally built of brick in Aśoka's time, it was enlarged to nearly twice its size and enveloped in stone, perhaps a century later, when the stone railings and the gateways were also added. The original brick stupa was in all probability enclosed by a wooden fence, later replaced by the massive stone balustrade which now surrounds the enlarged monument encased in stone.⁷

Aśoka is known to have built a large number of imposing stūpas during his reign. These were made of brick and earth, but topped by railings and parasols of stone with the intricate carving and brilliant polish associated with Mauryan art. A monolithic railing, sparkling like the Aśokan pillar and about 10 feet square, once stood on top of the Jagatsing stūpa. It is a perfect example of the same architectural skill which a generation earlier had manifested itself in the construction of the Mauryan palace.

The Chaitya Hall

Before the introduction of Buddha images, the stūpa as enshrining the relic of the Master, was the centre and focus of the devotion and adoration of the Buddhists. As the most outstanding emblem of the faith, it became the central object to which the prayers and devotion of the faithful could be directed. It is not surprising, therefore, that the worship of the stūpa, was a popular theme in early Indian art.

The Chaitya hall, in its fully developed form bears a curious resemblance to the Christian church, not only in shape but also, to some extent in use. It consisted of a long rectangular hall, rounded at the rear end and divided internally into a nave, an apse, and

two side aisles. The aisles are separated from the nave by pillars, and the apse contains, in place of the altar, a solid stupa as the votive object. The aisles are continued round the apse, thus providing circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*). The nave is covered by a barrel-shaped vault, and the two aisles also by vaults, each of which is half the section of that of the nave. The doorway is usually opposite the votive *chaitya*, and over it appears a huge arched window, shaped like a horse-shoe, dominating the entire scheme of the facade.

The type described above is not the achievement of a single period, beginning from two or three centuries before the Christian era.⁹ Perhaps the earliest excavations in rock, which may have some association with the development of *Chaitya* halls of later days, are the rock-cut caves at Barabar, near Gaya in Bihar. The Sudama cave, excavated by Aśoka for the Ajivikas, consists of two apartments, of which the outer one is rectangular, and beyond this, at the back and separated from it by a solid wall with narrow passage connecting the two, there is an empty circular chamber in the place usually occupied by the votive *chaitya*. The outer chamber is covered by a barrel vault and the inner by a hemispherical dome. Deeply inset into the face of the rock, the doorway near one end of the broader side has sloping jambs, a peculiarity that is clearly reminiscent of wooden construction where it was used to counter poise the outward thrust of the roof.

The most important of the Barabar group is the Lomaśa Ṛṣi cave, undated but certainly Maurya in date. In plan and other arrangements, it closely resembles the Sudama caves, with the only exception that the inner chamber is oval instead of being circular. The plan and arrangements of the Sudāmā and Lomaśa Ṛṣi caves are similar in all essential details, and evidently represent a

circular shrine preceded by an assembly hall. It is possible that the earliest form of such a shrine consisted of the circular cella alone to which the Buddhists added a votive *chaitya*, and the outer hall was later added to accommodate the gradually increasing congregation.¹¹

The ruined foundations of Chaitya halls at Sanchi, Sarnath, Sonāri etc. might have belonged to the period of Aśoka.

The Monastery (The *Saṅghārāma* or *Vihāra*)

Another important form of early Indian architecture is the *Vihāra*, the monastery. It was designed on much the same lines as a private house, i.e. a square block formed by four rows of cells, along the four sides of an inner quadrangle. In the earlier period, they were usually built of wood on a stylobate of stone or brick.¹²

Remains of early structural *Vihāras* belonging to the centuries both preceding and succeeding the Christian era have been found in many places. Unfortunately, in most instances, it is only the foundations that can be traced now, and these do not call for any special notice. Rock-cut examples of monasteries have been found in abundance, and of these, the Barābar and the Nagarjuni groups of caves, built for use of Ājīvikas are the earliest. The Barābar group belongs to the time of Aśoka, and the Nāgārjuni to one of his successors, Daśaratha. The Sudāmā and Lomaśa Ṛṣi caves of the former group have already been noticed in connection with the *chaitya* halls. The remaining caves of the two groups were simple rectangular chambers, cut out of rock, with a barrel vaulted roof above, and characterized by a lustrous polish on the interior walls resembling that on the Aśokan pillars. Some of the caves are provided with raised platforms at the end. The Son Bhandar cave at Rajgir agrees essentially with the

above, and perhaps belongs to a date not far removed from them.¹³

Mauryan Sculpture

The early tradition of folk art was supplemented in the Mauryan period by a court art of great vitality and technical competence. Excellent stone sculpture comes into full being all at once. Several of its features deserve notice. For example, stone began to be used all over the country for sculpture and architecture. Another distinguishing feature, unique in creations of Mauryan art, is the bright polish imparted to the stone surface. This mirror-like polish gave to ordinary stone the perfection that only the art of the lapidary can confer. Mauryan art is notable too for the bewildering variety of its creations; we have, for example, pillars, railings, parasols, capitals, animal and human sculptures and several other motifs besides.¹⁴

The best specimens of Mauryan sculpture are furnished by a number of monolithic columns with their majestic animal capitals found in Bakhira (near Basārḥ or Vaiśālī), Rāmpurwa, Lauriya Nandangarh, Rummindei, Sankīśya, Sarnath, Sanchi and other places, remnants of a large number—more than thirty—which the emperor is known to have erected. A clear idea of their general appearance and constituent parts is afforded by the pillar, which is still *in situ* at Lauriya Nandangarh. Generally speaking, each column consists of two parts, the shaft and the capital. The shaft, circular in section and slightly tapering, is made from a single block of stone and has a graceful and elegant proportion. The capital, monolithic like the shaft, was divided into three parts by an inverted lotus, often described as Persepolitan 'bell', abacus and a crowning sculpture in the round. The surface of both the shaft and the capital is chiselled with that extraordinary precision and accuracy which

characterise the workmanship of the Mauryan age. As the shaft alone is more than thirty feet high, and the heaviest weighs about fifty tonne, the construction and conveyance of these monolithic columns, often, to a great distance, testify to the high engineering and stone-cutters' skill of the age.¹⁵ The surface of the gently arched 'bell' is decorated with highly stylised longitudinal lotus-petals with sharp and thin ridges in the middle and wide and roundish border mouldings, the spaces between the ends of the petals being filled in with short mouldings. The real aesthetic significance of the beautifully arched and elegantly ribbed floral bell of the Mauryan capital lies in its gentle curve, its rhythmic proportions and in its very effective contrast with the chaste and elegant, plain and smooth, tall and capering shaft that it crowns.¹⁶

The bull capital of the Rampurwa pillar constitutes the high-water mark of animal sculpture, the young bull being the embodiment of concentrated energy, and of subtle balance in every one of its parts.¹⁷ On the other hand, the capital of the Sarnath pillar consisted of four parts, namely, an inverted lotus with long sweeping petals surmounted by a circular drum showing four *chakras* facing the four directions and after each an animal—a horse, a lion, an elephant and a bull. On the top of this round abacus are four addorsed lions being cardinally majestic figures conceived with the utmost realism. They served as a pedestal for a big *dharma chakra*, of which several fragments have been found. The *dharma chakra* represents *dharma* or the Law of the Buddha and the lions, the temporal power of the emperor (*Chakravarti*) who has dedicated all his resources to the victory of *dharma* (*dharma vijaya*). All this gives the lion capital of the Sarnath pillar the place of honour. The symbolism of Indian art attained

its highest expression in the Sarnath capital.¹⁸

Monuments of art, like Asoka's edicts of piety, were put up far and wide, beautifying many centres away from the capital city of Pataliputra. One such example is the colossal carving at Dhauli, the old capital of Kalinga. Here, the whole rock is fashioned like the fore-part of an elephant. Its bulk, movement and life-like finish make it a superb example of Asokan plastic art.¹⁹

The two *yakṣa* figures found at Patna showing the same zest for size as the *Parkhami yakṣa* (fourth century B.C.) and probably serving the same purpose, partake of the Mauryan style and exhibit the same glistening polish. The *yakṣiṇī* found at Didarganj in Patna district is a rare specimen of figure sculpture. As a matter of fact, Indian sculpture of this period exhibits no feeling of asceticism, but on the contrary, reflects a mood of bubbling happiness.

One of the most important functions of Mauryan court-art, like the Achaemenian court-art, was to impress and over-awe the populace with the power and majesty of its rulers. To this function can be traced the compactness of the solid animal figures, their exaggerated forms and their conventional appearances, also the most imposing stateliness of the columns. Mauryan court-art is thus individualistic in its essential character and ideology. Like Aśoka's *Dhammavijaya*, it lacked deeper roots in the collective social will, taste and preference and was, therefore, destined to have an isolated and short life, coeval and coexistent with and within the limits of the powerful Mauryan court. This explains why Mauryan court-art, with all its dignified bearing, monumental appearance and civilised quality, forms but a short and isolated chapter of the history of Indian art. Like the columns and the animal figures themselves, Mauryan court-art stands aloof and apart.

References

1. The Age of Imperial Unity p. 484.
2. Ibid p. 485.
3. Ibid p. 486.
4. Ibid p. 486.
5. Ibid p. 487-88.
6. Ibid p. 488.
7. Ibid p. 488.
8. Agrawala p. 11.
9. The Age of Imperial Unity p. 495.
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11. The Age of Imperial Unity p. 498.
12. Ibid p. 502.
13. Ibid p. 502-503.
14. V. S. Agrawala p. 12.
15. The Age of Imperial Unity p. 506.
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17. V. S. Agrawala p. 13.
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19. Ibid p. 13.
20. Ibid p. 13.

QUESTIONS

1. What light have the excavations at Kumrahar thrown on the palace of Chandragupta Maurya?
2. What is the difference between the building of a Chaitya and that of a Vihāra?
3. Describe the differences between the original Stupa at Sanchi and Stupa as it is now.
4. Point out the differences between the Aśokan Pillar and the Achaemenian Pillar to show that the former is not an imitation of the latter.
5. Explain how and why Mauryan court-art forms but a short and isolated chapter of the history of Indian art?

Chapter 21

Art in the Post-Mauryan Period

A. ŚUNGA-KĀNVA ART (c. 200 B.C.–c. 300 A.D.)

Architecture

The Stupa : The original brick stūpa built in Aśoka's time was, in all probability, enclosed by a wooden fence. It was later replaced by the massive stone balustrade which now surrounds the enlarged monument encased in stone. It consists of octagonal upright posts capped by a continuous coping stone, rounded at the top and fixed to the posts by means of tenons socketed to the mortices. The mode of construction of the stone rail is essentially wooden. All the four gateways are covered with the most elaborate sculptures, in contrast to the rails which are kept severely plain. Stūpa No. 3 at Sāncī is also surrounded by rails and gateways of similar design, a portion of which may now be seen in the Indian Museum Calcutta. The Bharhut rail, however, instead of being plain was richly carved.¹

The Chaitya Hall : The *Chaitya* Hall at Bhājā, near Poona, was constructed most probably in the times of the Mauryas. It has twenty-seven pillars running along the entire length of the apsidal hall and around the votive *chaitya*, thus dividing it into a central nave and two side aisles. The pillars are plain octagonal shafts, a little over 11 feet in height, and support the barrel-vaulted roof on a framework of curved ribs, originally of wooden construction. The side aisles, only 3½ feet wide, are half barrel-vaulted. The votive *Chaitya* is placed near the back end, and the

entrance, now a lofty open archway, just opposite to it. The decoration of the facade, as seen in the upper section, indicates a definite advance on what we have in the Lomaśa Ṛsi cave. The wooden character of *Chaitya* Hall is nowhere so emphatically stressed as at Bhājā.²

The movement continues for a long time and the march of the style may be traced through a series of monuments, such as Ajanta cave No. IX, Bedsā, Nāsik, etc. to the most celebrated of all, viz. the great *Chaitya* hall at Kārle. In the great *Chaitya* hall at Kārle preceding the main hall there is a portico 15 feet deep and 52 feet wide, cut out of the rock and closed by an outer screen, and in front of this stand two isolated columns, each surmounted by a company form capital with addorsed figures of lions supporting a wheel. The inner facade is almost of the same style as in the earlier caves. The only difference is that instead of one entrance there are three doorways in the Karle cave, the middle one leading to the nave and those on either side to the two aisles.³

The Monastery (The Vihāra)

The earliest of the *Vihāra* caves in western India are certainly those at Bhājā. The one attached to the *Chaitya* is interesting as both are parts of the same design. A further instance of this may be found at Bedsā in the unique *Vihāra* cave whose cells are ranged round an apsidal central hall, manifestly copied from the plan of *Chaitya* itself.⁴ The

rock cut vihāra type of the caves may be seen in its most decorative form, particularly in the treatment of the facade, in three caves at Nasik belonging to second century A.D. At Karle, we find examples of storeyed Vihāras of the rock-cut order, which indicate a beginning that was to have significant developments in the next phase of the rock-cut Vihāra at once grand and magnificent.⁵

Sculpture

Śuṅga-Kānva art, formally and spiritually, is opposed to all that Mauryan art stands for, and is different in motive and direction, technique and significance.⁶ Bhārhut, BodhGaya and Sanchi represent the first organised art activity of the Indian people as a whole, which stands directly counter poised to the court-art of the Mauryas. It reflects for the first time the results of the ethnic, social and religious fusion and integration that had been evolved through centuries on the Indian soil, more particularly in the *Madhya deśa* of Buddhist conception.⁷

1. Sānchī : Railing of Stupa II; Bhārhut; BodhGayā. c. 100-50 B.C.

The ground balustrade of Stūpa II of Sānchī which presumably is the earliest phase of this art, is wholly worked in very low and flat reliefs. Those reliefs may be said to be just essays in linear composition.

A most characteristic feature of Śuṅga art is its flowing linear rhythm that binds all isolated objects in one continuous stream of life as it were. Look at any coping stone of a railing and you will find a huge lotus stalk flowing in rhythmical waves from form to form, not only binding each isolated objects itself, including the limbs of human beings but, also the animals and trees, with the same flowing linear rhythm.⁸

The general tone of art of Bhārhut is very modest, sober and restrained; the participants in the stories seem to be untouched by any dramatic moment or by any high tide even when such occasions present themselves. In BodhGaya however stories are told more summarily, but suggestively.

The Śuṅga-Kānva artists appear to delight in the handling of human figure; the joy of a new discovery seems to urge them on to depict the human body in every conceivable position and attitude. In Bhārhut the attempt is still full of effort; the individual parts of the body are shown clearly and distinctly but they are not always linked integrally. In Bodh Gaya the parts reach on integration and the body moves more freely and becomes a living entity.⁹

2. Sanchi : Gateways of Stupa I and III. c. 50 to 1 B.C.

Sānchī is in continuous line of evolution from Bhārhut and BodhGayā. Here, in the bursting and boisterous reliefs of the four gates of the great Stūpa and in the only remaining gate of Stūpa III, the beholder can see contemporary life of mid-India spread out before his eyes in all its mundane love and delight, pageantry and grandeur, peace and beauty, idyllic romanticism and violent struggle. The reliefs illustrate episodes from the life of the Buddha and incidents that enlivened contemporary history. The Sānchī artists seem to take an engrossing interest in all that pertains to the life of this world.¹⁰

3. Orissa : Udayagiri and Khandagiri Reliefs. c. 100 B.C.-A.D. 150

A few caves in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills near Bhuvaneśvara contain a number of sculptured friezes and panels which, though belonging to the common denominator of the art of Madhyadeśa, speak nevertheless a

distinct local dialect. The Manchapuri cave relief in Udayagiri and Anantagunpha reliefs in Khaṇḍagiri are both characterised by a robust vitality and vigorous movements. The treatment in these reliefs seems to connect them with the main treatment of Sānchi, the treatment of elephants and foliage are particularly noticable; but the general treatment is coarse, movement less vital; technically the reliefs are less advanced and isolated and compact figures prevent forceful composition.¹¹

4. Western India : Bhājā and Kārle c. 50 B.C.–A.D. 150

The large rock-cut reliefs of Bhājā are conceived from the roots of aboriginal depths and executed with an expansive vitality that knows neither limit nor restraint, for example the Sūrya relief and Airāvata relief. The composition is of exceptionally large proportions. There can be no doubt that the Bhājā reliefs are indeed aboriginally Indian.¹²

A century later, at Kārle, the surging plastic expansiveness of Bhājā becomes chastened by the vigorous discipline of fluid and rhythmical design. The free human figure of Sanchi is touched by the exuberance of Bhājā and at the same time vigorously disciplined within a massive frame; it is thus transformed into a free, proud, stately and heroic specimen of humanity and strong selfassured and animated. The deeply heaving lungs seem to expand the body to the last limits of the frame and model it into a fully developed form at the same time.¹³

5. Yakṣa Primitives. c. 50 B.C.–A.D. 50

The Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs were malevolent deities of primitive tribal conception and were worshipped in every village. The earliest stone specimens of such divinities hail from Patna,

Pārkhām (near Mathura), Baroda (also near Mathura), Besnagar Pawaya (near Gwalior) and other places.¹⁴ They are all primitively Indian in form, but they also reflect the currents of the flowing traditions of contemporary civilized practice. Their heavy bulk, their almost archaic and weighty volume, the conflict between fully rounded and modelled volume as seen in the arms, breast and abdomen on the one hand, and flat surface at the back on the other, the treatment of the drapery and the physiognomical form and appearance also seem to indicate that they have a close relation with the figure of the Great Stūpa of Sānchi as well as with the primitive Bodhisattvas of Mathurā.¹⁵

Special reference should be made to the elegant figure of a female *Chauri* bearer found at Didārganj (Patna), which shows a more powerful, developed and highly civilized conception and feeling. Though still exhibiting certain primitive characteristics, it can in no way be considered archaic or primitive.¹⁶

B. GANDHĀRA ART (c. 50 B.C. – A.D. 300)

Gandhāra along with the Punjab seems to have been one of the most prolific schools of early Indian art activity from the middle of the first century B.C. to about the fifth century A.D. The Gandhāra art was patronised principally by the Asiatic Śakas and Kuṣaṇas. In spite of the strict fidelity to Indian traditions, myths, legends and iconography, in spite of their depicting the entire Buddhist legendary and historical cycle in all minutest details, the Gandhāra reliefs appear to be mechanical and without any character, bereft of any emotional sympathy or spontaneity, and lacking in sincerity. The Hellenistic inspiration of this art is undeniable, even though transformed by Śaka-Kuṣaṇa and Indian tastes and

perceptions. Figures of the Buddhist pantheon, including that of the Buddha himself, with iconographic marks and attributes of Indian tradition, are rendered in terms of identical characters of the Graeco-Roman pantheon.¹⁷

The Buddha image of Gandhāra school has been claimed to be an original contribution but its aesthetic quality is indifferent and it lacks the vigour and independence of expression that characterise the free standing Bodhisattvas of Mathura. The Indian elements derived from the ideal *yogi* type, namely the lotus seat and the meditative gaze could not be properly assimilated, and the schematic folded drapery, heavy ornamentation and very often the moustaches betray a taste lacking in refinement.¹⁸

From the Indian point of view the importance of Gandhāra art lies in the fact that here one can see how a phase of Indian life, religion and iconography looked like in a foreign electric garb. From the Hellenistic point of view, it represents an eastward extension of Hellenistic art, as transformed by Śaka-Kuṣāṇa and Iranian tastes and forms in an Indian setting and as applied to Indian subjects.¹⁹

C. MATHURĀ ART (c. A.D. 150–c. 300 A.D.)

The earliest finds from Mathurā are closely related to the art of Bhārhut, going back to the middle of the second century B.C., but it is from about the beginning of the Christian era that the Mathurā school seems to have become active and began producing unceasingly for centuries those varied works of art which earned for her an enviable position in the art world of contemporary India.²⁰

A few specimens from Āmohini relief, a standing female figure, the *Loṇaśobhika āyogapata*, the *Kaṅkati Tīlā ayogapata* etc., show a character of relief composition that emphasises the stature of the main figure by

raising the height and grading the subsidiary figures accordingly. All figures are carved boldly and against the plain surface of the ground.²¹

A certain heaviness of form, earth-bound and of primitive significance, can be traced from the very beginning; those in action, especially the feminine figures, betray a conscious sensuality as well. This heavy physicality is soon partly relieved by a relaxation of the flesh and open-eyed smiling countenance which characterised the seated and standing Buddha and Bodhisattvas and also Jinas of the last quarter of the first and the second century A.D.²²

The spirit of Mathura sculpture is buoyant and true to the happy atmosphere of a contented domestic life which did not yield its gaiety to the austere discipline of the monastery.²³ Woman was at the centre of the picture and there are few creations in the whole range of Indian art which can vie in elegance, delicacy and charm with the lovely feminine figures created by the Mathura artists. The Kuṣāṇa art of Mathurā represents an important formative stage in history of Indian art. It is here that one can fully study the symbolism and the iconographic forms that were adopted later. For example, the forms of Brahmanical deities became crystallised at Mathurā for the first time. The influence of Buddha image of the Mathurā school spread far and wide both in India and Central Asia, reaching the great art centres of China. For example, the Buddha images at Tiang-lung Shan in Shansi are so similar to the seated images of Mathura that they seem to be the work of an Indian artist well acquainted with the Mathurā school.²⁴

Some of the master peices of Mathurā sculpture are : statues of Wema Kādphises and Kaniṣka, Pārkhama Yakṣa, Maholi Bodhisattva, *tarāṇa* tympanum with the worship of Buddhist symbols, seated Kubera,

bacchanalian groups from Palikhera and Maholi, Katra Bodhisattva and a female statue in the Gandhāra style. There are also several railing pillars carved with female figures of exquisite grace, for example, railings from the Bhuteśvara Stūpa, and another showing a female figure standing under an Aśoka tree and kicking it with her left foot as part of a blossoming ceremony, and still another pillar of fine workmanship showing a woman playing with a parrot. A considerable portion of Mathurā antiquities has found its way to the museums of Lucknow and Calcutta. At Lucknow the more valuable pieces include some lintels, upright posts and *Śalabhañjikā* figures which once formed part of the Stūpas, some *āyagapattas* or tablets of homage carved with detailed relief work relating to Jaina symbolism. An independent figure of goddess Lakṣmī standing in the midst of lotuses rising from a *pūrṇaḥaṭa* is of striking beauty.²⁵

D. ANDHRA STŪPAS (c. 150 B.C.–A.D. 400)

There is no doubt Vengi region carries on the tradition of early Indian art, and serves as a link between the earlier art of Bhārhut, BodhGayā and Sāncī on one hand and the later Gupta, Pāllava art on the other. The earliest specimens of sculptural art from Kṛṣṇā–Godāvarī delta, known in ancient times as Vengi hail from Jaggayyapeta and Amarāvati, comprised a number of carved marble slabs, presumably of Stūpas and railings. These low and highly linearized reliefs belong to the common denominator of form of Bhārhut and early Sāncī, but lines in Vengi are much more sensitive and the human forms with their elongated limbs are much more tall and slender. At Amarāvati the reliefs are slightly rounder and modelling fuller and more delicate.²⁶

The sculptures of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa are fully inspired works and display a mastery in which detailed ornamentation and elegance of figure sculpture are joined in a rare harmony. They unfold the cultural story of a glorious people who had adopted Buddhism as their creed and linked it with their dynamism both on land and sea as merchants and mariners. Numerous scenes of dance and music adorn these reliefs, which are very tender in conception and bespeak an irrepressible joy of life. The sculptural remains of Amarāvati have found their way to the British Museum and the Madras Museum, but the carvings of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa are preserved almost in entirety at the site. The white lime stone of the sculptures creates the illusion of marble and is as fresh today as it was when it left the hands of the carvers. It is a sensuous art, reflecting the joys of the people who had adopted the way of the Buddha as the new path of freedom and not of estrangement from the world. The Mahāyāna religious movement in the Andhra country invested the life of the people with a golden halo whose brilliance is fully reflected in the sculptures of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Here, as at Bhārhut and Sāncī, homage is paid to the local cults of Yakṣas and Nāgas.²⁷

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART IN THE POST-MAURYAN PERIOD (c. 200 B.C.–300 A.D.)

With Mathurā and Amarāvati the curtain is drawn on an art that began its career at Bhārhut, where men and women are part of nature itself and live a common life with trees and animals. A healthy pleasure in material life is taken for granted, but everybody takes it with earnestness, dignity, and in calm self-evidence of enjoyment at BodhGaya, the dignity

and earnestness are equally valued, but the initial restraint gives way to slow swaying movements. Sanchi brings gaiety, emotion and vivacity born of a fuller acceptance of life and the spontaneous joys and movements, its calm and composed forms are innocent of transient and hysterical moments. Karle is characterised by a calm strength and dignity, men and women there are mundane and earthly but in an ethnically primitive significance; it stands on life's stable and permanent foundations. This is equally true of the Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs, Nāgas and the Buddhist primitives of Mathurā. The reliefs of Mathura bring the sense perception of Sāncī to maturity, and the joy in life expresses itself in easy serenity and a general cheerfulness of disposition. The human figures are enlivened by a careless enjoyment of life. The bourgeois ladies of Mathurā, even while loving, toying with pets, or gossiping and dallying, never behave coquettishly. But the aristocratic ladies of upper classes of urban and sophisticated society of Amarāvati are definitely coquettish in an elegant though extravagant manner. The wildest joy and most violent passion shake them to their foundations. For the first time, Indian art becomes conscious of psychological conditions and learns to differentiate between the subtle and the violent shades and emotions of the human heart. They are given full expression to, not intellectually, but through the lineaments of the body. Conceived not as part of nature but confined with the physical frame and in a narrow mundane manner and, further, abandoned to the fullest and nervous enjoyment of transient pleasures, life exacted its toll by drying itself up.

E. TERRACOTTA

Terracotta was the material for artistic expression of the humbler people to whom stone, not very easily obtainable in the plains

of northern India, was a precious and costly material. A large number of variety of finds have been made on various levels of excavations at a number of important city sites such as Pāṭaliputra, Buxor, Taxila, Mathurā, Ahichchhatra, Vaiśālī (Bāsārḥ), Kauśāmbī, Rajghat-(Banaras), Bāngarḥ, and Mahāsthān (northern Bengal). It seems that the art of terracotta, either fashioned directly out of clay by hand or shaped and modelled by moulds, provided the most popular objects for household worship and decoration, plaques and figures in the round for popular magic and religious purposes, seals for purposes of documentation, children's toys, ornaments, medals, amulets and animal figurines of totemistic significance or children's play things. Much more than their pure aesthetic significance is their value for the history of Indian culture and the life of the common people.²⁹

Historical terracottas of pre-Gupta date are generally moulded, while head-dresses are affixed; the faces at least are in all cases moulded registering a stylistic characteristic, and they are affixed to bodies modelled by hand. This complex technique gives way to completely moulded-not modelled-figures in the Gupta period.

Barring one steatite plaque from Pāṭaliputra, inscribed in Mauryan characters and a few other objects from Patna, Kauśāmbī and Buxor, no regular terracottas that can more or less definitely be ascribed to the Maurya period have yet come to light from the early sites. In the Śuṅga-Kāṇva period i.e. from about 200 B.C. to about 1st century A.D., the major corpus seems to have consisted of female figures. These are richly dressed, slim, with a heavy countenance, and have magnificently modelled busts, well disciplined bodies with delicate modelling of the chest, skirts with flutters and extravagant loops, and

a rather high and wide head with lateral bumps accentuated further by elaborate hair-dressing or heavy headwear. To this period may be assigned some of the finds from Basārḥ, Buxor, Pāṭaliputra and Mathurā, with definitely Hellenistic heads and faces.³¹

Terracottas with a definitely Śaka-Kuṣāṇa stylistic impress exhibit a great variety of ethnic types and no mad fashions, especially conspicuous in the male figures from Mathurā. Faces of female figures are characterised by either a smile or at least an animation noticeable on the cheek-bones set below a pair of flat wide open eyes. Musicians with a great variety of instruments appear for the first time during this period. Horsemen and riders holding reins are seen for the first time. The terracottas of the Kuṣāṇa period found in excavations at Pāṭaliputra, Ahichchhatra and Mathurā provide a rich wealth of material for the study of contemporary art form and design. This can well be supplemented for the Deccan and South by the rich material unearthed from Maksi in Hyderabad.³²

F. PAINTING

The earliest historical example of painting of which we have any definite knowledge consists of a few rows of human figures in yellow and ochre earth colours arranged in sections in accordance with the shape of irregularly vaulted ceiling of Sītābengā or Jogīmārā cave in the Ramgarh hills in the Surgujā state of the Eastern States Agency. A comparison of the garment—*dhotī* and *uttarya*—of some of the Jogīmārā figures with those of early Sānchī Stupa II and Jaggayyapeta reliefs will establish strong similarities in form and motif. Therefore these paintings may be assigned to about the middle of the first century B.C.³³

A century and half later follows the next phase of Indian mural paintings as exemplified

on the walls of caves No. IX and X of Ajantā. Only scanty specimens of the earliest Ajanta phase are preserved, but they are mature works and belong creditably to the contemporary denominator of Indian plastic art.³⁴

The paintings are laid over a fine coat of plaster, finished by another coat of finely polished white priming. The outlines were drawn first in broad sweeps, and details were added afterwards. The two important scenes, one a frieze representing superimposed rows of human figures and another representing a group of elephants of the Chhaddanta gātaka scene of cave X bring out the main principles of this phase of painting. Both, so far their forms are concerned, correspond to contemporary relief tradition, and in density and relief can stand in comparison with similar representations at Sānchī. The figures, themselves, though densely packed and of smooth movement, betray hardly any emotional state and are unconnected with one another.³⁵

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QUESTIONS

1. Explain how Śunga-kāṇve Mauryan art?
2. Mention the most characteristic and formal quality of Śunga sculpture and illustrate it with suitable examples.
3. Compare the image of the Buddha in the Gandhara art with that in the Mathura art.
4. Mathura art represents an important formative stage in the history of Indian art? Discuss.
5. Discuss the chief features of the sculpture of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikonda.
6. Explain how terracotta was the material for artistic expression of the humble people.
7. Discuss critically the Painting of cave X at Ajantā.

Chapter 22

Gupta Art

The artistic activity which continued to gather momentum at different centres of northern and southern India upto the third century A.D., became a mighty upsurge of national art during the golden age of the Gupta emperors. Indian literature, religion, art and culture attained the pinnacle of their glory, and spread out not only to every nook and corner of India, but outside, towards the north across the Himalayas and Central Asia and toward the south-east across the ocean to the islands of Indonesia. This cultural efflorescence was the direct result of a spiritual earnestness, the like of which had seldom been seen before in India. It was an age of alround perfection, in domestic life, in administration, in literature as seen in the works of Kālidāsa, art creations and in religion and philosophy as exemplified in widespread Bhāgavata movement which identified itself with an intensive cult of beauty.¹ Wherever the Bhāgavata movement spread, it summoned people to a new aestheticism, temples, images, paintings, clay figurines, bronze's and the like being the visual symbols of the religious inspiration felt within the heart. A survey of the geographical dispersal of Gupta art reveals the fact that every centre received that tidal flow of the culture of the golden age.²

ARCHITECTURE

(A) Secular Architecture

Secular buildings of Gupta period are unfortunately not preserved. But some idea of the early palaces can be formed by the study

of sculptural representation at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikonda. They were imposing structures several storeys high. The types of windows included the arched one with finial, the rectangular one and the latticed. Different kinds of balustrades are shown; pilasters and polygonal pillars have fine capitals. The roof was sometimes shaped after the hood of a wagon, sometimes after a simple rectangular hut and sometimes with curvilinear tops and a single toperings finial. Terraces and balconies were sometime open and sometimes canopied.³ There were separate entrances and exits with the arched *Taraṇa* decoration. The entrances cut a boundary wall much in the same way as in some of our modern high class residential buildings.

The paintings at Ajanta show that sometimes moderate sized royal pavilions were raised on four cylindrical pillars decorated with golden festoons. The royal seat was placed under the canopy of this audience hall, which was tastefully decorated. Literary evidence further shows that the palace apartments were usually decorated with paintings; not only palaces but even the houses of rich citizens were furnished with separate picture galleries and concert halls.⁴

(B) Religious Architecture

Of the religious monuments of the Gupta period the foremost is the Gupta temple. No longer excavated from rock, it was an independent structure built of dressed stone blocks placed together, which afforded ample

scope for the exercise of the architects' genius.⁵ Another feature of the Gupta temple was related to its aesthetic character. It marks the begetting of a new sensibility, a change from the mere imitative to the infinitely creative, from the servile copying of meaningless forms expressive of undeveloped mind and unskilled forces to a reasoned application of the first principles of architectural compositions. These two features mark the emergence of the Hindu temple in a stone masonry.⁶

The chief surviving temples of the Gupta age are the following:

1. Viṣṇu Temple at Tigawa in Jubbulpore district.
2. Śiva Temple at Bhumara in Nagod State.
3. Pārvaṭī Temple at Nachna-Kuthara in Ajaigarh State.
4. Buddhist shrines at Sānchī.
5. Buddhist shrines at BodhGayā.
6. The Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh.
7. A temple in a ruined state but of great merit found at Dah-Parbatia on the banks of Brahmaputra in Darrong district of Assam.
8. A temple of Śiva at Khoh in Nagod State (the beautiful Ekamukhī Liṅga and a mass of sculpture showing lively gaṇas from this temple are now deposited in Allahabad museum).⁷

The earliest known Hindu temples in stone show the early phases and features of stone temple architecture. They were small and unimposing structures with a square sanctuary, about 10 feet in dimensions, and a portio of still smaller proportions. They were shrines for images and not places for congregations of the worshippers. The roof was usually flat and stone masonry was finely dressed and held together without any kind of mortar. Thus the early temples of the Gupta age present a

marked contrast to the later temples with high śikharas (pinnacles) and extensive maṇḍapas (halls). A transition to the later style had however begun towards the end of the Gupta period in (c. 500 A.D.) and can be seen in the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh, which had originally a śikhara of about 40 feet. Its stones were secured together by dowels and its four porches afforded relatively more space for the worshippers to congregate.⁸ The śikhara in this temple is in three tiers rising on the top of square cella, and embellished with an elegantly carved doorway on one side and three big panels placed outside the three walls.⁹ The sanctum of this temple stood on a raised plinth occupying the central square of the open terrace. The doorway leading to the sanctum was the chief centre of the attraction, serving as an elegant outer frame to set off the image installed in the cella.

Besides the eight temples mentioned above we have temples made entirely of brick, numerous examples of which have been found from Bhitār, gaon in Kanpur district to Paharpur in Bengal and Sirpur in Madhya Pradesh. Of these the temple at Bhitār-gaon, conceived from top to bottom in terms of terracotta and brick, is particularly worth mentioning; it is beautified with several Courses of well-preserved friezes and moulded bricks with designs exceedingly varied and beautiful. The temple has a pyramidal roof and its walls were decorated on the outside with terracotta panels, depicting scenes from Hindu mythology. Architecturally, the temple is important as possessing the earliest true arch in India.¹⁰

South India has handed down to us very few structures of the Gupta period. Among these, the Kapoteśvara temple at Chezarla, built by the Ananda kings of the 4th century, is the most interesting. It is the earliest known Hindu temple with an apsidal plan, similar to

the Buddhist Chaityas at Karle and Nāgarjuni kōṇḍa. The facade of the *vimāna* is shaped like a huge *Chaitya* and the back top is curvilinear on an apsidal plan. The Durgā temple at Aiholie (c. 6th century A.D.) and the Vaiṣṇava temple at Ter, which are both apsidal seem to have been inspired by the Kapotesvara temple.¹¹

Buddhist Structural buildings

(1) **Stūpas** : Stūpas have been found at Jaulian Charsadda and other ancient sites near Pushakalāvati. One of the two stūpas at Jarāsandha-Kā-Baiṭhak in Rājgir and Dhamekh Stūpa at Sārnāth belong to the end of our period. The Dhamekh stūpa is 128 feet in height and has 4 inches at the four cardinal points for Buddha images. The scroll work on this stūpa has evoked just praise and the structure is also remarkable for the variety of geometric patterns with which part of its area has been covered.¹²

(2) **Monasteries** : Monasteries have been found at ancient sites near Pushakalavati. At Mehra Maradu an assembly hall refectory, kitchen, store room, bathroom and latrine, associated with a religious establishment. The Sarnath excavations have unearthed the remnants of a Buddha temple and a number of monasteries. The monasteries consisted of a number of rooms around a courtyard, sometimes had chapels of their own.¹³

(3) **Brick temple** : Narasimha-gupta Bālāditya built a magnificent brick temple of the Buddha at Nālaṇḍā. It was 300 feet in height and evoked admiration of Chinese travellers. This majestic structure has now entirely disappeared.¹⁴

Brahmanical Cave temple

A Brahmanical cave temple was discovered at Udayagiri near Bhopal having

an inscription dated 401 A.D. and referring to the reign of Chandragupta II. It is the earliest dated Hindu temple known so far. The shrine is partly rock-art and partly stone built, as a shallow pillared portico has been added in front of the excavated cella. This style is just a transition from the pure cave shrines to the structural ones. The portico, the carved doorway and the pillars with their Bowl of Plenty capitals show the typical features of the Gupta style.¹⁵

Buddhist Cave Architecture

The main cave structures of our period belong to Ajanta and the Andhra country. Both *Chaitya* and *Vihara* caves continued to be excavated at Ajanta during the Gupta period. The vihāra caves Nos. XVI and XVII were excavated in the last quarter of the fifth century by a minister and a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa. These two vihāra caves are justly famous for their paintings. They are however equally interesting for their architecture. The cave No. XVI is a twenty pillared cave, 65 feet square having six residential cells for monks on either side, two at either end of verandah and two at the back. Between these two cells there is a rectangular sanctuary with a large figure of the Buddha seated with his feet hanging down. The beauty of the pillars is as remarkable as their variety, no two pillars being exactly alike. The general harmony of design and form, however, prevents variety from being abtrusive.¹⁶

The cave No. XVII is almost similar to cave No. XVI. It was long known as the Zodiac cave on account of the 'Wheel of Life' painted on the walls of its verandah. On account of the famous fresco paintings, these caves produce an effect that can be better experienced than described. All the walls were once covered with painted scenes from the life of the Buddha and the Jatakas and the roof and pillars

beautified by arabesque and ornamental designs in bold outlines and pleasing colours.¹⁷

The *Chaitya* cave No. XIX was finished a little later than cave Nos. XVI and XVII. From the artistic and architectural point of view, the cave is a magnificent monument and no one can easily forget the grand impression produced upon his mind by its architecture, sculpture and paintings. It is one of the best artistic monuments of the Ajanta age and is briefly described below.¹⁸ It consists of a nave separated from aisles by a row of pillars. It also shows many new features. In the earlier *Chaitya* caves, considerable use of wood had been made for the purpose of completing the facade; here it has been discarded altogether. The rail ornament also disappears from the facade and is replaced by a double row of cornice decorated with *Chaitya* window motifs. The entrance is flat-roofed, supported by four pillars with a huge *Chaitya* window above it separated by the cornice. The aisle pillars inside have fluted columns with pot and foliage capitals. But the most striking new feature of the *Chaitya* is its zeal for the Buddha figures. In the earlier *Chaitya* halls at Karle and Nasik, Buddha is nowhere seen in the human form; at Ajanta, he can be seen in the human form at the facade, in the frieze of niches above the brackets, and carved on the monolithic *stūpa* inside, which was the main object of worship. It was the new *Mahāyāna* belief which had brought about this transformation. The rock-cut *stupa* of this *Chaitya* consists of a high cylindrical drum, decorated with standing or seated Buddha figures between pilasters crowned with graceful *makara* arches.¹⁹ The drum supports the globular dome with the usual pavilion, and a series of three umbrellas one above the other.

The caves at Mogulrajapuram, Undavalli and Akkannamadanna excavated under Viṣṇukundins, belong to the Gupta period. It is interesting to note that their plan is modelled

on that of Udayagiri caves in central India and not that prevailing near home at Guntupalli, near Bezwada. The architecture of these caves is simple. The facades at Mogulrajapuram show two pillars in the centre, two pilasters, one on either side, and a *dvārapālaka* at each end beside the two pilasters. The pillars and pilasters are simple and massive. The floral design flanking the *Chaitya* windows with the head on top is the precursor of similar pattern on *Pallava Chaitya* windows. On entry, the cave presents a verandah with or without an additional row of pillars beyond which is a single cell or triple cells forming the sanctuary. The Undavalli caves have similar architectural features, but are three-storeyed.²⁰

Sculpture

Sculpture has contributed most to the high esteem in which the Gupta art is held. Under the stroke of the master's chisel, the stone became malleable as it were, and was transformed into figures of permanent beauty and grace. The success of Gupta sculpture lies in the balanced synthesis between the obtruding sensuality of the Kuṣāṇa figures and the symbolic abstraction of the early medieval work. The aggressive beauty, as seen in the figures on Mathura rail pillars, is no longer in accord with the spirit of the Gupta age; the sensuousness is restrained by a conscious moral sense. Nudity as a rule is eliminated in Gupta art. The effect of the diaphanous drapery in Kuṣāṇa art is to reveal the charm of the flesh; the Gupta artist on the other hand employs drapery to conceal those very charms.²¹

The Buddha Images

The synthesis of the external form with the inner spirit is nowhere better illustrated

than in the Buddha images of this period. The three most outstanding examples are the seated Buddha image from Sārnāth, the inscribed image of the standing Buddha in the Mathura Museum, and the colossal copper statue of the Buddha (about 7½ feet high) from Sultanganj, now in the Birmingham Museum. The spiritual expression, the tranquil smile and the serene contemplative mood of the Sārnāth Buddha posed on a diamond seat in the attitude of preaching show us the highest triumph of Indian art—an attempt to visualise the supermen endowed with the highest wisdom, detached and austere in his discipline, but radiating an almost divine influence. The other two Buddha images referred to above are also characterised by similar artistic qualities.²²

We notice some innovation in the Gupta age with reference to the Buddha statue. Usually, it has beautiful curly hair. The Kuṣāṇa Buddha type with the shaven head was rejected as it did not satisfy the aesthetic instinct of the age. A second feature consisted in bands of graceful ornamentation of different kinds in the halo of the Buddha figure, which in the previous age was almost plain. transparent drapery, plain or with folds, clearly revealing the form, was introduced by the Gupta artist.²³

Śiva Images

There was a remarkable revival of Hinduism in the Gupta period and it is reflected in its sculpture. Some of the most beautiful Śiva images, like the *Śivaliṅga* from Khoh belong to the Gupta period. Both the *liṅga* form and the anthropomorphic image of Śiva existed in the Kuṣāṇa period, but their combination as evolved in *Ekamukhī* and *Chaturamukhī Śivaliṅga* was a characteristic feature of Gupta iconography. The *Ardhanārīśvara* form of Śiva, which represents a synthesis between the eternal pair of

opposites by presenting the deity as half male and half female, was rendered by the artists of our age with masterly skill.²⁴

Viṣṇu Images

Perhaps the best qualities of the Gupta plastic art find expression in the superb example of *Viṣṇu* from Mathura with the face revealing a celestial contentment and serene spiritual contemplation. For the first time, Gupta statuary begins to show the images of the cosmic form of *Viṣṇu* combining a human head with those of a boar and a lion. These are images of *Nṛsiṃha-Varāha Viṣṇu*. A different form of the cosmic aspect of *Viṣṇu* in this period is that in which the central human figure is surrounded by a number of radiating heads, eg., the eight-armed figure on the great architrave from Garhwa.²⁵

The great *Varāha* image at Udayagiri (c. 400 A.D.) has been rightly regarded as a monument to the genius of the Gupta sculptors. Its volume and powerful execution furnish a happy contrast to the scenes of lesser dimensions forming the background. The two flanking scenes also are of unusual significance, representing the birth of the twin rivers, Ganga and Yamuna. The whole scene probably conveys an ideal representation of the *Madhyadeśa*, which was the heart of the wide culture empire built in this age.²⁶

Images of Sūrya : Images of the solar deity show that the sun-god was clad in the northern dress, wearing coats and trousers and long buskined boots. This form of the deity is found right from Afghanistan to Mathura and Madhyadesa. He is also shown as accompanied by his two attendants *Danḍa* and *Piṅgala*.²⁷

The Deccan Sculptures

We can discern the full-fledged Gupta inspiration in the Hindu sculptures of the

Deccan as well. This is particularly true of the beautiful sculptures in the caves at Mogulrajapuram and Undavalli. The carvings at the latter place treat of a number of themes from Hindu mythology like *Varāha*, raising the earth, Trivikrama taking three paces, Viṣṇu rescuing Gajendra, Kṛṣṇa lifting Govardhana, etc., all of which show unmistakable Gupta inspiration.²⁸

The sculpture of this period is also rich in charming ornamental designs. On a door-jamb from Garhwa the *Kalpalatā* motif is treated in a very artistic style. The foliated scroll is a special trait of the Gupta art.

Another example of the Gupta sculpture we find in the *Daśavatāra* temple at Deogarh. It has an elegantly carved doorway on one side and three big panels placed outside the three walls. One of them depicts the penance of Nara and Narayana, the second Gajendramokṣa and the third Viṣṇu reclining on Śeṣa. These constitute the high-water mark of Gupta sculpture. The flaming beauty of these sculptures is an abiding testimony to the deep religious devotion of the Bhāgavata teachers and their followers who patronised such noble art.²⁹

Terracotta

Terracottas form another important branch of the Gupta art. In this modest medium, gifted clay-modellers created things of real beauty and achieved a wide popular basis for their art. Clay figurines served as poor man's sculpture and contributed largely to popularise art and culture.³⁰

The terracotta figures may be classified under two heads, (a) gods and goddesses, (b) male and female figures.

(a) **Gods and Goddesses:** Most of the Hindu deities are represented in the terracotta of the age; the figures of Viṣṇu, Kārtikeya, Sūrya, Durgā, Gaṅgā and Yamunā have been

found all over the Gangetic plain. Some of these as those of Gaṅgā and Yamunā from the terraced brick temple at Ahichchhatra, are almost life-size; their baking must have presented a difficult technical problem, tackled with success by the expert potters of the age.³¹

(b) **Male and female figures:** The group of detached male and female figures shows a great variety of forms, including representation of aristocratic men and women, figures of foreigners from Persia and Central Asia and ordinary figures of attendants of all classes as grooms and elephant riders, jesters and dwarfs, etc.³²

The group of heads made of fine, well-baked clay originally belong to smaller plaques that were completely pressed out of moulds. The faces, combining elegance of features with gorgeous coiffure, constitute a veritable gallery for the study of beautiful types in that art-inspired age. The terracotta figurines from the recent excavations at Rajghat and Ahichchhatra present a feast of beauty to the eye and best female heads skilfully finished appear remarkable firstly, for the pleasing variety of coiffure, and secondly, for paintings in lines and colours still preserved in some of them. The colours usually used were red, pink, yellow and white.

Finally, it may be observed that much of the terracotta work is imbued with the spirit of true art prevailing at the time.³³

Painting

Originally the majority of the caves at Ajanta were embellished with paintings but now they survive in only six caves viz. Nos. I, II, IX, X, XVI and XVII. Caves Nos. IX and X show the earliest specimens of Indian paintings (c. 1st century B.C.), after which for about 300 years there is a gap. The caves Nos. I, II, XVI and XVII were painted in the Gupta

period. The master painters of Ajanta were in love with nature. The flowering trees, quietly flowing streamlets and the roaming denizens of the forest have received unqualified appreciation from them. The elephants and monkeys, deer and the hare are represented with utmost sympathy.³⁴

A broad and comprehensive outlook of life inspired the painters to greet the whole world as part of their *repertoire*. These mural paintings made manifest the whole universe. In the words of *Rothenstein* "On the hundred walls and pillars of these rock-carved temples a vast drama moves before our eyes, a drama played by princes and sages and heroes, by men and women of every condition, against a marvellously varied scene, among forests and gardens, in courts and cities, on wide plains and in deep jungles, while above the messengers from heaven move swiftly in the sky. From all these emanates a great joy in the surpassing radiance of the face of the world; in the physical nobility of men and women, in the strength and grace of animals and the loveliness and purity of birds and flowers and woven into this fabric of material beauty we see the ordered pattern of spiritual values of universe."³⁵

The subjects of these paintings are three-fold, relating to decorable designs portarature and narration. The decorative designs include patterns and scrolls, figures of animals, flowers and trees. Their variety is infinite. Beautiful figures of fabulous creatures and mythological beings, such as *Suparṇas*, *Garuḍas*, *Yakṣas*, *Gondharvas* and *Āpsarasas*.³⁶

Of the portraits the central figures are those of various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Incidents from the life of Gautam Buddha are freely painted. In cave Ist the great Bodhisattva *Padmapāṇi Avalokītesvara* shows the highest attainment in the way of figure painting. The

narrative scenes are mostly from *Jātaks*, which had been already popularised by the sculptors.³⁷

The paintings in cave XVI date from about 500 A.D. The scene known as the 'Dying Princess.' In cave XVI has received unstinted praise from Griffiths, Burgess and Fergusson. "For pathos and sentiment and the unmistakable way of telling its story this picture, I consider, can not be surpassed in the history of art. In cave XVII we find a considerable amount of work of the narrative style still preserved and the cave has been called literally a picture gallery." Illustrating some of the most engrossing episodes in the birth, life and death of the Buddha. The art is more graphic, and less charming. 'The Mother and Child' group in cave XVII is undoubtedly is very attractive specimen of Ajanta art.³⁸

The paintings of cave I and II may be assigned to the 7th century. The special merit of individual figures in cave II consists in clever drawing which shows the artist to have gone out of his way to invent specially difficult poses. A large picture in cave I probably shows the Indian king *Pulakeśin II* receiving an embassy from the Persian king *Khusrū Parvez*.³⁹

The paintings at Bagh in Malwa represent only an extension of the Ajanta school, and, in variety of design, vigorous execution and decorative quality, seem to have ranked as high as those at Ajanta.⁴⁰

The paintings in the cave temple *sittannavasal* in *Pudukkottai* are in the best traditions of the classical art as found in Ajanta. They were executed in the time of *Pallova Mahendravarman*.⁴¹

The paintings in the galleries of a rock-cut citadel perched upon the summit of a tower-shaped hill 600 feet high at *Sigiriya* in Ceylon consist of a procession of noble ladies, richly attired and profusely adorned proceeding to the Buddha temple, attended

by their maid servants carryings materials of worship.⁴²

The paintings of our age show the art at its best. The assurance and delicacy of lines, the brilliancy of colours, the richness of expression informed with a bouyant feeling and pulsating life, have rendered this art supreme for all times.⁴³

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QUESTIONS

1. What is the importance of the Bhāgavata movement in the history of Indian art?
2. Discuss the importance of the Gupta temple in the development of Indian architecture.
3. Describe critically the architecture and sculpture of the Daśavatāra temple at Deogarh.
4. What are the chief features of the brick temple at Bhitargaon (Bengal)?
5. What is the importance of the Dhamekh Stūpa at Sarnath as a representative of the Buddhist Stūpas?
6. "The Vihāra cave nos. XVI and XVII at Ajanta are important from the point of their architecture as well as for their paintings." Discuss.
7. Describe critically the architecture, sculpture and paintings of chaitya cave No. XIX at Ajantā.
8. Discuss the features of the Gupta sculpture which have contributed most to the high esteem in which Gupta art is held.
9. Discuss why the Buddha image from Sarnath is considered the highest triumph of Indian art.
10. Describe the terracotta figures of the Gupta period to show that the terracotta work of this period was imbued with the spirit of true art prevailing at the time.
11. Justify by giving illustrations from the paintings in the caves at Ajanta that the master painters who produced these paintings were in love with nature.
12. Discuss critically the three-fold subjects decorative designs, portraiture and narration, of the Ajantā paintings by giving appropriate examples.

Chapter 23

Art in the Early Medieval Period (c. 700 A.D.–1300 A.D.)

Architecture

The Indian *Śilpa Śāstras* recognise three main styles of temples, known as the *Nāgara*, the *Drāviḍa* and the *Vesara*. All the available texts agree on the point that the *Nāgara* style was prevalent in the region between the Himālayas and the Vindhya. The *Drāviḍa* style belonged to that part of country lying between the river Kṛṣṇā and Cape Kanyakumārī. The term *Vesara*, however, is not free from vagueness. Some of the texts ascribed the *Vesara* style to the country between the Vindhya and the river Kṛṣṇa. In this region for some time under the royal dynasty of the Chālukyas, a separate style may be recognised which may be called *Chālukyan* or *Vesara* which was a hybrid style, borrowing elements both from the *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa* styles.¹

Nagara Style

A study of the temples of northern India reveals two distinct features—one in planning and the other in elevation. In plan the temple was always a square with a number of graduated projections in the middle of each side. These projections give it a cruciform shape with a number of re-entrant angles on each side. In elevation it exhibits a tower (*Śikhara*), gradually inclining inwards in a convex curve. The projections in the plan are also carried upwards to the top of the *Śikhara*, and thus there is strong emphasis on vertical

lines in elevation. On account of this and the prominence of the vigorous and unbroken outline of the tower it is also known as the *rekḥā Śikhara*. The *Nāgara* style is widely distributed over a greater part of India. It, therefore, exhibits distinct varieties and ramifications in different localities, conditioned by the different lines of evolution and elaboration that each locality chose for itself. The cruciform plan and the curvilinear tower are, however, common to every medieval temple of northern India, wherever it is situated and whatever its local stamp might be.²

On account of regional differences in the *Nāgara* style of architecture, S. K. Saraswati has described the architecture of the temples of the *Nāgara* style in six distinct regions—Orissa, Central India, Rājputānā, Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār, Deccan and Sindhu-Ganga valleys. We will however give a brief description of the most important temples of *Nāgara* style in northern India.

The development of the *Nāgara* style took place in Orissa from the 7th to 13th century A.D. It has, therefore, probably more temples than in all the rest of northern India. The activity centered around Bhuvaneśvara which alone contains hundreds of temples.⁴ The three most important temples of Orissa are Mukteśvara temple, Rājarāṇī temple and the Liṅgarāja.

The Mukteśvara temple is regarded as a gem of Orissan architecture. It is surrounded

by a low enclosure wall embellished with sculptured niches. The temple is entered through an elaborately ornamented *makara-torana* which forms a unique and fitting entrance to this small but exquisitely ornate and well-proportioned monument. The *śikhara* is of five storeys and shows on the central *ratha* a beautifully carved *Chaitya*-dormer surrounded by a *kīrtimukha* and flanked by two grinning dwarfs.⁵ This is the first temple wherein the shoulder partakes of the projections of *Śikhara* and the *maṇḍapa* facade follows the same scheme of ornamentation as the sanctum, with the addition of an ornate projection on each side, surrounded by a pediment and crowned by a lion figure.⁶

The Rājārānī temple, dateable roughly to the early 11th century, represents a unique experiment in Orissa in that its *śikhara* is clustered by terrets including leaning spires and corner-spires, some of them crowned by double *āmalakas*, like the temples of central India such as those of Khajurāho.⁷

The Liṅgarāja temple, dating from the 11th century is the grandest and loftiest temple marking the culmination of the architectural activity at Bhuvaneśvara. This temple consists of the sanctum, a closed hall, a dancing hall and a hall of offerings. The sanctum is *pacharatha* on plan. The lower register of the wall is decorated with *khakhara-muṇḍis* and the upper with *piḍhamuṇḍis*. The *khakhara-muṇḍis* contains on the corner *rathas* figures of eight Regents and on the flanking *rathas* miscellaneous friezes. The *piḍhamuṇḍis* are inset with images of various Brahmanical gods and goddesses.⁸

The famous temple of Jagannātha at Puri, which is roughly contemporaneous with the Liṅgarāja, shows the same mature plan as the latter, but is even loftier (56.70 mts. high).⁹

The culmination of the style was reached in the Sun temple at Konarak, which marks

even in its ruined state, grandest achievement of the artistic and architectural genius of Orissa. The colossal temple originally consisted of a *sanctum* with a lofty curvilinear *Śikhara*, a *Jagamohana* and a detached dancing hall. The dancing hall rests on an elaborately carved square platform. The sanctum and the *Jagamohana* together stand on a common lofty platform. The sanctum has lost its super structure including the towering *śikhara* but shows three super images of the Sun-God in the three cardinal niches.¹⁰ The battered wall of *Jagamohana* consists of horizontal tiers grouped in three stages with life-size female sculptures of great charm adorning each stage. This *Jagamohana* is unparalleled for its grandeur and structural propriety in the country. Majestic in conception and rich imagery, the temple not only marks the final fulfilment of Orissan architecture but is one of the sublimest monuments of India.¹¹

In Central India the Kandariya Mahādeva is the largest and the loftiest temple of Khajurāho. It is very magnificent, mature in plan, design and dimensions and its superb sculptural embellishment and architectural elaboration. It is the most evolved and finished achievement of Central Indian building-style and one of the sublimest creations of Indian temple architecture. It is decorated with graded and ascending series of smaller replicas of itself totalling 85, the grand *Śikhara* of the temple is an intricately ornamented pile, somewhat restless in movement but unified in theme and design. Of all the Khajurāho temples, it has the loftiest base with several elegantly chiselled mouldings, which include two rows of processional friezes teeming with elephants and horses, warriors and hunters, acrobats and musicians, dancers and devotees, and erotic couples. The sculptures on three registers of its wall represent an animated array of gods and goddesses, couples and nymphs on projections. The

sculptures on this temple are conspicuously tall and slender and show the richest variety of nymph-types in lively, often violently agitated postures.¹²

A beautiful variant of Nāgara style is found in Rajputana and Gujarat. It is characterised by a free use of columns, carved with all imaginable richness, strut brackets, and exquisite marble sealings with cusped pendants. The climax of the medieval architecture of the Rajasthan and Gujarat style was reached in the two Jaina Temples at Mount Abu. These two temples are known as Vimalavasahi (1031) and Luna Vasahi (1230). These two temples were built respectively by Vastupala and Teapala, the two ministers of the later Solanki rulers of Gujarat.¹³ The Vimala Vasahi is dedicated to Ādinātha. It shows a lately added entrance hall and a rectangular pavilion showing portraits, sculptures mounted on elephants. Prithvipāla, a descendant of Vimala added the magnificent assembly hall in c. 1150.

The hall has lavishly ornamented pillars surmounted by attic sections, with multicusped *tarāṇa*-arches in between. The architraves are heavily ornamented and support a ceiling of ten diminishing rings loaded with bewaldering wealth of carvings of which the most impressive are the 16 figures of the Vidyā-devīs and the magnificently designed central pendant. The rings are further decorated with friezes of elephants, goddesses, dancers and musicians, horseriders and female dancers, alternating with cusped and coffered courses. The ceilings and the architraves of the lateral bays of the assembly hall are lavishly embellished with carvings including narrative and mythological reliefs.¹⁴

The temple of Luna Vasahi, built two centuries later, illustrates further efflorescence of the style, accompanied by a richer elaboration of decoration. Its ceiling is slightly smaller in diameter but is carried equally

lavishly and culminates in a larger and more delicately ornamented central pendant, revealing the finest filigree work in metal.¹⁵

These temples constitute marvels of stone chiselling and with their minutely carved door-frames, niches, pillars, architraves and ceilings excel the rest of the ornamented temples of India. Lavish ornamentation was carried here to an extreme without any regard being paid to the structural propriety or proportion.¹⁶

Drāviḍa Style

South India carried on the classical tradition of Draviḍa style as transmitted by the Pallava dynasty of rulers to the Cholas of Gangai-Koṇḍa Cholapuram (A.D. 850-1100) and the Pandyas of Madura (C. A.D. 1100-1300). The two common characteristics of the Drōviḍa style were that the temples of this style had more than 4 sides in the sanctum and, the tower (*Vimāna*) of these temples was pyramidal. It consisted of multiplication of storey after storey, each a replica of the sanctum cella and slightly reduced in extent than the one below, ending in a domical member, technically known as the *stūpi* or *stupikā* as the crowning element.¹⁷

We shall now give a brief description of the most important temples built by the Pallava rulers. The Shore temple of Mahabalipuram is a complex of 3 shrines with accessory *Maṇḍapas*, *Prākāra*-enclosures and *Gopura*-entrances. Of the three, the larger *Vimāna* facing the sea on the east and the smaller *Vimāna* at its rear facing the village in the west, are both dedicated to Śiva and have wedged in between them a rectangular *Mandapa* shrine without a superstructure. This is built over a previously existing recumbent Viṣṇu carved on a low rocky out-crop.¹⁸ This temple was built by Rājasimha. Though the sculptures on the walls of this temple-complex

are much eroded by the moist and saline winds from the sea, the architectural proportions and make-up, and the natural setting on the sea make the temple one of the finest monuments in India. Besides the usual rearing lion-based pilasters, the larger *Vimāna* shows on its own walls and those of its *prākāra*, other types which have the elephant, ram, *nāga*, *nāgadeva*, and *bhūta* forms for their bases.¹⁹

The Kailāśanātha temple complex at Kānchī as a joint venture of Rājasimha and his son Mahendra III. The main *Vimāna* facing east is four storeyed, and is essentially a square structure upto the *grīvā*, which, and the *śikhara* above, are octagonal. The *āditala* is double-walled and its moulded base is prominently offset on all the four sides and four corners—for they carry over them smaller shrines with cella in them, abutting on and incorporated with the outer wall of the main *āditala*.²⁰

The main sanctum has a large fluted, sixteen-faceted, polished, *basalt liṅga* with an immense circular *liṅga-pīṭha* occupying almost the entire floor of the sanctum. On the rear wall, in a special niche, is carved the usual Somaskanda-panel, with Śiva and Umā seated with little Skanda on Uma's lap and Brahmā and Viṣṇu standing behind on either side.²¹ The third storey has again a *hāra* of *kūṭas* and *śālās* above, and the fourth carries four Nandis on the four corners at its top. There is a detached multipillared oblong *maṇḍapa* in front, longer on its north-south axis and with its containing pilasters *Vyāla* based, while on the west are of the plainer type. The whole is surrounded by a *prākāra* with a gap in the middle of its east side and enclosing an open court all round.²²

In the composition of the Kailāśanātha temple we have the first example of the unified design of a temple complex with many adjuncts that characterised the full fledged *Drāviḍa* temple. Apart from the *Vimāna*, the

pillared hall or *Maṇḍapa*, an invariable accompaniment of the *Draviḍa* temple, is placed in front of the sanctum; originally as a separate building but later joined together by a intermediate hall forming the *antarāla*.²³

Vaikuṇṭha Perumal temple at Kanchi built by Nandiverman Pallava-malla (731-796 A.D.), and dedicated to Viṣṇu, is another Pallava temple of the larger variety and built in sand stone with an admixture of granite in the top and bottom courses of its *adhiṣṭhāna*. It has a square four storeyed main *Vimāna* with all the *tālas* except the topmost, containing the superposed *Garbha-Grhas*, to enshrine the three forms of Viṣṇu, standing, sitting and reclining.²⁴ In addition to the numerous divine structures on the *vīmāna* and *ardha-maṇḍapa* and contemporary inscriptions, the most interesting part of this temple is the series of panelled sculptures narrating the history of the Pallavas from their legendary ancestors down to the time of Nandi Varman II Pallavamalla, the builder of the temple, a unique feature rarely met with elsewhere.²⁵

The most interesting monument in Śravaṇabelgola is the temple of Gommateśvara colossus, 17.5 meters high, carved in the round out of a standing the clock on top of the Indragiri hill. This was the work of Chamundaraya, the minister of Ganga Rachamalla (974-84 A.D.). It is a free standing image of fine proportions and of polished granite. The base of the colossus is surrounded by a *mālikā* of granite built by Ganga raya, the minister of Hoysalaviṣṇu Vardhana (1110-57 A.D.) and the *maṇḍapa* the lower part of the colossus from behind was built by another minister, Baladeva, in the 12th century.²⁶

Chola Temples

Temple building received great impetus from the conquests and the genius of Rājārāja I and his son Rajendra. The maturity of Chola

architecture found expression in the two magnificent temples of Tanjore completed about 1009 A.D. and another temple at Gangajikonda Cholapuram. The superb Śiva temple of Tanjore is a fitting memorial to the material achievements of the time of Rājārāja. The largest and the tallest of all Indian temples, it is a master piece, constituting the high-water mark of South Indian architecture. The *Vimāna* the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, the *maha-maṇḍapa* and the large *nandi* pavilion in front are all aligned in the centre of a spacious walled enclosure, 500 feet by 250 feet, with a *gopura*, gateway in front on the east. On the inner side of the high enclosing wall runs a pileared corridor connecting together a number of sub-shrines raised at the cardinal points and at intervals along the four sides. A second *Gopura* in front of the first forms the gateway of a second and outer enclosure.²⁷

The main feature of the whole scheme is the grand *Vimāna* towering to a height of nearly 200 feet over the *garbhagrha* in the west and dominating everything in its vicinity. Its great dignity is due to the simplicity of its parts—the square vertical base, the tall tapering body and overall the graceful domical finial. The vertical base is a square with sides 82 feet long rising perpendicularly to a height of 50 feet. Above it is the pyramidal body mounting up in 13 diminishing tiers, the width at the apex being equal to one-third of its base. On the square platform thus formed stands the cupola the inward curve of its neck producing a pleasing break in the otherwise rigid outlines of the composition, while the bulbous dome poised like a light but substantial globe is a fitting finish to its soaring character. The lowest vertical portion is divided into two storeys by a massive cornice, the only striking horizontal feature of the *Vimāna*.²⁸

The cella is a 45-foot square inside with a narrow circumambulatory passage 9 feet wide around it. The inner walls of this passage

contain fine frescoes coeval with the temple but overlaid by later tempera work of the Nayak rulers of Tanjore. The cella enshrines an enormous *liṅgam* originally called Rājārājeśvara and now known as Bṛhadīśvara. Its height with its pedestal occupies the space of both the storeys.

In front of the cella is a transept reached by flights of steps on the south and north, and the walls of the *garbhagrha* and *ardha-maṇḍapa* on either side are adorned with pilasters and large niches, the same as on the outer walls of the shrine. The entrance to the shrine-chamber is guarded by two *dvārapālas* in niches. The roof of the transept is supported by two rows of four piers each. In front of the transept is the *ardha-maṇḍapa* on the same plinth with the same type of pilasters and niches. Then comes the *mahā-maṇḍapa* with rows of pillars along the middle aisle on either side.²⁹

The whole temple from the heavily moulded parts of its high basement to its finial is a magnificent example of solidity combined with proportion and grace of form.³⁰

The temple of Gangai-konda Cholapuram, the creation of Rājārāja's son, Rājendra, was evidently meant to excel its predecessor in every way. It was built about 1030 A.D. and is in the same style as the temple of Tanjore. The greatest elaboration in its appearance attests the more affluent state of Chola empire under Rājendra. This temple is larger in plan, though not in height. Its *Vimāna* is 100 feet square at the base and 186 feet high. The temple occupies the middle of an immense wall enclosure. It forms a large rectangle 340 feet long and 110 feet wide. It is designed for defensive purposes, as may be seen from a substantial bastion at the south-east angle and a smaller one on the west. The main entrance is on the east, next to which is the *mahā maṇḍapa*, a rather low building 175 feet by 95 feet with over 150 pillars of ordinary design.

Between the *maha-mandap* and the sanctuary is a transept with doorways to the north and south. As in Tanjore there are in the transept two rows of massive square piers eight in all.³¹

The *Vimāna* has the same construction as in Tanjore but the number of tiers making up the pyramidal body is only eight against thirteen in Tanjore. The most important difference lies in the introduction of curves in the place of strong straight lines of Tanjore *Vimāna*. The pyramidal body is slightly concave in its outline at its angles while the sides are curved to produce a somewhat convex outline. These curves enrich the beauty of form of the *Vimāna* though they detract from its stateliness and power.

The scheme of decoration and sculpture on the outside of the walls is also the same as in Tanjore, but the style is more ornate.³²

Vesara Style

The Chālukyan style cannot be said to have an independent origin of its own but it represents an outgrowth of earlier Dravidian style, so modified in its development by the western temple-builders as to have attained a separate style in their hands. The genesis of the development may be traced back to the days of early Chālukyan kings in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.³³ The temple at Aihole known as Ladh. Khan (450 A.D.) is a low. Flat-roofed building 50 feet square with a small square cella and a porch set on the roof at a later date and forming an independent shrine of the Sun. The temple does not show any architectural beauty because the builder failed to have the right proportions in constructing it. The Durgā temple perhaps of the 6th century shows better architectural experiment; it seeks to adopt the Buddhist *Chaitya* to a Brahmanical temple.³⁴ There are ten temples at Pattadakal. Of these four are in the northern style (Nāgara) and six in the southern

(Drāviḍa). Among the temples of Nāgara style the temple of Pāpanātha (c. 660 A.D.) shows the first attempt to combine northern and southern features in one temple but was not quite successful. Of the Drāviḍa styles mention may be made of 2 temples, Sangamesvara (c. 725 A.D.) and Virūpākṣa (c. 740 A.D.). The vastly improved design of the Virūpākṣa temple shows that most likely the workmen who built it were brought from Kāñchīpuram who had built the Kailāśaṇātha temple of the Pallavas.³⁵ The temple shows bold beauty in appearance which is best seen in the interiors. The heaviness of the stone work is relieved by an increase in the amount and quality of the sculpture. In the words of Brown 'the sculpture flows into the architecture in a continuous yet disciplined stream'. The Sangamesvara temple is very much in the same style but has an open *maṇḍapa*.³⁶

The next notable step in the formation of Chālukyan style is supplied by the Jain temple at Lakkunḍi. In this temple coarse-grained sand-stone was not used but fine grained black chloritic schist stone was used. The size of the masonry courses is much reduced. The change continued in the later temples. It enabled the artists to treat the surfaces in greater details and ornament, and the tendency henceforth is towards a rich and florid expression which lends a distinctive character to the style.³⁷

In the 12th century A.D. the style reaches its maturity and supreme expression. One of the most significant temples that illustrates the style at its best is that of Kāśīśiśveśvara at Lakkundi (later half of the 12th century). It is a double-shrined temple, the second shrine facing the principal complex axially on the east. From the base to the top the entire exterior surface is encrusted with rich ornamental detail, bold in design and exuberant in expression. The deep and crisp

plinth, mouldings produced a sparkling effect of light and shade. The embellishment of the tower, rich as well as varied, is far more delicate and refined. The temple of Kāśi-*visveśvara* has been regarded as one of the most eminent productions of decorative architecture.³⁸ An equally effective production expressive of high water mark of Chālukyan style may be seen in the temple of Mahādeva at Ittagi in the Hyderabad state built in A.D. 1112.³⁹

The Chalukyan style reaches its highest development and the peak of plastic ornamentation under the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra. The scheme of Hoysala temple is on the whole similar to that of the Chālukyan. Multiple shrines grouped round a central *mandapa* constitute a favourite composition in the Hoysala modes and with this the Chālukyan temple is also familiar. What the Hoysala builders did was to elaborate the design to the extreme, as a part from double and triple-shrined compositions, there may be seen also quadruple and even quintuple-shrined temples. For the sanctuaries the Hoysala builders preferred stellate plans and of this the Dodda Bassapa temple at Dambal in the Chālukyan style furnishes a notable instance.⁴⁰ A study of typical features of Hoysala temple leaves no doubt as to its being an offshoot of the Chālukyan temple.⁴¹

The Hoysalesvara temple was a grand conception but much of its architectural character has been impaired by the total absence of the superstructure which had probably never been completed. It is usually assigned to the middle of the 12th century A.D. but seems to be a little later i.e. the end of the 13th century A.D.⁴² In the Hoysalesvara temple there are two temples of same dimensions situated side by side and joined to each other by their adjoining transepts. Each sanctum is of a stellate plan and the attached

mandapa has recessed sides, the two being skilfully joined by a substantial buttress on either side. The entire scheme is raised over a wide terrace closely following the indentations of the elaborate plan above. The pavilion in front of the southern sanctuary is a more ambitious and elaborate structure.

The effect of the interior with closely set pillars of overwrought detail is one of congestion. But the exterior elevation has certain redeeming features in spite of the exuberance of plastic treatment. As Percy Brown says, "An unending wealth of relief work was distributed over the exterior surface of the temple, but it is the incredible intricacy with which each detail of this extensive conception was treated that is overwhelming, filling the spectator with astonishment. The temple of Halabid is the supreme climax of Indian architecture in its most prodigal plastic manifestations."⁴⁴

Rock-cut Architecture

A group of four pillared rock cut halls at Badami, three of them Hindu and one Jaina, are all of the same type, each comprising a pillared verandah, a columned hall and a small square cella cut deep into the rock. One of these is a Vaiṣṇava cave dated 578 A.D. The workmanship in these caves is marked by a high degree of technical excellence. One noteworthy feature is the running frieze of *gaṇas* in various amusing postures carved in relief on each plinth.

Progress in the erection of structural temples did not mean the cessation of rock-architecture, which continued to flourish till the end of the ninth century. Its final manifestation occurred in three localities, namely Ellora, The islands of Elephanta and Salsette near Bombay and the Pallava kingdom in the far South. At Ellora, the Brahmanical group contains sixteen temples. They fall into

three or four types. The simplest is still much under the influence of Buddhist *vihāra* and is just a pillared portico with a cella beyond. The second type was similar to the first except for the passage round the cella. In the third type, the shrine stands in the centre of a cruciform hall having more than one entrance to it. The culmination of this architecture came in the monolithic temple of Kailāśa which stands in a class by itself and in which an entire structural temple in all its detail is carved out of the living rock.⁴⁶

Of the first type, the Dasāvatāra is the largest and best example. Both the Ravana-ka-Khai and Rameśvara of the second type are simple in their plans. The Dumar lena is the only example of the third type at Ellora. It has three separate entrances, one at the front and one on each wing. It is much larger than the previous types in its area and the scale of parts, and the light entering the temple from three different directions makes the interior much more impressive than in the other types. The central feature of the *lena* is a massive shrine guarded by huge *dvārapālas* by the sides of each of its four doorways, reached by flights of steps.⁴⁷

The second example of the third type is on the island of Elephanta near Mumbai. It resembles the Dumar lena in many ways but is somewhat smaller. But the Elephanta temple is better than all others of its kind in its sculptures, particularly those on the back walls. The panel on the left contains a representation of *ardhanārī* (the hermaphrodite form of Śiva and Pārvatī). In the central recess is the famous colossal three headed bust long called Trimūrti but in reality it is a representation of Maheśa. Of this magnificent sculpture Crousset remarks, "The three countenances of the one being are here harmonised without a trace of effort. There are few material representations of the divine principle at once as powerful and as well balanced as this in

the art of the whole world. Nay, more, here we have undoubtedly the grandest representation of the pantheist God ever made by the hand of man."⁴⁸

A third example of this type is the temple of Jogeśvarī (c. 800 A.D.) in Salsette. It is larger than the other temples of this type measuring 250 feet in a straight line, but has no other remarkable feature about it.⁴⁹

The Kailāśanātha temple at Ellora is a complete monolithic structural temple. It was excavated under the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I. In its general plan, it bears a certain resemblance to the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal though it is more than twice its size. The temple has 4 parts—the main body, the entrance gateway, a Nandi shrine in between and clusters round the courtyard. The entrance to the temple is on the west, and its main body measures roughly 150 feet by 100 feet with projection at intervals throughout the height of the structure. The lofty and substantial plinth 25 feet in height is marked by heavy mouldings, above and below; while the central phase is taken up by magnificent series of elephants and lions seeming to support the structure.⁵⁰

Also at Ellora are five Jaina excavations, all probably of the ninth century, but only 3 of them notable. One is a copy of Kailāśa, about a fourth of its size, and is known as Chota-Kailāśa. The other two—Indrasabhā and Jagannathasabha—are both two storeyed. Indrasabhā is the larger and finer. The sculptures in its upper storey, as well as its frontage comprising 3 sides of a quadrangle elaborately carved into a facade, with two storeys are remarkable features.⁵¹

Pallava Rock Architecture

In the far south, the Pallavas bridge the transition from rock-cut architecture to structural stone temples. Mahendra Varman I

gloried in the construction of temple without the use of bricks, timber, metal or mortar. He built a number of rock-cut *maṇḍapas*. They were simple pillared halls with one or more cellas cut into the back wall. The main feature of the front facade is a row of pillars each 7 feet high, the shaft being square in section with a 2 foot side above and below and the corners chamfered in the middle third to give an octagonal section. A heavy bracket provides the capital. In the earliest examples at Mandagappatu and Trichinopoly, there is no cornice above the pillars, but later roll moulding was added as at Pallavaram. In still later examples, e.g. at Mogalrajapuram, the roll cornice carries at intervals a new ornament known as the *kudu*, which is really a much reduced version of the Buddhist *chaitya* windows.⁵²

Mahendra I also built a rock-cut temple of *Anantasayana* at Undavalli (Guntur distrit) and the series at Bhairavakonda (North Arcot District) towards the end of his reign. In these temples at Undavalli, Mahendra attempted to copy a Buddhist *vihāra*. It consists of four storeys of pillared *maṇḍapas* set one above the other and rising to a height of 50 feet. But, it is in the elaboration of the pillars of Bhairavakonda that the beginnings of a district Pallava 'order' can be traced and the figure of a lion is introduced and combined with the pillar in its lower portion and another in the capital.⁵³

His success or Narsimha Varman I, Mahamalla, built the rock-cut *maṇḍapas* at Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram). He built these *maṇḍapas* from a large granite hill 100 feet high, half a mile in length from north to south and a quarter of a mile wide. There are altogether ten *maṇḍapas* of the mahamalla style on various sides on the main hill at Mamallapuram. All of them exhibit much progress from the simple style of the Mahendra caves though they still retain more or less the same general character and

proportions as before. Generally speaking, the dimensions of these *maṇḍapas* are—facade 25 feet wide, 15-20 feet high, depth (including cella) 25 feet, pillars 9 feet high, sides 1-2 feet at their widest, cellas rectangular, each side 5-10 feet. The pillars are the main features. The roll cornice above them in front is decorated with *kudus*. Above the cornice is a parapet formed of miniature shrines alternately long and short. In the interior, pilasters and mouldings on the walls supply a suitable frame for these sculptural figures of mythological subjects. Some of the more developed figures, like those on the exterior of the Mahishasura *maṇḍapa* and in the facade of the *varāha maṇḍapa*, look singularly graceful. But the two inner columns of the former, both lion pillars, are the best of the whole lot. The fluting and bands of their shafts; the graceful necking, the beautiful melon capitals and the lotus formed above, with the wide abacus, combine very well to produce the typical Pallava order.⁵⁴

Narsimha Varman also built monolithic *rathas* popularly called the seven pagodas. None of their interiors is finished and they do not seem to have been ever used. There are eight of them all together. The southern group called after the names of Draupadī, Arjuna, Bhīma, Dharmarāja and Sahadeva, and three others in the north and north-west called Gaṇesa, Piḍari and Valaiyān-kuṭṭai. The *rathas* are only of moderate size, none of them being more than 42 feet long, 35 feet broad or 40 feet high. The Draupadī *ratha* is merely a cell, a copy of a thatched structure with its base supported by animal figures, a lion alternating with an elephant. All the other *rathas* are copies of the *vihāra* or the *chaitya*. The *vihāra* type is pyramidal in shape and the Dharmaraja is a good example of the style. It is a small square hall in the centre with pillared verandahs below and a pyramidal *śikhara*

above. Its plinth has many strong mouldings and its porticos with lion pillars greatly improve the appearance. According to Percy Brown, "This type of design is not only an effective production in itself, but it is a store-house of pleasing forms and motifs besides being replete with potentialities."

The Bhima, Sahadeva and Gaṇeśa *rathas* are of the *chaitya* type, oblong in plan with two or more storeys and barrel roofs with gable ends. The Sahadeva is apsidal. The Gaṇeśa is entered through a pillared portico on its long side. The oblong plan, diminishing storeys and barrel roofs with pinnacles and gable ends of these *rathas* may well have suggested the design of the later *gopuras* (entrance towers of temples). All these *rathas* were most probably Śaiva in character and the figured sculpture on all of them is of the same high quality as in the *maṇḍapas*. Men and gods are sculptured in the most graceful forms and the animal structure is superb. Deities have four arms, *dvārapālas* only two.⁵⁶

Sculpture

From about the third century B.C. to about the seventh century A.D., Indian art admits, despite local variations due to local tastes and visions, of a common denominator at each different stage of evolution and fulfilment. Towards the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century A.D. the regional spirit gradually asserts itself. The classical tradition of an all-India art lingers for one or two centuries, but the regional spirit gets the better of the Indian.

Plasticity of the fully-rounded and modelled form had been the most significant characteristic of classical Indian structure. A movement now starts towards summarising the rounded volume in the direction of flat-surface and linear angles. Swelling and smooth round lines develop sharp edges; compositions tend

to become linearised with emphasis on sharp angles, horizontals, verticals, and diagonals and curves that have so long been convex turn into the concave.⁵⁷ This new conception of form had far-reaching results in sculpture. How they were registered through the ages will be evident from a consideration of west-Indian and Rajput sculptures of the tenth-twelfth centuries.⁵⁸

This medieval trend was not valid for the whole of India, nor was its impression registered everywhere at the same time. It was most visible in western India namely Gujarat, Rajputana, central India and certain Himalayan tracts. Other regions of India, mainly eastern India, Deccan, the far-south, remained more or less untouched by this conception and draw in the main from the rich heritage of the classical traditions.⁵⁹

The pivot of early medieval structure is the human figure, both male and female in the form of gods and goddesses and their attendants. The value of the image during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods does not lie simply in its being an intermediate symbol to help realising an ultimate object; it is realisation itself, both artistically and spiritually and since it is so, the value is connected with artistic quality as well. What was thus born, from within the creative genius came now to be fashioned in strict accordance with the minute regulations laid down in the canonical texts. The cult-image was mainly conceived as an object to be used by the devotee to help concentrating his mind for realisation of an ultimate object outside the image itself.⁶⁰ The majority of the cult-images that were meant to be worshipped, especially those that were popular and hence in great demand, namely, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Umā-Maheśvara, Buddha etc., therefore did not attain a very high degree of artistic excellence. Since the cult-images of early medieval art

rests on the assured foundations of a regulated and canonised structure of form, it maintains a more or less uniform standard of quality in all art-regions of India.⁶¹ Whether the image is a relief in various grades or worked in the round, it is always conceived and executed in terms of the surface as well as of the vertical plane. In seated and standing figures, the vertical direction is obvious, but even in reclining images, the emphasis on the verticality is more than on the horizontal rest.⁶²

The non-iconic figure sculptures relate themselves to a large variety of motifs and subjects. There are narrative reliefs, legendary illustrations, historical or semi-historical scenes, music and dance scenes, *mithuna* couples in a variety of poses and attitudes, toilet scenes, domestic scenes and scenes of daily life, array of warriors and animals, drummers, flute-players, etc. and women and trees among many other motifs.⁶³ These figures just exist on the walls of the temples without any effort and have to be accepted as granted as it were. Despite gaiety and movement of the subjects, clever display of light and shade in the reliefs, variety of poses and attitudes in front, profile, and more frequently, three-quarter views agitated, nervous, sensuous, there is no evidence of the dynamic urge of the stone itself to blossom into such forms. The centuries of dynamic becoming of form from unformed depths have been left behind.⁶⁴ By the beginning of the twelfth century, all reserves of experience seemed to have completely been drawn upon. Indeed, this century witnesses complete disintegration of Indian creativeness. Attention to meticulous details, elaboration of essentials and non-essentials alike, over-ornamentation, and canonization of basic creative principles led to a sort of mechanical grace, elegance and perfection, and exhibited superb mastery of the craft itself. But the end of Indian

creativeness was already drawing near when Islam finally swept it away.⁶⁵

1. Eastern India (Bihar and Bengal)

Eastern India, comprising Bihar and Bengal (also Mayurbhanj and to a great extent, Orissa), carries on, almost uninterruptedly and without any intrusion of the medieval trend, the classical tradition of vision and experience as well as of form, albeit much thinned and superficial.⁶⁶

The *Aṣṭa-dhātu* (made of eight metals), images of Nālandā and Kurkihār mark the creative climax of ninth century plastic vision and idiom. Sturdily conceived, the physiognomical mass is modelled with a soft pliability and the facial expression is one of tender affection and allurements.⁶⁷ The end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries transformed the vigour and strength of bodily form into one of conscious gracefulness and elegant mannerisms.⁶⁸ In the twelfth century, the slender body-type and the formal treatment of the preceding century are retained but the modelling becomes petrified. The sensitiveness of the facial expression disappears and is replaced by a serious heaviness, the legs become almost column-like without any elasticity.⁶⁹ Thus, the four and a half centuries of the rich eastern school of Bihar and Bengal are characterised by high technical accomplishment and a kind of mechanical grace and elegance. The outlines are sharp and clear and the modelling is almost metallic. The school sent its reverberations to Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and a few sub-Himalayan tracts in the north; nearer home to Mayurbhanj, and beyond the seas to Burma, Siam, Java, Sumatra and Ceylon. The more important centres of this school were Nālandā, Kurkihār, Bodh-Gayā, Rājagriha and Champā in Bihar; Rajshāhī, Dinājpur and Bogrā in north Bengal, and Dacca, Tippera

and Sylhet—all in East Bengal (now in Bangladesh).

2. Orissa

As in Bihar and Bengal, so in Orissa, the flow of Gupta classical tide persists with consistent vigour. The soft and mallow lines and curves, and full, but delicate, and subtle plasticity of volume continue in subdued vigour till they are replaced by flowing, but firm sinuous lines, quicker flexions and tough, firm, round modelling of a sturdier plastic volume, elements that presumably were the gifts of a new vision; a new ideal other than that of the bygone age.⁷¹

From the specimens collected so far, and from the extensive ruins strewn all over and around Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri (Cuttack District), it is clear that in the seventh and eighth centuries, the locality was an important Buddhist centre that encouraged and patronised the art of sculpture. Slightly later i.e. ninth century, sculptures from Udayagiri and Ratnagiri are heavier in appearance and treatment, though yet generously graceful in the slight *abhaṅga* and *tribhaṅga* attitudes. But they lack the subtle delicacy and spiritual grace of contemporary Nālandā work.

Typically Orissan sculpture art can best be viewed and studied at centres like Bhuvaneśvara, Baudh, Puri and Konarak. Together, they cover a period of five centuries, from the eight to the thirteenth. The figure sculptures constitute an essential part of the temple-surface and can be understood only in that context. As Kramrisch says, 'architecture in Orissa is but sculpture on a gigantic scale.'⁷³

Unless they are meant to be dignifiedly static, also perhaps somewhat mechanical, as the Surya images of Konarak, even the cult-images despite iconographic regulations of a

rigid order, are informed by a dynamic vitality, and monumentality of composition and largeness of form and bearing, effects that are directly due to an amplitude of movement and dignified modelling. These qualities are seen at their best in the large-size images of Kārtikeya, Gaṇeśa and Maḥiṣāsūramardini in the exterior niches of the Liṅgarāja temple.⁷⁴

The non-iconic figure sculptures, which are more numerous at Bhuvaneśvara, Puri and Konarak, have all these qualities and some other besides. They are further characterised by a delightful abandon of feeling, emotion and action and an almost innocent but ecstatic joy of living, a rich luxuriousness of appearance and intense love for the human body and all that this body is capable of yielding in terms of life-experience.⁷⁵

3. Gaṅgā-Yamunā Valley

Specimens of sculpture belonging to the ninth to twelfth century are extremely rare. This is mainly due to the devastation wrought by Muslim iconoclasts. From a small Mathura Viṣṇu relief (end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century) and a few broken or damaged pieces from Mirzapur and Sarnath, it appears that the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley belonged to the common denominator of contemporary art of Bihar. Like the East-Indian tradition, the Ganga-Yamuna valley remains throughout untouched by the medieval trends.⁷⁶

4. Central India

Occupying geographically an intermediate position between the East and the West, Central India—extending from the borders of Rajputana and Gujarat in the west to Allahabad in the east—holds an intermediate position artistically too, in the history of medieval sculpture. Her products, from the tenth to thirteenth century turned out under the age is and patronage of

the Chandellas of Jejākabhukti and the Paramaras of Dhārā, reflect an admixture of both the East-Indian tradition of Bihar and Bengal and that of Rajputana and Gujarat where the medieval trends found their most congenial home. While Garhwa, Mahobā and Khajurāho preserve the more important relics of the Chandellas, The Paramāra tradition is stored at Dhārā and Mandor in Indore and Gwalior.⁷⁷

Garhwa sculptures are characterised by grace and charm of a still placid modelling, and of conscious flexions and movements of the body. But Chandella figure sculptures can be seen at their best on the walls of the Brahmanical and Jaina temples of Khajurāho in Bundelkhand. The temples of Khajurāho pulsate with human activity but the figures, including those of human beings and animals, do not belong to the temples themselves in the sense the Orissan figures do. They are fully and roundly modelled but for all practical purposes independent of the flat ground of the temple. The outlines are deep and sharp, but have not the ample sinuosity of the Orissan outlines, an evident consequence of the medieval grip into which Khajurāho found itself.⁷⁸

Decorative ornamentation at Khajurāho shows an amalgum of classical and medieval grammar and composition existing side by side, often in one relief, sometimes separately, sometimes integrated in one complete pattern.⁷⁹

Paramāra art was prolific in its sculptural output, but hardly did it even reach a high tide of aesthetic achievement. The image of Sarasvatī installed by Bhoja (C. AD 1000-1055) in the main hall of the Sarasvatī Mandir shows Paramāra sculpture at its best.⁸⁰

5. Vindhya and Madhya Pradesh

Though controlled by sharp outlines deeply cut, the bulging, plastic mass, fully moulded,

is frankly reminiscent of the 'classical' volume, but the sharp bends of joints of limbs, particularly at the knee and elbow, of the main and subsidiary figures, and sharp facial profiles of the latter with their pointed noses and chins are clear manifestations of the specifically medieval trends.⁸¹

6. Rajputana

Medieval Rajputana sculptures hail from Vasantgarh and Devangana (Sirohi State), Pāltā (Bikaner), Osia Dilwārā (Mount Abu), Harshagiri (Jaipur), Chittor and Mandor. In point of style they range from full recognition of classical values side by side with acquiescence in medieval pressure to complete negation of the classical and full assertion of medieval.⁸²

7. Gujarat

Gujarat has been one of the earliest targets of Muslim iconoclasm and throughout the late medieval period, she suffered from periodic devastations of her numerous shrines. Not much need be said about the medieval art of Gujarat, for what has been said about the contemporary art of Rajputana applies to a great extent to this western-most branch of medieval Indian sculpture.⁸³

8. Punjab Hill States

Chambā, Kāngrā, Kulu and Kumāon have preserved sculptures of images and decorative patterns in relief that originally formed part of temples.⁸⁴ The medieval factor makes itself felt in a number of inscribed metal images from Chambā. From these hill states, particularly from Chambā, have come down to us the biggest series of fountain stones cut into low flat reliefs showing abstract patterns and not so much icons. Indeed, such weaving of mere patterns in square and rectangular

panels with floral, vegetal and geometric designs and human and animal figures, is unknown to the classical conception.⁸⁵ But as Kramrisch says, "The earliest and simplest of these stones could be the ancestors of the roundels of Bhārhut." The floral and vegetal designs, undoubtedly of classical origin, are flattened but sharply incised and made to fit in with flat geometrical designs of square and diamond shapes equally flat and sharply incised.⁸⁶

9. Kashmir, Tibet and Nepal

Kashmir maintained its intimate association with Indian culture till she was overrun by the Muslims, and Nepal and Tibet maintain this association upto the present day. In medieval sculptures of Kashmir, contemporary East-Indian tradition stamps its strong impress, in form and treatment as well as in physiognomy.⁸⁷

Contemporary Tibetan art is best known by its metal images but it should be remembered that they are, for the most part, of Nepalese origin. The Tibetan metal images, even at their best, are qualitatively, at a lower level than those of Nepal. Stylistically, they too are inspired by and affiliated to the East-Indian tradition.⁸⁸

Nepalese stone sculptures of the ninth to thirteenth centuries are rare. They belong frankly to the denominator of contemporary East-Indian art. What really counts are the metal images, generally of brass or copper, of very competent craftsmanship and of refined elegance and precision. These images have been turned out of workshops in considerable number in order to satisfy the demands of a growing Buddhist and Brahmanical laity. Stylistically they belong to the Pala tradition of eastern India but are often of superior craftsmanship.⁸⁹

10. Deccan

About the end of the eighth century all creative inspiration and effort in the Deccan sculptures had entered a stalemate after ceaseless activity of every deep and abiding significance for about three centuries. Yet temples were built and decorated with sculptures and images made for purposes of worship in Ittagi and Gadag in the Dharwār district as well as in Hyderabad under the aegis of the Western Chālukya of Kalyāṇa and at Somnathpur, Belur, Halebid and Palampet, all in Mysore, under the aegis of the Hoysalas. This early medieval Deccan sculptural art is by no means poor in output, but certainly so in creative achievement and potentiality.⁹⁰ In Western Chālukyan art, conceived, mechanically without any inner 'elan' i.e. without any corresponding experience and the broad expansiveness is just in space to suit decorative purposes. The decorative and ornamental devices that frame or encase such compositions are evidences of intricate and skilled craftsmanship no doubt, but are often overcrowded and cumbersome and seem to hang heavily on the figure compositions as well.⁹¹

The skill, richness and intricacy of decorative devices and ornamentations reach their fullest abundance in the temple of Halebid. In the unfinished Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid the unstinted labour expended in carving stone that is soft when quarried but hardens on exposure has clothed the entire building in an almost incredibly abundant parure. The long and elaborate friezes of animals real and mythical, and of scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and large panels of images and bracket figures carved in high and frequently in altogether round relief, all appear as of pressed on to the surface and are almost suffocated by elaborate and intricate, but stagnant and ponderous

ornamentation. Despite gestures and movements of vigorous action the composition is static, absolutely uninformed by any inherent dynamism.⁹²

South India

South India, on the other hand, carries on the 'classical' tradition, as transmitted by the Pallava idiom in a purer form, sounder conviction and a more vital manner; and this is done through centuries save for slight and occasional intrusion by the medieval factor upto the end of the thirteenth century. The inheritance, artistic skill and creative urge of craftsmen exploited the patronage of the Cholas of Gangai-konda Cholapuram (c. AD. 850-1100) and the Pāṇḍyas of Madura (c. AD. 1100-1300). The main centres of Chola activity were Gangaikonda Cholapuram itself and Srinivasanalur; the Pāṇḍayan monuments are principally situated at Srirangam, Chidambaram, Tiruvannamalai and Kumbakonam.⁹³

The Chola sculptures of the tenth and eleventh centuries are endowed with a tough vitality and are modelled vigorously but leave the surface as if in a state of animated flexibility. Plastically they have relation with contemporary Deccanese sculptures, but reach a much higher level which is maintained throughout successive centuries. Chola stone sculptures reach the highest level of 'classical' form in an age when 'classical values everywhere else in India were rather at a very low level.'⁹⁴ The Brihadīśvara temple at Tanjore, has all its walls above and below the cornice adorned with ranges of pilasters combined with several ornamental devices and dividing the wall space into a number of elegantly proportioned compartments. The middle of each compartment is occupied by a niche containing a sculptured figure—subject of high quality. In the tapering section in

horizontal lines of the diminishing tiers intersect the vertical disposition of the ornamental shrines and thus produce an architectural texture of great beauty. Lastly the rounded capola with its winged niches on all four sides relieves severity of the outline just where this is required.⁹⁵ The whole temple from the heavily moulded parts of its high basement to the finial is a magnificent example of solidity combined with proportion and grace of form.⁹⁶ In the temple of Gangaikonda Cholapuram the scheme of decoration and sculpture on the outside of the walls is the same as in Tanjore but the style is more ornate.⁹⁷

Two series of South Indian metal images may be singled out for special mention : The Naṭarāja series and that of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints. The Naṭarāja is the formal symbol, the visual image of the cosmic dance of Śiva. In the most consummate realisation by the artists of profound symbolism of dance, there is a poise, rhythm, and balance that can only be compared with that of the Buddha images of Sārnāth and the monumental Maheśa-mūrti of Elephanta. But while the Buddha image symbolises the pure Being, the Naṭarāja symbolises the 'Becoming'. Coomaraswamy puts it 'Becoming' connotes eternal flux which is in the dance itself, and yet, in the eyes of the artist and the devotee it is held as rest that is within the divinity himself even while dancing. This very difficult and profound symbolism has been nevertheless concretely visualised by a South Indian artist and interpreted in terms of line and plastic volume. While compositionally the movement of the dance is spread out in space dynamically, the linear movement itself is gracefully and steadily poised and balanced, and the plastic treatment of the volume shows no accent or tension at any given point. Dynamic movement or eternal flux is thus admirably integrated

with accentless, tensionless, inner rest and calmness.⁹⁸

In the equally significant figures of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints—also cult—images from the point of view of the artist and the devotees, and actually worshipped—the element of *Bhakti* supplies the creative urge that endows these figures with a charm unique in character. These mortal beings, bathed in humility and devotion and surrendered in body and soul to the one they held as Supreme Being, came to be regarded as *sants* in later times and inspire the same emotions of humility, devotion and surrender in the hearts and minds of multitudes who held them in respect and adoration. It is these emotions of a pure heart that are interpreted in contemporary plastic terms in suggestive and significant flexions and gestures and individualized expressions as reside in the eyes and the mouth and the general demeanour of the face.⁹⁹

Painting

Plasticity of the fully rounded and modelled form had been the most significant characteristic of the Indian painting till about the eighth century A.D. This is a quality which may legitimately be called 'Classical' and this vision and tradition we saw at their best at Ajantā Bāgh and Bādāmi. The most essential formal characteristics of this tradition are—(a) the modelling quality of the line that brings out in full the three-dimensional rounded volume of the mass as well as its plasticity; (b) the modelling quality of colour obtained by the employment of colour shades and colour-tones and by laying on high lights, wherever necessary to suggest different planes; (c) the quality of brush work which is always free and firm and aims at bold, sinuous and rounded flexibility, especially at the outlines, and (d) a flowing and mellow linear rhythm.¹⁰⁰

Under currents of this tradition or its continuity can for example be witnessed in the paintings on the walls of Kailāśa temple (eighth century A.D.) at Ellora in the Deccan, the Jaina shrine at Suṭṭatṭṇavāśal (seventh century A.D.), the Viṣṇu shrine at Tirumalaipuram (seventh century A.D.), the Kailāśanātha temple at Kanchi (8th century A.D.) and the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore (11th century A.D.), all in South India, but more pronouncedly in the now well known MSS illustrations of Bihar and Bengal, Nepal and Tibet (11th-13th century A.D.).¹⁰¹

The essential characteristics of the medieval tradition are: (a) sharp, acute line without its modelling capacity, and also without the steady flow of the classical period. This line—quickly and sharply drawn—is the main exponent of the 'medieval' tradition; (b) sharp, jerky and pointed angles particularly sharp and pointed limbs when and where they form angles—for example, at the elbow and the shoulder—the sharp and peaked nose, the crescent lips with angles acutely turned upwards, the eyebrows and long wide swollen eyes projected sharply and pointedly beyond their actual extension; (c) jerky movements, in angles and curve of the body and its distended limbs that produce a nervous animation quite different from the composed energy and latent dynamism of the 'classical' tradition; (d) total absence of colour modelling and hence, also of plasticity, which results in an appearance of flatness of the volume of the contour that resides entirely on the surface; (e) richness of variegated patterns, motifs and designs, all gathered and adopted to the grip of sharp curves, angles and points; and (f) an intense preference for designs and patterns of decorations that are basically and essentially geometrical and abstract as distinct from decorative designs and patterns of steadily moving, swaying and deeply cut,

modelled and rounded curves, scrolles, etc. of the 'classical' traditions derived basically from vegetal and animal world.¹⁰²

These characteristics of the medieval tradition which we see in India were the accumulated results of a continuous ethnic fusion of northern racial elements (Sakas, Kuṣāṇas, Turks and Mongols from Central Asia).¹⁰³ Painting which is two dimensional offered much less resistance to the northern conception of forms than sculpture which is three dimensional. In the ninth century murals at Ellora we find these traits asserting themselves so emphatically and exuberantly as to indicate past practice over a considerable period of time. Here the gliding and modelling lines of Ajanta are replaced by sharp and thin lines, modulated curves by sharp and pointed angles, and rounded modelled surfaces by the coloured spaces. With Ellora however, the medieval tradition came to stay and steadily through centuries built up within the confines of India and also outside—in Burma, Siam and Java. For sometime after Ellora the tradition flowed as an under current but nevertheless influenced and transformed the classical tradition by helping the gradual and of the impact subsidence consistency of its modelling and diminution of its volume by sharpening the modelled and rounded line, and by the introduction of certain geometric forms and motifs. This stage is reflected in the mural paintings of the Jaina shrine at Siṭṭaṇṇavāsāl and the first layer of paintings on the walls of the temple at Tirumalaipuram, both in the South. By about the eleventh century it begins to make itself felt in some of the miniatures of Eastern India (Nepal, Bihar and Bengal), but from the 12th to the 15th century the tradition is seen actively at work at different localities spread all over India.¹⁰⁴

1. Ellora : (c. AD. 750-800)

While Ajanta paintings afford a study in depth and solidity, and emphasise the diagonal direction of coming forward of the figures from the deep formless and emerging on the surface as forms, the paintings on the ceilings of the western porch of the Kailāśa temple at Ellora present a study in surface and are a simple statement of collateral existence on the plane. In the case of Ellora paintings, figures are not born of any impact of coming forth from depths; they are just visible and look as laid out weightlessly on or in between conglobulated cloud patterns, equally thin and shallow and hence weightless. The figures themselves seem to float or swim or emerge or soar effortlessly and look as if all volume, heaviness and density have been pumped out of them and replaced by weightless vapour.¹⁰⁵ The composition of these Ellora paintings is measured out in rectangular panels with thick flat borders; they have been conceived within given limits of frames that hold the paintings. Thus what was originally conceived as murals laid out on the limitless expanse of the walls was made to fit in within bordered rectangular panels, not only on the ceilings but on the walls as well.¹⁰⁶

Two main varieties of stylistic forms are clearly discernible in these paintings of the Kailāśa temple. The majority of the figures and movements belong to the 'Classical' tradition of the Ajanta.¹⁰⁸ The other form and stylistic variety is to be seen in types of figures and clouds mainly linear in treatment and practically without any modelling of the plastic volume. Yet the classical tradition of modelling of the mass and the outlines as well as the illusion of the impact of coming forward from the depths is not ignored altogether but the paintings are caught by the 'medieval' grip that causes steady subsidence of the 'classical' values.¹⁰⁸

2. South India : (c. AD. 1100-1300)

The Vijayālaya Choleśvara temple at Narttamalai seems to have been built originally in the ninth century. Subsequently it was struck by lightning, necessitating extensive repairs presumably towards the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. Stylistically, the figure of Mahākāla is stereotyped, but its affinity with the slightly earlier painting of Śiva as *Tripurāntaka* in the *Bṛhadeśvara* temple at Tanjore is unmistakable. Chola forms and physiognomy are apparent, and 'classical values' of full rounded volume are gratefully remembered, though with lessened consistency of colour-modelling.¹⁰⁹

The paintings of *Bṛhadeśvara* temple are tucked away under its 190 feet high *vimāna* in a dark passage around the main cella of the temple. There are two layers of paintings on the walls, of which the upper layer is slowly peeling off exposing the earlier one. The scenes representing Śiva in his abode of Kailāśa, with his saintly devotees, as *Naṭrāja* and *Tripurāntaka*, in the company of *gaṇas*, *gondharvara*, *apsaras*, and so on, are made on the walls in large and forceful compositions. Much of the 'classical' consistency and depth of colour application have somewhat evaporated, making the figures look flatter and thinner in the context of volume, nor are the figures compositionally connected in any inherent relationship.¹¹⁰ But as in those of the Narttamalai, the 'classical' volume is still remembered and there is a conscious attempt at giving it as much value as possible with the help of broadly modelled lines, ample curves and colour tones. The two modes and visions 'classical' and 'medieval', thus commingle in these paintings and, acting and reacting on each other, transform themselves. But on the whole, the south adheres more tenaciously to the former than adopt and integrate the latter.¹¹¹ Almost contemporary with the

Bṛhadeśvara temple paintings are those of the first layer on the brick wall of the outer-most chamber on the second storey of the *Lakṣmīśvara maṇḍap* at Tirumalai. But whether the subject is human beings, demi-gods, animals or vegetation, the treatment is invariably flat and volumes are gathered on the surface; hardly anything is left of the body shaping, colour modelling of the classical tradition. The medieval grip is evident in the sharp lines and angles, beak-like painted noses, up-line curves and flat treatment of ornaments.¹¹²

3. Western India : (c. AD. 1100-1300)

The *Bhāṇḍāras* (libraries) of the Jains in western India were important centres of artistic activity. All the Gujarati paintings are invariably MSS—illustrations in miniature, executed on palm-leaf and later on paper. The common denominator of these MSS paintings in miniatures is easily known by the sharp, pointed lines, flatly laid in thin or thick strokes, by the almost flat laying of colours in two-dimensional effect with but the slightest suggestion of the modelled plasticity, by the treatment of the eyes, nose and body-joints that are given an accentuated appearance and effect by an emphasis on sharp pointed angles and lines, by the flat treatment of all decorative and architectural devices, and no less by certain geometrical decorative designs that are typically northern.¹¹³ Despite this common denominator, the long and rich series of western Indian miniature painting shows varieties of style that merit consideration. To whatever class of common denominator these paintings belong and despite their pictorial and decorative quality, their glowing colours of red, yellow, blue and gold, western Indian miniature paintings is highly stylised and conventional, cold and mechanical. They are intellectually conceived and despite their

bright and glowing pigments there is little of emotional warmth in the general effect but technically they are examples of perfect craftsmanship and of pure pictorial significance.¹¹⁴

4. Eastern India (Bengal, Bihar, Nepal and Tibet)

Specimens of paintings in Eastern India upto the thirteenth century are illuminations on palm leaves and paper of MSS. The MSS illuminations are almost all of Vajrayāna Buddhist inspirations, but the engraved drawings are all Brahmanical. Since there is hardly any appreciable major stylistic difference between the illuminations of Bihar and Bengal or Bengal and Nepal, they may be conveniently studied as belonging to one and the same school.¹¹⁵ These east Indian miniature paintings are stylistically speaking painting equivalents of contemporary plastic art of the Pālas and Senas, both in outer form and inner meaning. The modelled mass is held by definite but sinuous lines, flowing steadily and modelled; the flowing curve of the contour of the body and the lower abdomen as well as the sensitivity of the finger curves are unmistakable heritages of the 'classical' tradition.¹¹⁶ East Indian manuscript—illuminations refer to the regnal years of the Pāla kings but those from Nepal are invariably dated in the Nepalese era. These features are also evident in the MSS illuminations in the earlier ones (11th century A.D.). The line has a largeness, a simple vivacity, and some kind of an emotional quality. At this stage, Nepalese painting is but a component of contemporary east Indian MSS painting. Sharp and hectic western lines and painted angles make their intrusion. Not only do Nepalese paintings at this stage throw aside the refined elegance and exuberance and the continuous, sensitive flux of the eastern line, but compositionally,

they bid goodbye to the continuous and sweeping rhythm of east Indian composition and adopt one that is clipped and divided in single units.¹¹⁷

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QUESTIONS

1. Mention the distinctive features of the Nagara style of Indian architecture also state its important varieties of this style and their chief features.
2. Describe critically the architecture and sculpture of the Muktesvara temple at Bhuvanesvara showing why it is regarded as a gem of Orissan architecture.
3. "The Rajasthan and Gujarat style reached its climax in the two Jain temples at Mount Abu." Justify the above statement.
4. Mention the distinctive features of Dravida style and discuss how it developed under the Pallavas and Cholas describing the architecture of one temple of each dynasty.
5. Mention the distinctive features of Vesara style and discuss how it developed under the Chalukyas and the Hoysals describing the architecture of one temple of each dynasty.

6. Discuss critically the development of rock-cut architecture under the Pallavas.
7. Discuss the chief trends in medieval sculpture which distinguish it from the classical sculpture.
8. What are the drawbacks of medieval sculpture?
9. Which regions of India were least affected by the medieval trend in sculpture and continued to follow the classical tradition. Give suitable examples in support of your answer.
10. Discuss the features of the classical tradition in

Painting giving suitable examples in support of your answer.

11. Describe critically the essential characteristics of the medieval tradition in Indian painting. Give suitable examples in support of your answer.
12. Describe critically the paintings of 'Brhadiśvara temple at Tanjore to bring out the drawbacks of these paintings.
13. Discuss the main features of the miniature paintings of Gujarat.

Chapter 24

Art in the Sultanate Period (c. 1206-1550)

Indo-Muslim architecture was not completely Islamic. It has imbibed some characteristics of the architectures of central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, Egypt and central Africa before the Turks came to India. The two chief features of the Indo-Islamic architecture were simplicity and stiffness. Indian craftsmen laid great emphasis on joining the lines and angles in the correct way. They also decorated their buildings with sculptures. On the other hand, the Islamic architecture laid emphasis on proper form. The synthesis of these two styles of architecture resulted in lessening the stiffness of Muslim architecture and lessening of too much decoration in Hindu architecture. There is no doubt that Islamic art was considerably modified by Hindu master builders and architects. But it would be wrong to suppose that it had no ideals of its own. By the time Muslim power was established in India, the Muslims had acquired a fine taste for buildings and had developed their own notions about architecture. The conditions in which the Indo-Muslim art grew made it necessary that there should be a fusion of the two ideals. Hinduism recommended idolatory while Islam forbade it; Hinduism favoured decoration and gorgeousness while Islam enjoined simplicity. These different ideals, so strongly in contrast with each other produced, by their fusion a new kind of art which is called the Indo-Muslim art. Gradually as the Hindu master-builders and craftsmen began to express Islamic ideas in the shape of brick and stone, the process of amalgamation set

in. Both learnt from each other and though the Muslim's handling of ornaments was not so exquisite, he derived the fullest advantage from the new ideas and materials supplied to him by the Indian conquest.¹ The Muslim monuments in India comprise mosques, mausoleums, palaces, citadels and cities. Their special features include the dome, arch, perforated *Jali* work, inlay decoration as well as artistic calligraphy.²

The Turkish Sultans made many domes and arches in their mosques but the design was always simple. The area covered by a mosque was quite spacious so that Indians might know that the Islamic rule had been established in India. The early mosques were constructed by making necessary changes in Hindu temples. The gate of a temple was generally towards east and the Muslims started *Namaz* facing towards the west because Mecca was in the west of India. With this aim they removed the image in the temple and built an arch to enable them to start *Namaz* facing towards west. The courtyards of temples were quite spacious and when necessary the verandahs and rooms which obstructed were demolished to make more room in the courtyard.³ The mosque known as the Adhai Din Ka Jhonpora was built in the same way at Ajmer by Qutb-ud-din. This mosque was beautified by Iltutmish with a screen which still exists.

To change the character of their buildings from the buildings of Hindu style the Turkish Sultans did not make the roofs flat but made

domes to cover the roofs. In place of rectangular doors they used arches at the top. The decoration of their building was minimum. In decorating them, they used either coloured bricks or coloured stones, false window arches, floral or geometric designs and artistic calligraphy.

The most important building in the reign of Qutb-ud-din is the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque upon the plinth of a Hindu temple and constructed of materials from 27 Hindu temples. The Qutb Minar was also constructed from material collected from Hindu buildings and temples. For its decoration the Hindu craftsmen used the same style of inlaying which they had been using in building temples. The floral designs, bells and chairs were made to decorate the minar. They also represent the Hindu style of architecture. Qutb Minar is nearly 242 feet high and is still looked upon as a great work of art. The Minar was struck by lightning in the time of Firoz Tughlaq who ordered the fourth storey to be demolished and replaced by two small storeys as is evident from an inscription of the same ruler. In 1503, the upper storeys were again repaired by Sikandar Lodi. Iltutmish built a mosque at Badaon when he was the governor of that area. All these buildings of the early period of Turkish Sultans are of the same type and show definite features of Hindu style of architecture. The mausoleum of Balban has the first true arch in Indian buildings except in one temple which was built in the Gupta period. Other notable buildings of this period are the Hauz-i-Shamsi and the Shamsi Idgah built by Iltutmish during his governorship of Badaon (1203-1209) and the Jam-i-Masjid, which was built in 1223 A.D., twelve years after his accession to the throne.⁴

Under Alauddin Khilji, the power of the sultanate of Delhi increased enormously. During his reign, there was a reaction to the

Hindu elements of architecture in the building of the Sultanate. Alauddin tried not to have any traits of Hindu architecture in the buildings which he constructed. His two important buildings are Dargah of Nizamuddin Aulia and the Alai Darwaza at the Qutab Minar. The latter is a noble gateway to the mosque enclosure. It is considered a gem of Islamic architecture. In this gateway, one can see the influence of Iranian architecture. Other buildings constructed by Alauddin were Hauz-i-Alai, Hauz-i-Khas⁵ and Hazar-i-Situn a palace.

The architecture of the Tughlaq period becomes massive and simple because of the invasions of the Mongols and the rebellions of Hindu rulers. The buildings of this style are the tomb of Tughlaq Shah, the city of Tughlaqabad and the fort of Tughlaqabad. Firuz Tughlaq was a magnificent builder who spent vast sums of money on towns, palaces, mosques, tanks, reservoirs and gardens. He built many new buildings and repaired the old ones. He founded the city of Firozabad and supplied it with abundant water by means of a well managed canal system. He also built two other cities Fatahabad and Hisar Firoza, and laid the foundations of a third city called Jaunpur on the banks of Gomati to commemorate the name of his illustrious cousin Muhammad Tughlaq. He caused two Aśokan pillars to be removed to Delhi; one from Topara in the Ambala district and the other from a village in the Meerut district. The Sultan's interest in buildings was so keen that he never permitted the construction of any building unless its plan was carefully scrutinised by the Diwan-i-wizarat and finally approved by him. As Firuz was an orthodox Muslim, the austerity of the new style of Indo-Muslim architecture remained undisturbed.⁶ In the buildings of Delhi, Islamic traits of architecture predominated, but in provinces such as Jaunpur, Gujarat and Bengal, the

Muslim buildings have the predominance of Hindu traits of architecture.

The kings of Jaunpur were great patrons of art and literature. Their buildings are fine specimens of Indo-Muslim architecture. In the reign of Sultan Ibrahim, the Atala Masjid was completed. Hussain Shah built the Jam-i-Masjid during his reign. Other notable buildings of this style are the Lal Darwaza mosque, and the broken facade of the Jehangiri and the Khalis Mukhalis.

The rulers of Gaur made their buildings entirely of bricks and seem to bear traces of the imitation of the Hindu temple architecture. Their most remarkable buildings are the tomb of Husain Shah, the greater and the lesser Golden mosque and Qadam Rasul built by Sultan Nasrat Shah. The small Golden Eunuch's mosque is a solidly constructed building that is carved inside and out with beautifully chiselled designs, including the Indian lotus. But the most striking of all the buildings of sultans of Gaur (Bengal) is the Adina Mosque at Pandua, 20 miles from Gaur which was built by Sikandar Shah in 1368 A.D.⁸

The most beautiful of provincial styles of architecture was that of Gujarat. Before the Muslim conquest, Gujarat was under the influence of Jainism. The master-craftsmen whom the Muslims employed to construct their buildings adopted Hindu and Jain designs with necessary modifications to suit the puritanical taste of Islam. Sultan Ahmad Shah was a great builder. He founded the city of Ahmedabad in the first half of the fifteenth century and built mosques and palaces. Numerous buildings were erected during the fifteenth century at Ahmedabad, Combay, Champanir and other important places. One of the most beautiful buildings is the mosque of Muhafiz Khan, which was built towards the close of the century. Besides mosques and tombs, Gujarat is famous for its step-wells, irrigation works

and public orchards.⁹ Mandu was equally famous for its buildings in the fifteenth century. The massive buildings that exist to this day bear testimony to the power and magnificence of the sultans of Mandu. Some of the most remarkable buildings are the Jam-i-Masjid, the Hindola mahal, the Jahaz mahal, the tomb of Hushang Shah, and the palaces of Baz-Bahadur and Rupmati.

It was not only in North India that architecture flourished but also in the Deccan. The Bahmani rulers founded cities and built mosques and fortresses. The mosques at Gulburga and Bidar are noble specimens of the Deccan style of Indo-Muslim architecture. Some of the important buildings constructed by them are the Jam-i-Masjid at Gulburga built by Persian architects, the Chond-Minar at Daulatabad and the college of Mahmud Gawan, also built in the Persian style of architecture. But the Bahamanids are famous in history of their fortresses, the chief of which are those of Gwaligarh, Narmala and Mahur in the Adilabad district. The last of these was built as an outpost against the Hindu chiefs of Satpura ranges. The fortresses of Parenda, Naldurg, and Panhala were built by them to consolidate their power. At Gulburga there are two groups of important buildings. One group contains the tombs of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, Muhammad Shah, Muhammad Shah II and two others of a later date. The other group known collectively as Haft Gumbad or seven domes contains the tombs of Mujahid Shah, Daud Shah, Ghiyasuddin and his family and Firuz Shah and his family. All these bear a great resemblance to one another. The city of Bidar was laid out by Ahmad Shah. It has a fort and contains two other notable buildings, the tomb of Ahmad Shah Wali and the Sola mosque which was built in the reign of Muhammad Shah III. The most remarkable architecture is that of Bijapur among the

Deccan kingdoms. The tomb of Muhammad Adil Shah, known as Gol Gumbaz is a stately edifice, scarcely inferior to any other building of the same kind.¹¹

The kings of Vijaynagar were in no way behind the Bahaminis in the construction of buildings. They had a great enthusiasm for building council chambers, public offices, irrigation works, aqueducts, temples and palaces which were richly decorated. There was an excellent system of irrigation throughout the city and large tanks were built for storage of water. Numerous temples were built, of which the most famous was the Vithala temple. It has been described by Fergusson as a most characteristic specimen of the Dravidian style. Sculpture and painting were not unknown and it appears that artists acquired considerable proficiency in these branches as is shown by the accounts of Portuguese chroniclers and the Persian envoy Abdur Razzaq.¹²

Sculpture

The Vijaynagar stone sculptures of the fourteenth-fifteenth-sixteenth centuries have two different directions and both can be seen on the walls of the monuments of royal citadels. The rectangular panelled reliefs of the Amman Shrine of the Hazara Rama temple or the panel of the Throne Platform representing the Holi festival, for example, were deeply cut, and the figures are all but roundly formed. They are still characterised by whatever was left of the modelled mass and mannered stiffness of the movements of the body and the limbs. But what is important is that there are compositions (e.g. the Holi scene) which are characterised by sharp angular movements that jerk the 'classical' rhythm, very much like the jerky movements in the Kathakali dance. Here is indeed a different vision making itself felt, but is not fully co-ordinated yet. In other

compositions, for example in the reliefs on the Amman Shrine, the 'classical' rhythm is continued with whatever plastic flexibility was still attainable. The reliefs on the Sati stone belong to this category, but reflect the folk version of the same. The decorative devices are, as a general rule, flattened out and are cut sharply at the edges, a sure sign of the medieval factor.¹³

However, the specific medieval factor is more conspicuous in the reliefs of the Throne Platform where all figures are flattened out in very low reliefs with sharp outlines. Especially in the human figures are the acuteness and painted angularity of lines most marked and some of the female figures at any rate are but translations in stone, as it were, of contemporary Gujarati miniatures—compositionally too, the figures lack plastic connectedness as in Gujarati miniatures of all segments of South Indian art during all these centuries; it is in Vijaynagar reliefs that the 'medieval' factor asserted itself, more or less in an isolated way.¹⁴

Painting

Not a single miniature or illustrated manuscript has so far been identified as definitely emanating from the Sultanate court at Delhi. It appears that the art of miniature painting or manuscript illustration did not get any patronage from the Sultans of Delhi, though many of them built large libraries and *madrasas*, which must have contained illustrated manuscripts prepared in Iraq and Persia.¹⁵

The situation was very different in some of the provincial Sultanates—especially in Malwa, Gujarat and Jaunpur. There manuscripts were prepared and illustrated. Mandu, Ahmadabad and Jaunpur were important centres of trade and commerce inhabited by influential Jain merchants. The Jains considered the gift of sacred books to

their preceptors a pious act; the books were in turn deposited with jñānabhandāras attached to the Jain places of worship. Some of the old and flourishing jñānabhandāras in Rajasthan, Saurashtra and Gujarat have yielded, in recent times, a large number of dated or datable manuscripts containing numerous miniatures. They belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁶

With the replacement of the inconveniently narrow and brittle palm leaf by hand-made paper during the thirteenth century, revolutionary changes took place in Gujarati manuscript paintings. At the outset, the change was slow but later it was marked by the production of superior miniature paintings. The miniatures and border decorations of the well-known *Kalpasutra* MS in the Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍāra, written in c. 1475 A.D. at Ahmadabad shows daring experimentation by introducing decorative motifs and figural details directly lifted from Persian paintings.¹⁷ The dress, textile decoration, and landscape and architectural details in the depiction of elliptoid foliage, Chinese-type floating clouds, arabesques and ornamental decoration, in the use of colours, and finally in the representation of 'Shahi' type kings and foreign soldiers with Mongoloid face, small eyes, pointed beards, drooping moustaches and sandal-paste coloured body, show overwhelming impact of Turkoman and other schools. Thus within the span of a few decades (c. 1414-1475 A.D.), the rigid and orthodox style of the Jain painters was replaced by a more flexible, naturalistic and lively style.¹⁸

The provincial Sultanates of Mandu, Jaunpur and Ahmadabad could not keep themselves aloof from this current of change. Mandu shows the way with no less than four remarkable MSS. The most interesting and important MS painted at Mandu, the *Nimatnāmā* (a treatise on the art of cooking) is unfortunately undated, but the illustrations

of the *Nimatnāmā* give evidences of a developed and sophisticated tradition revealing close affinity with contemporary Persian paintings. A similar trend is noticeable in another MS *Miftah-ul-Fuzalā*, a dictionary of rare words, produced at Mandu. An altogether different trend is noticed in the illustrations of a *Būstān* MS painted at Mandu in 1502 AD. by one Haji Mahmud. The style is so different from the style of *Nimatnāmā* and the *Miftah-ul-Fuzala* illustrations that it becomes difficult to reconcile it with the fact that these were all painted at Mandu for the same patron.¹⁹

Jaunpur became a flourishing literary centre where art, architecture and music were encouraged by the Sharqi rulers. Some of the groups of MSS discovered there namely, the *Hamzanāma*, the *Shāhnāmā* and *Sikandarnāma* may have come from the Agra-Delhi-Jaunpur region, though no corroborative evidence has yet been discovered to prove this.²⁰

Ahmadabad also became a prosperous centre of prolific literary and architectural activities, where many Jain MSS and such secular works as the *Vasanta Vilāsa* were prepared. But so far we have come across only one Islamic MS—*Anwar-i-Suhaili* MS—of a much later date (1603 AD.), which bears a colophon mentioning the name of Ahmadabad.²¹

The changes noticed in the above groups of illustrated MSS—Jain and Islamic—gradually crystallised into new artistic conventions, and a new style of painting emerged in the succeeding decades. This is borne out by a group of manuscripts containing miniatures painted in a suave and refined style with a rich and a lively colour scheme and a wide repertoire of motifs and designs. This particular group is commonly designated as the *Laur Chandā-Chaurapañchāśikā* group and includes MSS and isolated folios of a large

variety, namely, a MS of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Gita Govinda*, the dispersed folios of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Rāga Mālā* folios and a *Māhā purāṇa*. Only two of these, namely the *Aranyaka Parvan* and the *Maha Purana*, have dated colophons with names of painters and places of execution. The former was painted in 1516 A.D. at a place near Agra and the latter in 1540 A.D. at Palam near Delhi.²² The illustrations in these MSS are of uneven quality and exhibit features that are exclusive to some MSS but totally absent in most others. The *Mahāpurāṇa* MS painted near Delhi is of great interest as it was prepared in 1540 A.D., i.e., during the early years of Mughal period. Its miniatures belong to a style continuing the late 15th Century Jain tradition, but at the same time reveal connection with the school of paintings whose earliest example is provided by the *Aranyaka Parvan* of 1600 A.D. The whole group probably belongs to the northern belt extending from Delhi to Jaunpur.²³

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QUESTIONS

1. How was Islamic architecture modified by Hindu master builders?
2. How were the Hindu temples changed into mosque by the early Sultans of Delhi?
3. Mention the features which show that the Qutubminar represents many trails of Hindu architecture.
4. What was the effect of the reaction against Hindu elements in Indo-Islamic architecture under Ala-ud-Din Khilji? Mention the building which reflects this reaction and describe the style of its architecture.
5. Mention the factors on account of which the architecture of the Tughlaq period was massive and simple.
6. Describe the building activities of Firoz Tughlaq.
7. Discuss the chief characteristics of the architecture of the Sultans of Jaunpur and mention their buildings.
8. Why did the Sultans of Gaur use bricks and not stones in their buildings? Also discuss the chief features of the architecture of their buildings.
9. Why is the Indo-Muslim architecture of Gujarat so beautiful illustrate it by giving the names of some of the buildings constructed by the Sultans of Gujarat.
10. Mention the buildings which are noble specimens of the Deccani-style of Indo-muslim architecture. Also name their buildings built in Persian style.
11. Who built Gol Gumbaz? Describe its architectural features.
12. Describe the building activities of the rulers of Vijaynagar.
13. Discuss the chief features of the sculptures of Vijaynagar of the buildings constructed in the fourteenth-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by giving concrete examples.
14. Discuss the chief features of the miniature paintings and border decoration produced at Ahmedabad in the painted MSS.
15. Mention the names of some painted MSS at Mandu and discuss the style of their paintings.

Chapter 25

Art in the Mughal Period

We have stated in chapter 2 that there was a reaction against the Indian traits of architecture in the Indo-Muslim architecture during the time of Alauddin, which is evident from Alai Darwaza. Under the dynasty of the Tughlaqs, there was no ornamentation as they were hard-pressed by the invasions of the Mongols as well as the rebellions of the Indian rulers. There begins a new chapter in the history of Indian art with the accession of the Mughals to the throne of Delhi in 1526 AD.

Architecture

With regard to Babur and Humayun's achievements in the field of architecture, Percy Brown sums them up as follows :¹

"The material records which have survived of both Babur's and Humayun's contributions to the building art of the country are therefore almost negligible. On the other hand, the indirect influence of their personalities and experience on the subsequent art of the country cannot be overlooked. Babur's marked aesthetic sense communicated to his successors, inspired them under more favourable conditions to the production of their finest achievements, while Humayun's forced contact with the culture of the Safavids (rulers of Persia) is reflected in that Persian influence noticeable in many of the Mughal buildings which followed."²

Sher Shah succeeded Humayun on the throne of Delhi. He was a man of marked constructional propensities and architectural ideals. The few buildings that he has left are

each of an exceptional character and clearly exemplified his ideals of, and attitude towards, building art. The building projects of Sher Shah fall into two groups of monuments situated one at Sasaram in Bihar and the other at Delhi. Both these groups are important; one as the brilliant finale of an earlier tradition, and the other as anticipating notable future developments. Of the monuments³ at Sasaram, the most important monument is the mausoleum of Sher Shah. The octagonal type of funerary monument is characteristic of the imperial style of Delhi but it excels the Delhi compositions of this order in its bold and imaginative conception. It was a production of much higher aesthetic plane and is a fitting tribute to the power and imagination of his vigorous and dynamic personality. The mausoleum stands in the middle of a large quadrangular tank 1400 feet in length and rises from a lofty square terrace over 300 feet on each side, with flights of steps descending to the edge of the water. The monument was connected to the main land by an elegant bridge. The square terrace forms an ample court with a substantial domed pavilion at each corner. From the centre of the court rises the octagonal tomb building in three gracefully diminishing stages ultimately crowned by a low and wide dome.⁴ The tomb of Sher Shah has been described as thoroughly expressive of Indian genius in building art. The transition from the square to the octagon and from the octagon to the square is smooth and harmonious. Few buildings of the like order

can surpass it in the chaste beauty of its lines, in the dignified harmony of its dimension and in the effective distribution of its huge mass.⁵

Sher Shah also initiated in Delhi a forceful architectural movement that is strongly expressive of his own versatile nature. He laid out a new citadel called the Purana Quila on the site of Indraprastha. Two gateways and a part of the rampart walls now remain together with a notable mosque building—one of the many such elegant ones that once adorned the citadel. The massive rampart walls of rough and rugged masonry along with substantial bastions, bold battlements, machicolations, etc. are expressive of robust strength to which the gateways of dressed sandstone, picked out in white marble and occasionally inset with blue glaz offer a most significant contrast. The main entrance through the western gateway exhibits an exceptionally elegant treatment, illustrative at once of massive vigour and refined grace.⁶ In the marble mosque, Quila-i-Kuhna, all the elements and details have been carefully disposed and harmoniously balanced so as to form one of the outstanding creations of building art. Its supreme excellence lies in the treatment of the facade which consists of five arched entrances of elegant proportions, each within a larger archway by a bold rectangular frame. The central archway is larger than the two flanking it on either side and behind it rises the single dome of the flat Lodi type, crowned by a fluted finial.⁷

The mausoleum of Humayun at Delhi constitutes an important landmark in the history of the building art of the Mughals as heralding the new movement. Erected by his widow, Hāji Begam, during the early period of Akbar's reign, it is one of the most striking monuments of Indo-Muslim architecture. The building is supported on a wide square platform, 22 feet in height, with gracefully

arcaded sides. The arches recall the Persian design and form and the piers are ornamented with inlays of white marble emphasising their graceful lines. The mausoleum building occupies the centre of its arcaded platform and represents a square of 356 foot side with each corner of chamfered and the middle of each side deeply set back. Above rises the white marble dome of a very graceful contour raised upon a substantial drum with a number of pillared kiosks, roofed by small cupolas. Slender turrets surround the tomb at its base and all these arrangements effectively break the skyline.⁸

The tomb of Humayun strikes a new note in the order of funerary monuments in India. We may quote Percy Brown for an assessment of this noble monument, "Perhaps the nearest definition of the architectural style of this monument is that it represents an Indian representation of a Persian conception, as while there is much in its structure that is indigenous, there is, at the same time, much that can only be of Persian inspiration."⁹ Though built during the reign of Akbar, it stands apart from the conception of the emperor.

Akbar fostered a forceful architectural style on a correct understanding and assimilation of the various traditions and ideals, indigenous as well as foreign. He was a man of profound culture, with a fine literary taste, a keen intellectual curiosity and a high aesthetic discernment. During his long reign, he initiated many ambitious architectural projects, and his creations in the field bear the impress of his own remarkable personality and character. From his buildings, it is clear that he did not intend to import a readymade style from Persia or any other country. In conformity with his policy, he wanted the style that he sought to create to have an independent and Indian character.¹⁰ In his buildings, this

ideal of his is fully reflected. The first of the royal residences to be erected by Akbar was the fortress palace at Agra, which was completed in 8 years. In plan the fort takes the shape of an irregular semi-circle lined along the right bank of the river Jamna. The massive enclosure wall consists of a solid red sandstone rampart, nearly 70 feet high and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile in circuit and represents the first application of sized and dressed stone on such a large scale. The Delhi Gate, also known as the Hathi Pol, stands on the western side and forms the principal entrance to the citadel.¹¹ The impress of Gujarati tradition is clear and explicit in the predominantly prevailing system of trabeate construction and also in the exquisite stone carvings.¹² Akbar's buildings at Agra occupied the southern angle of the Agra fort and were lined along the parapet of the eastern wall. Most of these no longer exist. Among those who have escaped destruction, mention may be made of two palace buildings, known respectively as Akbari Mahal, and Jahangiri Mahal. A part of the Akbari Mahal was later demolished in order to accommodate the Jahangiri Mahal. The latter is approximately 261 feet by 288 feet externally and is provided with substantial bastions, crowned by domed cupolas at the four corners. The exterior is relieved by low relief carvings as well as by white marble inlays. The palace is entered by a gateway by a vestibule to an entrance hall whence galleries with sumptuous colonnades run round the courtyard. The view of this interior court with the colonnades on its four sides, richly ornamented as they are, is one of expressive grandeur.¹³

There is a profusion of exquisite carving all over, the plastic quality recalling the indigenous stone-carver's art. The quaint shape, and design of the brackets, the inclined struts supporting the beam of the roof, the pillars with their expanding bases and capitals,

are more appropriate in wooden architecture from which certainly they have been derived in the ultimate analysis. The indigenous craftsmen translated these in stone with ingenious dexterity and the stamp of their work seems undeniable in the methods as well as the decor of the palace. The elephant gateway, the cupolas of Amar Singh's gateway, the palaces rising out of the fort-walls, the planning of these palaces and some of the carved details, all indicate the palace to be a fine specimen of Rajput citadel.¹⁴

The reign of Akbar achieved a fusion of native traditions with those of Iran in the sphere of art. The two-fold influence is revealed in the buildings at Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar built this city in 1569, which is about 23 miles from Agra. It was his capital for about 15 years. It is a concrete expression of his towering personality, ambition and versatile mind. He consolidated the Mughal empire and gave all possible encouragement to the many-sided Mughal culture. Fatehpur Sikri is a document in stone that bears testimony to the catholic mind and exquisite taste of the great king. The main buildings at Sikri are the *Naubat Khānā* (house of minstrel), *Darbar-i-Am* with an open court in the form of a giant *pachchisi* board, the Turkish Sultan's house with its finely carved walls, the *Diwan-i-Khas*, a building of unique design with a central pillar, supporting on its elaborately bracketed capital a circular seat, joined by radiating bridges to the galleries on four sides. It is believed that the emperor occupied the central seat with his counsellors on the four sides. The *Panch Mahal*, a five-storeyed structure of open pavilions is of traditional inspiration and reflects the gay and aspiring mind of the monarch. The Great Mosque, built in 1571, is a magnificent structure. So is the Buland Darwaza, a 170-foot-high structure, which commemorates Akbar's triumphal return from

his Deccan campaign. Sheikh Salim Chisti's tomb of white marble with intricate jāli work is very charming, but was probably redone in Jahangir's time.¹⁵ According to Rene Grausset, "The plan of the sanctuary of the Great Mosque at Fatehpur is copied from that of the Juma at Isfahan. The Buland Darwaza has a classic purity which is quite Persian, allowing for the different materials, which are pink sandstone and white marble; the cupolas which surmount it, however, display Jain influence. Indian and Turko-Iranian traditions are used in similar fashions in the palace of the Turki Sultana, with the *Panch Mahal*, a pavilion with 5 storeys, each smaller than the one below and the *Diwan-i-Khas*, an audience-chamber formed of a single apartment in the middle of which rises an octagonal column surmounted by a gigantic round capital, from the top of which five narrow corridors radiate towards the angles of the buildings. This touch of fancy, these pieces of sheer bravura, which are incompatible with Persian classicism, are directly derived from Hindu and Jain art. The same combination of elements is to be found in the Great Mosque at Agra. The building is charming in its colour-harmony of red sandstone, rosy stone, and white marble and is surmounted by Jain cupolas curiously reminiscent of Mount Abu."¹⁶

Jahangir's contributions to the building art appear to have been rather insignificant when compared to the vast and ambitious projects of his father on the one hand, and those of his son on the other.¹⁷ His inclination was more towards the art of painting than towards building. During the early period of his reign, Jahangir had to take a certain personal interest in building art as the production and completion of the mausoleum, which his father had planned as his last resting place, devolved upon him. Akbar's mausoleum stands at Sikandra, 5 miles west of Agra. The Emperor

did not live to carry his remarkable project to completion, a task that had to be done by his son Jahangir. As it now stands, the mausoleum lacks the homogeneity and balance, which constitute the essential keynotes of Akbar's buildings¹⁸, but there are not a few elements in this structure that are pleasing by themselves when judged separately and independently. The ground storey is itself a noble conception, a powerful structure, but not too heavy, which with the pleasing scale of its different parts, represents a suitable substructure for the support of an impressive superstructure. One may recognise the vigorous and versatile personality of Akbar in the original conception of the monument and it is possible that the lowest storey was completed by him before his death.¹⁹

Towards the end of Jahangir reign was constructed the mausoleum of Itimad-ud-Daula, father of Nur Jahan, the queen of Jahangir. It was erected in 1626. It is situated at Agra, on the left bank of the river Jamna, in a garden enclosed by a wall, measuring 540 feet each way and pierced by red sandstone gateways, one in the middle of each side. In spite of dwarf heights of the corner turrets, there is an effect of balance and harmony in the design and composition of the structure, the projecting cornices supported on brackets providing further a co-ordinated sense of relation between the horizontal and vertical aspects of the building. The ornaments are also in elegant taste, being accessory to the structure and its various lineaments and in spite of their rich character, they have no overburdening appearance on the building.²⁰

The tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula is of significant interest in the history of Mughal architecture as supplying a link between its two important phases, namely those of Akbar and of Shah Jahan. It represents the transition from the red sandstone phase of Akbar's

buildings with their direct simplicity and robustness of design to that of the sumptuous marble with all the changes inherent therein.²¹

Under Shah Jahan, Mughal architecture reached its culminating point. The style of his reign is characterised by a new wave of Persian inspiration, but we should bear in mind that the buildings that he constructed are distinguished from those of Isfahan and Constantinople by the use of white marble enhanced in decoration by hard-coloured stones—agates onyx, jasper, carnelian, etc. At the same time, the taste of these buildings tends in the direction of a noble simplicity and a truly feminine elegance.²² The principal monuments of this period are the Jama Masjid and the Red Fort at Delhi, and the Taj Mahal at Agra.

The grand Jama Masjid at Delhi forms also an essential element of the city of Shah Jahanabad laid out by Shah Jahan. It is of the usual orthodox plan of an open courtyard with ranges of cloisters on three sides and the prayer chamber on the west. The courtyard has in the centre a reservoir of water for ritualistic ablution and is approached by three gateways, one in the middle of each cloistered side. Its impressiveness is due to the vast scale in which it has been designed, and the admirable manner in which each part has been disposed and adjusted in relation to the other. The entire scheme is raised over a lofty terraced basement with majestic flights of steps leading to the imposing gateways that tower above their surroundings. Added to these are the substantial corner turrets, each with a domed pavilion at the top and the minarets, flanking the facade of the prayer chamber, which impart an effect of noble height and dignity to the external appearance of the composition.²³

The Red Fort is planned in the shape of a parallelogram with its angles slightly canted

off, and measures 3200 feet by 1600 feet, exclusive of the gateways. It is encircled by a massive rampart wall of red sandstone that is relieved at intervals by boldly projecting bastions with domed kiosks on the roof. It has two main gates—one in the middle of the western wall, known as Lahore Gate, and the other known as Delhi Gate. Inside stands the *Naubat Khānā* (music pavilion), a double storeyed building that leads to another great rectangular court, 550 feet by 385 feet, with the hall of Diwan-i-Am at its eastern apex.²⁴

It is difficult to describe each and every element of the Red Fort. The palaces and halls along the eastern wall represent the most resplendent creations in white marble, and on these the highest skill was lavished—particularly in decorative treatment. With a succession of turrets, kiosks, golden domes, projecting balconies, overhanging the sandstone ramparts, they present a fine view from the river. The three towers—Asad Burz and Shah Burz at the two corners, and Musamman Burz in the middle—raising up their heads above the tops of other structures impart an attractive variety to the skyline along the river front. All combined, we have in the sumptuous layout and arrangement of the palace area, a confirmation of the Persian couplet inscribed on the Diwan-i-Khas, that “if there is a paradise on the face of the earth, it is this, it is this, it is this.”²⁵

Two buildings representative of the style may briefly be mentioned here for an idea of the grandeur and brilliance of this sumptuous palace conception. One of them is the Diwan-i-Khas (hall of private audience), which is an open colonnaded hall of one storey enclosed at the back by marble trellises. The front consists of a fine arcade of five foliated arches springing from massive piers with similar arches of varying sizes on the two sides. The interior is divided into bays and aisles by

massive piers carrying foliated arches that support the flat roof. At the top may be seen a beautiful kiosk at each corner. Fergusson considers the splendid hall to be "if not the most beautiful, certainly the most highly ornamented of all Shah Jahan's buildings."²⁶

The second building is the Rang Mahal, described as the "crowning jewel of Shah Jahan's seraglio" by a modern critic. It is sumptuous in appearance and confirms the statement of the court chronicles that "in excellence and glory it surpasses the eight-sided throne of heaven, and in lustre and colour it is far superior to the palaces in the promised paradise."²⁷ Sayyid Ahmad Khan gives a picturesque account of the Rang Mahal. According to him, the Rang Mahal "has a tank the beauty of which baffles description. It is made of marble and fashioned in such a way that it resembles a full-blown flower. Its inlay of flowers and foliages in various coloured stones has been so finely executed that it is beyond the power of any one to describe it. Although the tank is seven gaz square, yet it is of very little depth. It is just like the palm of a hand. The particular beauty of this is that, when it is full of rippling water, the foliage of the inlay work appears to wave to and fro. In its centre is a beautiful flower like a cup of marble; moreover, on each curving point and arched cusp, flowers and leaves of coloured stones spring from creeping plants, and creeping plants from flowers and leaves. Within the cup you will find a hole through which the water bubbles up from a hidden channel underneath. The sheet of water falling from the edges of the cup and the waving of the plants and flowers under the dancing water are nothing less than a scene of magic."²⁸

However, the master-piece of Shah Jahan's art remains the Taj Mahal at Agra, begun by the prince in 1646 as a tomb for his beloved wife, Mumtaz Mahal, and completed in 1653.

It is a poem in marble, a romantic conception of heavenly beauty on earth. It is unique in the world for the abiding impression it leaves on the beholder's mind. The Taj is a joy forever and for any imaginative visitor, a rare aesthetic experience. It is located on the bank of Jamna at Agra, in a rectangular enclosure aligned north and south, measuring 1900 feet by 1000 feet. The main tomb occupying the centre is placed on a platform, which is 28 feet high with four cylindrical minarets at the corners, rising in three stages and topped by graceful kiosks. The white marble tomb in the centre of the platform is surmounted by a great bulbous dome resplendent like a giant pearl under the moonlit sky. The four corners of the tomb's building are beautified by two-storeyed wings topped by four cupolas, which gradually lead the eye along the bulge of the dome to its top which is 187 feet high. A fascinating feature, and also an integral part of the planning is the garden with its water channels, lotus pools, colourful flower beds and trees. The monument fully mirrors the deep adoration of Shah Jahan for the feminine beauty enshrined inside. The building was designed by a Persian named Ustad Isa, and the rich talents of Indian workmen contributed to the realisation of the royal dream.²⁹

By its stately and perfect proportions, the delicacy and purity of its lineaments, its milk-white texture assuming different hues and tones at different times and under different conditions, the flawless execution of the structure and of its varied ornaments, and, lastly, by its picturesque setting aided by the ingenuity of man, the Taj Mahal at Agra stands as a creation of superb beauty and magnificence not only in Mughal architecture but in Indian architecture as a whole.³⁰

The Taj has such purity of line that one would be inclined to attribute it to the genius of a single master. It was, however, the work

of a whole group of them, and its peerless harmony is due to a blend of the most varying influences.

Aurangzeb's accession to the throne marks the end of the rich harvest in building art.³¹ The reign of Aurangzeb saw the rapid dissolution of the Mughal architectural style. According to Fergusson, "There are few things more startling in the history of this style than the rapid decline of taste that set in with the accession of Aurangzeb." The productions of Aurangzeb's reign are few and are of a decidedly inferior quality.³²

Two mosques erected during his reign deserve brief mention. The first is Moti Masjid within the Delhi Fort. It is a small but graceful structure in marble of the most polished kind. The carved eave over the central archway of the sanctuary is noteworthy, and curves seem to predominate also in the rounded contours of the dome. It appears to reflect in the early part of Aurangzeb's reign, to a certain extent, the flavour of Shah Jahan's buildings. The Jami mosque at Lahore, built in 1674 by Aurangzeb's master of ordnanceca *Fida-i-khān-Kūka*, is a more vigorous composition and has an imposing appearance inspite of the partial collapse of a few of its minarets, which constituted the chief features of its design.

The tomb of Aurangzeb's queen Rabya-ud-Daurani at Aurangabad illustrates in a pathetic manner the rapid deterioration of the Mughal architectural style. Erected in 1679 it is a frank imitation of the Taj Mahal at Agra, though on a much smaller scale. The difference between this tomb, known as the Deccani Taj Mahal, and Shah Jahan's masterpiece is striking in view of so short an interval that separated the two monuments, and shows in an effective manner the rapid decay and impoverishment of the style. The composition lacks, however, the subtle and satisfying proportions of the prototype, and the

weak foliations of the arches and meaningless ornaments stream all over the surface of the monument lending it almost an insipid appearance. Compared to the Taj Mahal, the Tomb of Rabya-ud-Daurani is a very mediocre production which as Fergusson says, 'narrowly escapes vulgarity and bad taste.'³⁴

Mughal Paintings

The foundation of Mughal painting was laid by Humayun during the years of his exile in Persia and Afghanistan. It was mainly due to the coincidence of the Shah of Persia—Shah Tahmasp's increasing disinterest in the arts for religious bigotry, and Humayun's unexpected presence in Persia that the services of the two of Persia's greatest masters, Mir Sayyid Ali and Abdus-Samad, could be secured by the Mughal emperor. They started to work at the temporary Mughal capital at Kabul where young Akbar was also enlisted to have lessons in painting from them. Both the masters followed Hymayun to Delhi when he was able to recover the lost throne of Hindustan and continued to work after organising a flourishing art establishment for Akbar.³⁵ The most important work produced in the Mughal studio in the first few years of its existence is the unusual manuscript *Dāstān-i-Amir Hamzā*, better known as the *Hamzā-nāmā*. The completed work consisted of nearly 1200 paintings drawn in bold and vivid colours. Unfortunately only a small fragment of the work has survived and that too is widely distributed among various collections in Europe and America, with only three or four folios and a few detached fragments in Indian collections.³⁶ The work was probably completed by 1575-76 A.D. The complicated compositions consisting of architectural details, interiors of palaces, forts or pavilions, and armies of attendants, heroes or women in vivid and violent action show a remarkable

grasp on treatment and technique show a remarkable grasp on treatment and technique. Exotic plants with colourful flowers and foliages and minute details of architectural decorations and furniture etc., characterise the paintings of the *Hamzanāma*.³⁷

With Akbar's increasing interest in religion and his insatiable desire to go into the depths of various religions, the extent and scope of his library was enlarged. The books which were written at Akbar's request or demand were illustrated by the painters. Besides the two Persian pioneers, a large number of Indian painters were employed in the studio and placed under them were many who in course of time, became celebrated masters. Abul-Fazl mentions the names of fifteen painters—Daswant, Baswan, Kesav Lal..., Mukund, Mishkin, Farrukh Qalmaq, Madhu, Jagan, Mahes, Khem Karan, Tārā, Sānwala, Haribans, and Rām, who became outstanding masters of art amongst more than a 100 painters most of whom were Hindus. Akbar was personally impressed by the works of a humble painter named Daswant, the son of a Kahār or pālki-bearer who was helped to become the first master of the age. The only manuscript in which paintings drawn by this celebrated painter is to be found is the *Razmnāma*, now preserved in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur.³⁸ After the *Razmnāma*, a number of illustrated manuscripts were prepared in the imperial atelier which include the *Rāmāyaṇa* completed in November 1588.³⁹ The miniatures included in these manuscripts constitute numerous excellent examples of miniature paintings prepared in Mughal studio. In respect of compositional unity and distribution of space and colour, they reveal a masterly command over technique and a mature and lively interest in man and nature. The paintings also reveal a superb blending

of heterogeneous Persian, Pre-Mughal Islamic and indigenous Deccanese and European artistic elements into a concerted and well-blended style which became typical of the developed Akbari idiom.⁴⁰

Another important development took place during these years which led to a rapid change in the style of Mughal paintings. Prince Salim started a new studio under an emigre Harati painter named Aqa-Riza, which worked in full swing at Agra and during the years of Salim's rebellion at Allahabad, and brought about a minor artistic revolution. The paintings of these manuscripts show a certain simplicity, and rustic charm, which are rare in the refined and sophisticated productions of the Akbari atelier. The colour tones are generally very subdued and the composition rather simple. Besides these manuscripts sumptuous *Muraqqa's* or albums were compiled by his painters in which the collection of Persian masterpieces by Bihzad etc., European engravings and Akbari production, along with calligraphic panels written by Mir Ali, Sultan Ali, etc. were used as centre-pieces, while the margins of the folios were embellished with floral designs, landscape patterns and miniature pictures of everyday scenes and, important personalities.⁴¹

The trend started in his princely days was vigorously pursued by Jahangir, and Mughal painting reached its logical culmination in the course of his reign. He helped it to be free from its bond with the texts of manuscripts and it was his desire to have a small group of master painters, each highly specialised in one or more branches of the art, who could prepare pictures of persons or groups or themes selected by him and pulsating with life. Later on, he became interested in portraits and had a large number of portraits of the members of the royal family, dignitaries of the court,

important persons in the fields of religion, literature, music, art, etc. He even sent his leading portraitist, Bishndas, to Iran with his envoy Shah Alam for a set of lifelike portraits of the Shah, his nobles and family members.⁴²

Jahangir was keen to preserve a faithful account of his activities and important events in the form of a memoir and commanded his painters to prepare pictorial records of important festivals, assemblies as well as of unusual interesting birds, animals or flowers seen and appreciated by him.⁴³

Mention should be made here about the impact of the European art on the development of Mughal painting. In 1580, the first Jesuit mission came to Fatehpur Sikri from Goa on special invitation of Akbar. Along with other things, the Jesuit Fathers presented European prints and engravings of Christian subject-matter which were appreciated and received with much enthusiasm by the Mughals, especially Prince Salim. These European art objects made the Mughal painters realise their own short-comings and within a short time a few of them drew inspiration from these. In the next stage, the Mughal painters introduced occasional European figures and scenes in their own works—with a considerable improvement on the technique of shadowing, modelling and perspective. In order to relieve the monotony of their flat bird's-eye-view perspective, they started introducing replicas of European cityscapes and landscapes with occasional figures of European men and women in the distant background. These features became quite evident in such early works as the Jaipur Razmnāma and Rāmāyaṇa, Tārikh-i-Alfi, Bāhārīstan, etc. Under Jahangir, the painters went far ahead and adopted many European religious motifs and symbols in their effort to evolve a new iconography.⁴⁴

Mughal painting lost much of its glamour and refinement and reached a torpid stage

within a few years after Jahangir's death. Though Shah Jahan was interested in good miniatures in his princely days and maintained his preference for miniatures and illustrated manuscripts during the first few years after his accession, much of his enthusiasm later was reserved for architecture. He devoted his whole-hearted energy and interest for architectural monuments of unique delicacy and beauty.⁴⁵

The production of Shah Jahan's atelier displays an extravagant richness in decorative details and colours that takes away the lively vigour and freshness so evident in Jahangiri paintings. The period of decay had already set in and Mughal painting deteriorated into conventionalism and lifeless repetition of a set formula. Aurangzeb hastened this process of decadence by his bigotry and hatred against the art of painting.⁴⁶

Deccanese Paintings

Brief and glorious developments were taking place in the Deccan at Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar. The style of painting prepared at these Deccanese kingdoms was highly refined and sophisticated with a brilliant colour scheme and rich decorative details that differ considerably from the general style of Mughal painting. The earliest Deccanese paintings discovered so far are to be found in an unfinished manuscript of *Tārīf-i-Husain Shāhī* in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. These were painted between 1565-69. The remarkable palette of blue, gold, mauve, pink, red and yellow with tall and stately ladies clad in colourful sārīs and the happy intermingling of idea and expression make these paintings unique in the history of Indian art. Some *Rāgas* and *Rāginīs* were prepared at Bijapur during the last decade of the sixteenth century from which the solitary example of *Hindola Rāga*

in the National Museum, Delhi, may be easily regarded as one of the finest musical paintings ever painted. The well-known encyclopaedic work *Nujum-ul-ulin* dated 1570 in the Chester Beatty Library containing 876 illustrations of different sizes was also probably prepared at Bijapur.⁴⁷

The enlightened rulers of Bijapur, Ali Ādil Shāh I and his successor Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II provided good patronage for the development of art and music, and lent the school of Bijapur its poetic charm and delicacy. A series of great portrait studies painted at Bijapur show a feeling of intense liveliness and exotic romanticism, which are rarely found in Mughal portrait studies. The colour scheme is worked out meticulously to make these studies so strikingly effective. Interesting portraits were also prepared in Golconda during the first half of the 17th century from where equally striking pieces of painted textiles were manufactured and exported.⁴⁸

From about the middle of the seventeenth century, these important centres of Deccanese paintings seem to have ceased to produce good paintings though inferior examples continued to be painted for many more years.

Rajasthani Paintings

The pictorial art of Rajasthan (16th-17th century) shows the Indian genius in its pure form and must appeal intimately to those who are attracted by the theme of love and devotion. Rajasthani pictorial art shows all that is best and of universal appeal in the emotional life of the Indian people. Love is conceived as a means and symbol of all union. The lovers represented are always Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa typifying the eternal motif of man and woman and revealing, in every day events, their heavenly image. These Rajasthani paintings have one lesson for us that what we cannot

discover at home and in familiar events, we cannot discover anywhere. The holy land is a land of our own experience and if beauty is not apparent to us in the well-known, we shall not find it in things that are strange and far-away.

The women of these paintings are true to the ideals of feminine beauty—large lotus eyes, flowing tresses, slender waists and rosy hands. The heart of a Hindu woman with all its devotion and emotional intensity is fully-reflected in these paintings.⁴⁹

The common subject-matter of these paintings is the cycle of Kṛṣṇa legends, Śṛṅgāra or the sentiment of love expressing itself in the erotic motifs of heroes and heroines, union of Śiva and Pārvatī, scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, ballads and romantic poems such as *Hammīra Haṭha* and *Nala-Damayanti*, seasons (*Bārāmāsā*) portraiture and last but not the least, *Rāgamālās*.⁵⁰

The *Rāgamālas* (garlands of musical modes) as expressed in painting provide a group of subjects with unlimited opportunities for artistic treatment. The best examples of *Rāgamālās* belong to the seventeenth century and are characterised by singular tenderness and lyrical grace giving them the title to be reckoned amongst the best pictorial works ever produced in India. The idea of associating music with painting is unique to Indian art. Each *Rāga* or *Rāginī* has for its burden an emotional situation based on some mood of love, either in union or in separation. The picture of a *Rāga* is a visual representation of this state of mind, treating the material world and nature as a mirror of this mood. The names of the *Rāgas* are linked to their geographical distribution. For example, the *Todī Ragini* takes its name from South India (ancient Tondī). Its pictorial representation

is usually of a charming woman playing the *vīṇā*, an instrument characteristic of the South that attracts bright coloured deer. The imagery is transparent showing a maiden whose blossoming youth has just begun to inspire love in the hearts of the young lovers.

The different *Rāgas* were appropriated to different seasons connecting certain strains with certain ideas. The six *ragas*—*Bhairava*, *Mālava*, *Srīrāga*, *Hindola* or *Vasanta*, *Dīpakā* and *Megha*—each of whom is wedded to five *Rāginis* or nymphs of harmony, present wonderfully diversified images for the play of the artist's genius.⁵¹

Himachal Paintings

The inspiration and subject-matter that gave birth to Rājasthānī painting was also responsible for the production of Pahāri paintings (paintings produced in the sub-Himalayan states of Jammu, Basohli, Chambā, Nūrpur, Kāngra, Kullū, Maṇḍī and Suket). The ever-present theme of Himalayan art is Kṛṣṇa at his boyhood pranks and his amours with Rādhā. Dance and music in sylvan surroundings is a recurrent motif of this school. The paintings of Basohli show unusual brilliance of colour and animated expression. rhythm, spacious composition and brilliant colour harmonies entitle them to a very high place amongst the Pahāri masterpieces. The paintings of Kāngra exhibit the fine workmanship of Mughal miniatures. Their tones are subdued and the lines are exquisitely fine and melodious, especially in the flaming beauty of female figures illustrating the delicate graces of Indian womanhood.

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QUESTIONS

1. What was the indirect influence of the personalities and experience of Babar and Humayun on the subsequent art of India?
2. Show how the buildings constructed by Sher Shah clearly exemplify his ideals of and attitude towards building art. Discuss their chief features and their importance in the history of development of Indo-Muslim architecture.
3. Discuss the chief features of the architecture of the mausoleum of Humayun at Delhi.
4. Discuss the various factors which led to the formation of Akbar's Indo-Islamic architectural style.
5. Describe the chief features of the architecture and sculptive of the Agra fort. Also give examples of some buildings in the fort in support of your answer.
6. Explain how the buildings constructed by Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri show that he achieved a fusion of native traditions with those of Iran in the sphere of art.
7. Discuss how Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra and the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula show that Jahangir's contribution to the building art was rather insignificant when compared to the vast and ambitious perfects of his father, on the one hand, and those of his son, on the other.
8. Discuss the chief features of Mughal architecture in the time of Shah Jahan and give examples in support of your answer.
9. The Diwan-i-khas and the Rang Mahal in the Red Fort at Delhi are described 'as the most ornamented of all Shah Jahan's buildings' and 'The crowning jewel of Shah Jahan's seraglio' respectively by modern critics. Bring out the brilliance of these two buildings by giving a brief but-critical account of these two buildings.
10. 'The Taj Mahal is a poem in marble, a romantic conception of heavenly beauty on earth.' Give a critical account of its architecture and picturesque setting to bring out its two aspects mentioned in the above quotation.
11. "The tomb of Aurangzeb's queen Rabia-ud-Durani at Aurangabad. Illustrates in a pathetic manner the rapid deterioration of the Mughal architecture." Bring out the correctness of the above statement by discussing the architecture of the buildings.
12. Describe the subjects of the paintings of *Hamzānamā*.
13. Mention the names of important illustrated manuscripts produced in the time of Akbar. Also describe the subjects and quality of paintings in these manuscripts.
14. Discuss the character of the minor revolution brought about by Jahangir in the field of Mughal painting.
15. Describe critically the impact of the European art on the development of Mughal paintings.
16. Discuss the character of the paintings in Shah Jahan's atelier.
17. Discuss the character of the Deccanese paintings and bring out how these paintings differ from those of the Mughal style of painting.
18. Elucidate how the Rajasthan's paintings of the 16th to 19th century show the Indian genius in its pure form mention the themes and character of these paintings.
19. Describe critically the theme and character of Pahari paintings.

Chapter 26

Art in the Modern Period

Architecture

E.B. Havell starts the description of modern architecture since 1728. According to him, modern Rajput architecture may be said to have begun with the building of the city of Jaipur in 1728. The plan of the city of Jaipur is especially interesting at a time when town-planning was regarded as a recent invention of European science, for this Indian city is one of those which has not grown up irregularly by gradual accretion : it was laid out at its foundation on a scientific plan according to the traditions of Hindu city builders and the direction of their canonical books called the *śilpa-śāstras*.¹

The palace of Suraj Mall at Dig, the capital of Bharatpur state, was commenced in his life time about 1725 AD. The principal block, Gopala Bhawan was finished about 1750 AD. It combines the elegance of Shah Jahan's palaces with the more robust character of Rajput architecture and being better adapted to the amenities of modern life than the earlier fortress-palaces of Rajputana, it is especially interesting to the modern architect. It contains the great *Dīwān-i-ām* or public reception-hall, which faces the garden front in the south. The terraced roof is given more than its usual importance as a place of promenade in the cool of the evening by the omission of domes and cupolas and by being extended on all four sides beyond the walls of the building by a bracketed parapet of pierced stone-work. The combination of this parapet with the usual wide

drip-stone beneath it, which protects the walls from rain and sun, formed the strikingly characteristic cornice of the whole building. The Gopala Bhawan is built of red sandstone and the foliated Hindu arches, hitherto rarely used in Rajput palaces, showing that Suraj Mall gave employment to the craftsmen who since the time of Aurangzeb had ceased to work at the Mughal court.²

The construction of these wide openings on the bracket principle, in two blocks of stone is the simplest, most practical and the most artistic way of dealing with a form when good building stone of sufficient size is easily available.³

The private apartments of the Gopala Bhawan occupy the north, east and west sides of the building. The north front faces a large bathing-tank and is charmingly diversified by a number of balconies and two large open pavilions with typical Bengali roofs. The Dig palace evidences the migration of Bengali craftsmen into Rajputana where the characteristic bent roofs and cornices of Gaur were adopted by Rajput builders and still belong to local craft tradition. Modern architecture of Rajputana presents varied local types, racy styles of the soil and of the sturdy independence of Rajput people who are still proud of their past history and attached to their own culture and living traditions.⁴

The domestic architecture of Rajputana remains on the whole a strong living craft. Not only in Rajputana and Central India, but over the greater part of India, it is still true, what

Fergusson wrote 30 years ago "that if Indians of upper classes could be persuaded to take a pride in their own art, their master-builders could even now rival the work of their forefathers." A rich merchant's house in Bikaner is a superb example of modern domestic architecture of Rajputana which often shows a much finer architectural quality than the palatial buildings of the ruling princes.⁵

For over 50 years the Public Works Department has made an official monopoly of building official buildings in British India. They have been applying to these buildings their own dry as dust, formularies culled from Macaulay's book-shelf and the products of this system used so largely in the life of British India that the very existence of the Indian master-builder is forgotten.⁶ That which is called architecture in these official buildings is merely a mechanical process, originally invented by the dilettante of Renaissance in Europe for tricking out the business arrangements of the Anglo-Indian administration in tinsel adornments called styles.⁷ The European dilettante who rule India do not generally know that any system other than this is possible or desirable.⁸

There has been in the last few years considerable activity in temple building in southern India. Many of the great Hindu temple foundations gave permanent employment to master-builders learned in the *śilpa-sāstras* and the donations by pious Hindus towards building of new temples as well as orthodox Muhammadans for building of mosques, helped to keep alive the traditions of Indian architecture and many of the crafts dependent on it.⁹ Temple craftsmanship is the foundation of all the great architecture of India, secular as well as religious. In modern conditions, however, temple building gives little opportunity for structural experiments on a large scale, which is indispensable for the free

development of whole science and art of building. In domestic architecture, the Indian master-builder over the greater part of the country still remains in undisturbed possession.¹⁰

The above description of the state of modern Indian architecture in 1913 by E. B. Havell shows that under British rule the government engineers did not give any opportunity to Indian craftsmen to develop their art. Artists, in the real sense of the term, ceased to appear. The descendants of old architects, craftsmen and painters displayed a vitiated taste during the first half of the nineteenth century and became bad imitators of Western style. The Qaisar Bagh of Wajid Ali Shah at Lucknow and the Chattar Manzil of Nasiruddin Haidar, constructed of brick and plaster, and the huge styleless buildings by the rich men of our country and also the Public Works Department of the British Government in India, are examples of this meaningless imitation. Gradually, however, there has been a desire to give up this imitation and jumble of things foreign and to introduce a new style, which though not exactly of the traditional Rajput and Mughal styles, is by a mingling of western and eastern ideas and models of buildings, and based upon the adaptation of modern science and examples to the Indian conditions and needs. In this new architecture, a clear lead has been given by the New Delhi and the London India House workers including Rajput, Mughal, Bombay and Bengali talent, and by Calcutta civil engineers, who in the course of the last few years have turned out building plans and architectural motifs of a distinctly Indian type while they are not slavish revivals.¹¹

Now a brief account of the foundation, development and architecture of the four metropolitan cities of modern India, Madras, Bombay (now Mumbai), Calcutta (now Kolkata) and New Delhi is given.

Madras

In India, the acquisition of Madras and Bombay marked important stages in the development of East India Company's trading activities. The English first landed at Masulipatam in 1611 and obtained permission of the local governor for the erection of a fortified factory in 1613. But on account of the rivalry of the Dutch, the project had to be given¹² up and Francis Day, one of the members of Council of Masulipatam selected a narrow strip of land three miles to the north of San Thome for the construction of a fort.¹³ The area secured was six miles long and a mile broad. Without waiting for permission from England, Day began the building of the fort St. George in 1640. The directors ignorant of the conditions of trade in the east continued to hold Day responsible and thought that the building of Fort St. George as a very indiscreet act.¹⁴

Another important building built at Madras during the reign of the British Government was the High Court building, which is in Georgetown, which was the name given to the small town that arose near Fort St. George. It seems to have been built in the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture. It is the largest judicial building in the world after the courts buildings in London. St. Mary's Church was built also at Madras in 1678-80, which is the oldest Church building constructed in India.

Bombay

The island of Bombay was given to Charles II in 1661 as part of the dowry of their princess, Catherine of Braganza on her marriage to him.¹⁵ In September 1668, the island was transferred to East India Company by a royal charter for annual rent of £ 10. Gerald Aungier was the president of Surat and governor of Bombay from 1669 to 1677. Under Aungier,

Bombay became a safe asylum for all merchants and manufactures. He established vigorous and strict discipline over all the inhabitants of the city and allowed every community to enjoy the free exercise of its religion without molestation. Bombay became the best naval station on the Indian coast and a harbour of refuge from the Marathas and the pirates of the Malabar coast under him.¹⁶ During the governorship of Rolt (1677-82), Bombay's very existence as an English settlement hung in balance, because the islands in the neighbourhood were occupied by the Mughals or Marathas. The British tried to rise against Mughal oppression by force in 1686, but failed completely against Aurangzeb and he imposed humiliating terms upon the English before allowing them to continue their activities.¹⁷

The Parsis built their first Tower of Silence in 1665. This tower was built to lay dead bodies within the tower to be picked clean by vultures as the Parsis do not cremate or bury their dead bodies. The High Court building in Bombay was completed in 1878. The statues of Justice and Mercy top the huge building. The Hanging Gardens are situated on top of the Malabar Hill. They were laid out in 1881. Marine Drive (now known as Netaji Subhas Road) was built in 1920 on land reclaimed from the sea. The Prince of Wales Museum building was completed in 1923. It is also built in the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture. St. John Church was built in 1847. It is dedicated to the soldiers who died in the Sind War of 1838 and the first Afghan war of 1843.

Calcutta

The English could not remain at Hughli on account of the ill-treatment they received at the hands of the Mughal officers. Job Charnock tried three places on the Hughli river before he fixed upon Sutanuti. He found that

the English factory at Hughli was threatened on all sides by the Mughal troops in October 1686. He escaped with his troops on board and dropped down the river at the site of modern Calcutta. However in 1690, Charnock received letters from Ibrahim Khan, the new governor of Bengal, inviting him to return to Bengal, Charnock accepted the offer and landed at Sutanuti on August 24, 1690. On this day he founded the city of Calcutta.¹⁸ In 1700, the directors of the East India Company constituted Bengal as a separate presidency independent of Madras. Aurangzeb's death in 1707 made the English at Calcutta fear that their growing trade would be swept away by the coming tide of civil war and anarchy. Efforts were made to strengthen the fort, and two new bastions were built by the river side. After protracted negotiations, the English got confirmation of their privileges from the new emperor Shah Alam and the *de facto* ruler of Bengal Murshid Quli Khan.¹⁹ Calcutta was the capital of British India till 1911, when the capital was shifted to Delhi. The foundations of Fort William were laid in 1758 and it was completed in 1781. The area cleared around the Fort became the Maidan, which served as the lungs of contemporary Calcutta. Indian Museum was built in 1875 and the Raj Bhavan, which is the old British Government House was constructed between 1799 and 1805 by Lord Wellesley. South of Dalhousie Square is the Church of St. John, which was built in 1787. It has many interesting monuments in its graveyard, including the mausoleum of Job Charnock who died in 1692. St. Paul's Cathedral was built between 1839 and 1847. It is one of the most important churches in India. The Town Hall was completed in 1872. It has a tower 55 metres high. At the southern end of the Maidan stands the Victoria Memorial, which is a large white marble building and shows a combination of classical European and Mughal architectures. This

monument was completed in 1921. The Writers Building that houses the Secretariat of West Bengal government was built in 1880.

All the buildings erected during the British rule in these three metropolitan cities (barring a few) were built from a utilitarian point of view. They did not have so to say an important place in the history of the architecture of India. Neither did they try to give impetus to the craftsmen who had created world-famous monuments like the Taj Mahal at Agra under Shah Jahan nor did they follow the latest developments in European architecture. They were constructed mostly by engineers employed by the British Government who, as E. B. Havell says, constructed official buildings by applying to these buildings their own dry as dust formularies culled from Macaulay's bookshelf.²⁰

He sums up the character of buildings constructed by engineers employed by the British government in its Public Works Department in the following words :

"It is really the modern Anglo-Indian buildings, 'designed' according to the archaeological rules of the paper-architect—often ignoring conditions of climate, site, local materials, and local craftsmanship—which are deadly in their monotony and lack all the essentials of real architecture."²¹

Before discussing the architecture of New Delhi, we shall refer to two buildings whose architecture throws light on the conditions that prevailed towards the end of the Mughal empire.

The *Jantar Mantar* or Delhi Observatory on Parliament street was built by Maharaja Jai Singh of Jaipur in 1710 AD. He was a keen astronomer who studied Hindu, Muslim and European astronomical works. He found that the astronomical tables then being used by the pandits were defective, so that the actual times of eclipses etc., were different from the times stated in the tables. He thought that

this was due to the fact that the existing instruments were small and faulty. He therefore built large instruments of his own invention. Thus this observatory was built by him in Delhi similar to those in Jaipur, Ujjain, Benaras and Mathura. As a result of his work, the tables were corrected and the predictions were now correct.²² This observatory shows how the ruler of Jaipur could get a building constructed under his supervision which could be architecturally so perfect that the calculations were not incorrect.

Safdarjang's Tomb was built in 1753-54 by the Nawab of Awadh for his father Safdarjang. The materials used in the buildings of the Tomb are of poor quality. When Safdarjang was alive, he used it as his residence. After his death, the rooms round the Tomb were used for entertainment and not for residence. This is the reason why the pavilions were built. This complex also housed a *madarsa* and even today, it is known as *Safdarjang Madarsa* and not as *Safdarjang Maqbara*. In his time, the pavilions had different names such as Jangli Mahal in the west, Moti Mahal in the north and Badshah Pasand in the south. The Nawab of Awadh failed to get the building constructed by craftsmen who built the Mughal buildings and did not use the material suitable for Delhi. It is why the tomb is not in good condition.²³

New Delhi

New Delhi was planned by two architects—Sir Edwin Lutyens and Sir Herbert Baker. The style of the principal buildings is classical (Greek). There are pillars and domes, but with very few arches. Even if there are arches, they are round and not pointed. While the style is classical, the details of the buildings are Indian. For example, in the Secretariat and the Rashtrapati Bhavan, the columns are like those used at Sārnāth by Aśoka. There are

stone and marble screens (*jālis*). All this work was done by Indian masons, some of whom came from Agra and were the descendents of the craftsmen who built Akbar's palace in the Fort. Some came from Jaipur and others from other parts of Rajasthan where the traditions of medieval architecture continue upto the present times.²⁴

The planning of the city was such as to make it beautiful. The architects had arranged that all the main streets should have beautiful vistas or views at their ends. The Raj Path (Kingsway) has the Rashtrapati Bhavan (the Viceroy's House) at one end and Purana Qila at the other. Parliament Street had the view of the Jāmā masjid, and so on.²⁵ If we start from the New Delhi railway station towards Connaught Place, just in front of the station was the Lady Hardinge Sarai, which is now a women's hostel and has a dark-red domed building, which is built in the Mughal style. On the side of the station near Connaught Place is the Lady Hardinge Medical College. At the end of Parliament street is Sansad Bhavan (Parliament House), which has a great stone railing that is a copy of those built by Aśoka at the great *stūpa* of Sāñchī, outside it. Inside, you have the buildings of the Lok Sabhā and the Rājya Sabhā. The internal decoration is very fine. Outside the building, there are stone lamundosts which are copies of the Mughal lamp-posts at Agra.²⁶

The Secretariat buildings have *chhatris* in the Mughal style. There are also carved elephants and bell ornaments, which are copied from Hindu architecture. The Secretariat was designed by Sir Herbert Baker.²⁷

The Rashtrapati Bhavan is the best proportioned building in New Delhi. It is 600 feet long, 180 feet wide, bigger than any palace of the Indian princes, probably to show that it is the Indian jewel in the British crown. The dome is especially fine. In front is the column

presented by the Maharaja of Jaipur, on top of which is the Star of India—a copy of the decoration of the Order of the Star of India but with six points instead of five. Behind Rashtrapati Bhavan is a beautiful Mughal garden.²⁸

From Connaught Place, if we start towards Willingdon Crescent, we reach the Talkatora Garden. It is the place where the Marathas fought a battle with the Mughals in 1738. On the other end of Willingdon Crescent, we have the Teen Murti Bhavan (Commander-in-Chief's House). It was the residence of Jawaharlal Nehru when he was the Prime Minister of India. It now houses the Nehru Memorial Museum, a planetarium, a library of modern history and an auditorium.²⁹

Lutyens built Hyderabad House, Baroda House (now headquarters of Northern Railway), Bikaner House (now Rajasthan Tourism Office), Jaipur House (now National Gallery of Modern Art) and Patiala House (now a part of Law Courts of Delhi).³⁰

After Independence, most of the architects who were called upon to produce a number of buildings in a short space of time between 1950 and 1960 did not draw on the decorative designs of Indian architecture. They were seduced by the Modern Movement and the joys of reinforced concrete to produce Delhi buildings. Some of these buildings were good, even excellent, examples of this type, Yugoslav Embassy, India International Centre, Polish Embassy, Sri Ram Centre, State Trading Corporation building and the Khel Gaon Marg NCDC building.

In all these buildings, however, there was a tendency to subordinate individuality and nationality.³² All the buildings are of a standard pattern. Actually, this standard pattern was one of the few merits of this style. It has a kind of harmony and unity.

Later, there was a reaction against the sterility of these buildings and the architects

have planning regulations in Delhi only to exercise the feeblest control over the built environment. But there are some honest attempts to copy a foreign style wholesale, such as Friends Colony, which is modelled on the handsome Papal Nunciature in Chanakyapuri or Shanti-Niketan-Chateau. But these buildings were not designed for the Indian climate. The architects should have adapted the design of these buildings to Indian conditions by having full-scale *chhajjas* or *jalis* or *jharokhas*.³³ Some architects have succeeded in drawing on the heritage of the past to create a style of building, which is both contemporary and distinctively Indian. The first such example was the Asoka Hotel built in red sandstone in the Mughal style.³⁴ In some other buildings the practice of using this synthetic architecture has been followed.

Le Corbusier's High Court and Secretariat at Chandigarh are among the finest examples of his highly individual style. Here, concrete was used to create recessed sun-breaks; building masses with unusually shaped super-structures were disposed in monumental spaces. The new generation of architects from India were influenced by his work, and the first schools of architecture were started by his students. Among the new architects, Correa and Doshi have adopted modernist forms to local climate and social requirements. Concrete and brick remain favoured material and an expressive use of architectural forms dominate many new buildings.³⁵

Indian forms and materials are once again influencing architectural practice testifying to the vitality of this humble, yet pervasive, indigenous tradition.

Sculpture

After the dismemberment of the Mughal empire, architecture, sculpture and painting flourished only in Rajasthan and a few other

places like Himachal Pradesh, etc. Sculpture has now been rescued from the deplorable condition to which it was led by lack of patronage in northern India by Government and people in general. The centres of renaissance were the Calcutta and Bombay Art Schools. The growth of new art schools in other provinces such as Jaipur, Lucknow, etc. has helped and been helped by the Bengal and Bombay Art renaissances a good deal, and promises to produce an India-wide Art Movement in the near future.³⁶

Painting

Through the genius and effort of a group of Bengali artists, chiefly the Tagores and Gangulis, and their disciples, there has been a revival of Persian, Mughal and Hindu paintings. The Tagores and Gangulis had a spirit and a genius, which has enthused a number of other painters. Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore was the guru of a group of artists who have been working with vigour and faith. Among the younger artists, the names of Nandlal Bose of Bengal and of Abdur Rahman Chaghtai of Punjab deserve special mention. In Bombay, the pupils of Dr. Solomon helped the evolution of a new school of painting seeking to apply Western methods to actual modern Indian conditions and to free artists from the leading strings of medieval and ancient tradition. E.B. Havell who was for several years principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, was a genuine worker of this art renaissance in Bengal.³⁷

After Independence, the Department of Culture in the Ministry of Tourism and Culture has played a vital role in the preservation, promotion and dissemination of art and culture. The aim of the Department has been to develop ways and means by which the basic cultural and aesthetic values and perceptions remain active and dynamic among the people.

It has been undertaking programmes for the preservation and encouragement of various manifestations of contemporary creativity.³⁸

To promote and propagate understanding of Indian art, Government established Lalit Kala Akademi (National Akademi of Fine Arts) at New Delhi in 1954. The Akademi has regional centres called Rashtriya Lalit Kala Kendra at Lucknow, Calcutta, Madras and Bhubaneswar. It has also set up Community Artists Studio Complex with workshop facilities in painting, sculpture, print-making, and ceramics at Garhi village in New Delhi.³⁹

Music

Two main schools of classical music *Hindustani* and *Carnatic*, continue to survive through oral tradition being passed on by teachers to their disciples. This has led to the existence of family traditions called *gharanas* and *sampradayas*.⁴⁰

Indian music was rescued from neglect and the mire of medieval social stigma by Bengal in the 19th century. Its study and cultivation grew rapidly with the rise of modern Bengali drama and the stage, in which connection, the services of three Tagores, Raja Saurindra Mohan, Maharaja Jatindra Mohan and Jyotirindranath (Rabindranath's brother), are to be mentioned. Even earlier, music was given its proper place in austere religious exercises by the Brahmo Samāj under Rammohan Roy and Devendranath Tagore. In fact, the Tagores had performed the *suddhi* of Indian music and restored it to respectable men and women alike, and ushered it into the modern world of culture for appreciation in India as well as abroad. Subsequently, in Calcutta, Bombay, Pune, Baroda, Patna and a few other places, schools and academies for scientific study and practice of Indian music and musical instruments and its application in cultural society have grown. One of the

greatest and most important developments in Indian music is the application of Western musical science and methods in a subtle way to the traditional Indian forms by Bengali artists. This has enriched its melody with harmony without departing from its essential characteristics.

Dance

Dance in India has an unbroken tradition for over 2000 years. Its themes are derived from mythology, legends and classical literature. Its two main divisions are classical and folk. Classical dance forms are based on ancient dance discipline. Important among them are Bharata Natyam, Kathakali, Kathak, Manipuri, Kuchipudi and Odissi. Sangeet Natak Akademi is promoting training programmes in all these forms of dance.⁴²

Drama

The National School of Drama is the foremost theatre training institution in the world and the only one of its kind in India. It was set up by Sangeet Natak Akademi in 1959 and it became an autonomous organisation financed entirely by the Department of Culture. It has produced a galaxy of talents—actors, script-writers, designers, technicians and educationists—who work not only in theatre, but in films and television also, winning several awards national and international.⁴³

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QUESTIONS

1. Describe critically those features of the city of Jaipur and of the architecture of the palace of Suraj Mall at Dig on account of which E.B. Havell thinks that the modern Rajput architecture began in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.
2. Discuss why the buildings constructed by the Public Works Department of the Government of India in the second half of the nineteenth century have no architecture.

3. Discuss why temples and mosques built in India in the second half of the nineteenth century are architecturally good.
4. Discuss the architecture of the buildings in metropolitan cities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta constructed by the English East India Company before 1857.
5. What is the significance of the architecture of the buildings of Jantar-Mantar and Safdar's Tomb in the history of modern Indian architecture.
6. Describe those features of the buildings of the Secretariat the Rashtrapati Bhavan which show that in the construction of these buildings. There is a happy syntheses of traditional Indian and modern Western architectural styles.
7. Mention some buildings which were architecturally good when most of the government buildings during 1950 to 1960 were built under the influence of the Modern Movement. Also state what were the drawbacks of the Modern Movement in architecture.
8. Mention the names of some architects who have built in a style which is contemporary and distinctively India. Also write the names of the buildings constructed by them.
9. Mention the names of a few leaders who were responsible for Art Renaissance in modern times especially in the areas of painting and music.
10. What has the present government of India done for the preservation, promotion and dissemination of art and culture?

Sources for the Study of Social Institutions

Part Two

SECTION - I

[Ancient Indian Social Institutions]

Chapter 1

Sources for the Study of Social Institutions

The sources for the study of Hindu social life in ancient India are many and varied. Every aspect of the life of an Indian in ancient Indian was regulated by *dharma*. Therefore, all the religious works of the Hindus, of the Buddhists and of the Jainas, throw considerable light on the social institutions as they existed when they were compiled. But ancient religious works were not written by one author or at one time hence before determining the social organisation at a particular period we have to determine the different strata in a particular work, for example most of the scholars are of the view that the first and tenth *maṇḍalas* of the *Rgveda* are later than *maṇḍalas* two to nine. Similarly the *Mahābhārata* has been a growing work and some portions of the epic reflect earlier social institutions and some later. Besides the early Brahmanical religious works, the canonical literature of the Buddhists and the Jainas also throw sufficient light on social institutions. But even when the *Smṛti* literature tried to make some changes in the social institutions commensurate with the changes in society, literature such as works on poetry, drama or stories present a more realistic picture of the society although the author's ideas about social institutions may to some extent tilt the picture to conform with his own views.

In this chapter we shall try to describe, in brief the important works which we have utilized in discussing the social institutions of ancient India.

The earliest work of the Hindus is the *Rgveda* which consists chiefly of lyrics in praise of various gods. It contains 1,028 hymns which are grouped into ten books or *maṇḍalas*. Books II to VII are homogeneous, in as much as they are the work of the descendents of different *ṛsis* or seers. It seems that the earliest addition to the 'family' books was the second part of book I. The VIII book has a character of its own and the first part of book I resembles it in some ways. Book IX consists entirely of Soma hymns. The hymns of book X date from a later period than those of the first nine. Thus the *Rgveda* is a composite work made up of contributions made to it in different periods by different seers. Though the *Rgveda* is primarily a religious book it throws considerable light on social life such as marriage and family, inheritance, property etc.

Sources for the social life of the later Vedic age consist of the later Vedic *samhitās*, *Sāma*, *Yajur* and *Atharva* together with prose works like the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas*, and the *Upaniṣads*. The *Sāmaveda* is a selection of the *Rgvedic* hymns meant for chanting. The *Yajurveda* contains the formulae and prayers in both verse and prose to be used by *Adhvaryu* priest in the performance of ceremonies at sacrifices and worship. It is in two forms, *Black* and *White*, the *Black*, a mixture of prayers in verse and comments in prose and the *White* separates the prayers in verse in the *Vājasaneyi Samitā* and the prose portion is relegated to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The *Atharvaveda* has 731 hymns. It is meant for the priest called

Brahman who was the superintending priest to direct and coordinate the functions of all other priests at the sacrificial worship. Some of its parts are older than the *Rgveda* and secular in contents, such as those dealing with diseases like fever and their remedies, prayers for the prosperity of farmers, shepherds and merchants, prayers for harmony between employer and employee, at the public assemblies, or in courts of law, marriage and love, songs in aid of royalty and the like. The *Brāhmaṇas* deal with ritual and their significance lies in the ritual which they illustrate by stories. The *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads* contain meditations on the chosen deities and supreme knowledge.

These works throw considerable light on the social life of the later Vedic period for example the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* refer to several learned kings who figure as teachers and masters of the highest knowledge which they imparted to their *brāhmaṇa* pupils.

For studying the social life of the post-Vedic period our oldest sources are the *Kalpasūtras*. They consist of *Śrauta-sūtras* which deal with public ceremonies, the *Grhyasūtras* which deal with household sacrifices and the *Dharmasūtras* which deal with customary law and practice. According to P.V. Kane the *Śrautasūtras* of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Satyaśāḍha and *Grhyasūtras* of Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana were composed during the period c. 800 to 400 B.C. and the *Dharmasūtras* of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and the *Grhyasūtra* of Pāraskara were composed during the period of c. 500 to 300 B.C. The *Śrauta* sacrifices deal with religious sacrifices like *Haviṣ* and *Soma* and do not throw any light on the social conditions. But the *Grhyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras* present a fairly comprehensive picture of social life during the period c. 800

to 300 B.C. They describe the *Varṇāśrama dharma* which forms the pivot on which the whole system of Hindu social organization was based. This system was based on a horizontal division of society into *Varṇas* or castes and vertical division into *Āśramas* or stages in life. They are of two kinds. Some are short daily practices with formulae accompanying some simplified form of oblation. The other rites constitute the *saṁskāras*, the sacraments, by which the individual gradually approaches the state of twice-born, reaches it and is confirmed in the privilege.

Early Buddhist literature is also helpful in having a true picture of society during the period 600 B.C. to 300 B.C. The *Sūtra* writers sometimes expressed only the traditional view of society which was not always true of the times when these works were compiled. The early Buddhist works give a more faithful picture of the society. For example they mention five kinds of *brāhmaṇas*. This depicts the real condition of *brāhmaṇas* in the Buddha's time.

The *Mahābhārata*, the *Manusmṛti* (200 B.C. to 200 A.D.), the Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and the account of Megasthenes and the inscriptions of the Greeks, the Śakas, the Kuṣāṇas and the Sātavāhanas throw a flood of light on the social conditions during the period 300 B.C. to 300 A.D. but as we have stated above we have to distinguish between the earlier and later portions of the *Mahābhārata*.

For the Gupta period our main sources are the *Smṛtis* of Yājñavalkya (100 A.D. 300 A.D.), Viṣṇu (100 A.D. to 300 A.D.) Nārada (100 A.D. to 400 A.D.), Bṛhaspati (300 A.D. to 500 A.D.) and Kātyāyana (400 A.D. to 600 A.D.).

For the post-Gupta period our main sources are the commentators on the *Manusmṛti* and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* but the inscriptions and Jaina literature¹ of this period throw a flood of

light on the rapid social changes which were taking place during the period. The accounts of Yuan Chwang and It-sing give a vivid picture of the centres of Education during the period. Thus the traditional view expressed by the writers of the Digests has been duly corrected by the picture of society presented in the Jaina story-literature and inscriptions of this period.

The accounts of Arab travellers like Abu Zaid, Ibn Khordadbeh and Sulaiman have also been utilized to present a correct picture of social conditions during the period.

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QUESTIONS

1. While studying the *Rgveda* to have a correct idea of the social conditions what precaution should we take?
2. Discuss the importance of the *Atharvaveda*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* for understanding the social conditions in the later Vedic Period.
3. Describe critically the importance of the *Gṛhyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras* to form a correct idea of the social institutions during the period C. 800 B.C. to C. 300 B.C.
4. How is the early Buddhist literature helpful in enabling us to form a more faithful picture of the society during the period C. 600 B.C. to C. 300 B.C. than the *Sūtras*.
5. While studying the *Mahābhārata* to form an idea of the social conditions during the period C. 300 B.C. to C. 300 A.D. what precaution we must take?
6. Mention the *Dharmaśāstras* which are our main source for studying the social institutions of the Gupta period. Also mention the important social institutions which they discuss.
7. Discuss the main sources for the study of social conditions in the early medieval period (C. 700 A.D. to C. 1200 A.D.)

Chapter 2

Dharma and Social Institutions

The concept of *dharma* is all comprehensive and may be, broadly speaking said to comprise precepts which aim at securing the material and spiritual sustenance and growth of the individual and society. *Dharma* was regarded as not being static. The content of *dharma* often changed in the changing contexts of time, place and social environment.¹ If we accept the above definition of *dharma* it will be evident that *dharma* and society are inseparable. We shall examine this relationship between *dharma* and society in the historical perspective.

The *Rgvedic* Aryans realized that there was order everywhere in creation. They called this cosmic order *Rta*. *Rta* is the early Vedic form of *dharma*. In the *Rgveda* the controller of this cosmic order is called *Varuṇa*. Early Aryans prayed to god *Varuṇa* that they might be punished by him if they did not fulfil their duty towards their friends, guests, relatives and members of their family. Even if by mistake they had cheated some one *Varuṇa* might set them free from this sin.² In the same work the term *dharma* has been used in the sense of that system or social order which is capable of holding the universe in harmonious working condition.³ The above discussion shows that the aim of *ṛta* or *dharma* was to keep the society progressing as a result of harmonious development.

The cosmic order is maintained by the Universal Soul which pervades the whole universe. Man is a part and parcel of this cosmic order. To maintain order in society

man must act in harmony with the cosmic order. For maintaining this social order man must control his desires, feelings, thoughts, instincts and needs. He conducts himself in his relations with those with whom he comes in contact in such a way that it might lead to a better social synthesis. This synthesis depends on some values of life which the individual has inherited from his forefathers. If these values of life are not based on reason and knowledge, they are likely to prove an obstacle in social synthesis. These values of life if based on reason and knowledge impel a man to do his duty under all circumstances. This is his *dharma*. These values of life find expression in the form of our conduct, duties and mutual relationships. The social organisation is based on these values of life. In the *Rgveda* it is stated that *Soma* protects truth and destroys untruth.⁴ This means that society is based on truth and justice. Every individual is expected to conduct himself in a way that he may be able to make his individual progress and contribute to the progress of the society. In the last hymn of the *Rgveda* there is a prayer which tells us how social order can be maintained. All men should walk together (with love and affection), all should acquire knowledge, and all should discharge their duties faithfully. Only when every individual acts in harmony with others is he following his *dharma*.

This spirit of social harmony is also evident from a *mantra* of the *Yajurveda*.⁵ It is stated in this *mantra* that everything in this

world is pervaded by God. Man should enjoy whatever is given to him by Him. He should not covet things given to others. This *mantra* implies that the whole of the creation belongs to God and man should always act keeping in view the well-being of all the members of the society.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁶ expects every individual to speak the truth. The *Taittiriya Upaniṣad*⁷ also expects the pupil to practise truth and follow his *dharma*. According to the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* *Dharma* is the foundation of the whole universe. In this world people go unto a person who is best versed in *dharma*. By means of *dharma* one drives away evil. Upon *dharma* everything is founded. Therefore, *dharma* is called the highest good.⁸ The *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* prescribes that every individual should follow five virtues viz. austerity, charity, straight-forwardness, non-violence and truth⁹ and avoid four vices viz. theft, drinking liquor, killing a brāhmaṇa and cohabiting with the teacher's wife.¹⁰ This *Upaniṣad* states that a man should have noble thoughts, should behave courteously with women, think of the welfare of all persons, should never show disrespect to the learned persons and regard all individuals as his own-self.¹¹ In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* self-control, kindness and charity are called the constituents of *dharma*.¹² In the same work in a prayer man wishes that God may lead him from untruth to truth and from darkness to light.¹³ In the *Kātha Upaniṣad* the satisfaction of desires is called a path which brings only momentary happiness and spiritual advancement is called bliss. Spiritual advancement is possible only when an individual treats every individual as he himself will like to be treated by others. Thus the *dharma* as expounded in the *Upaniṣads* aimed at the all round progress of society. There was no contradiction between the happiness of the

individual and the progress of the society. The *Brāhmaṇas* laid undue emphasis on the performance of sacrifices as the only means of salvation but the *Upaniṣads* state that morality, good conduct and acquisition of true knowledge are the virtues the practice of which makes man happy in this world and in the life hereafter. Gautama Bhuddha also laid stress on the practice of non-violence, good conduct, self-control and sacrifice. His aim was to bring happiness to all in the society.

The authors of the *Dharma-sūtras* (600 B.C. to 300 B.C.) tried to interpret *dharma* in a way that it might suit the changed social conditions. In its most common connotation *dharma* was limited by them to two principal ideals, namely the organization of social life through well-defined and well-regulated classes (*varṇas*) and the organization of an individuals' life within these classes into definite stages (*āśramas*). According to Baudhāyana there are three sources of *dharma* namely the *Vedas*, the *Smṛtis* and the conduct of good persons in society. The authors of the *Sūtras* besides laying down rules regarding *varṇas* (classes) and *āśramas* (stages in life) also laid down rules for good conduct for persons of all classes under *Sāmānya dharma* (rules to be followed by all classes in all stages of life). For example Gautama lays down that kindness, patience, absence of envy, purity in thought, speech and actions, not to be too ambitious, will to do good to others and not to be miserable before others and not to covet things belonging to others are the eight virtues which lead a man to salvation. Similar virtues are called *dharma* by Vasiṣṭha.¹⁵ These rules make it clear that the authors of the *Dharma-sūtras* wished to have a society based on morality and good conduct. They did not lay much emphasis on performance of rituals as on the practice of morality.

Kauṭilya lays down that non-violence, truth, purity, not to speak ill of others, kindness and forgiveness are the virtues which persons of all classes and in all stages should follow. Aśoka also laid emphasis on these virtues because he wished to establish proper social relations. In one of his edicts¹⁶ he says that all people should respect their parents, teachers and elders. He expects his people to be liberal towards ascetics, brāhmaṇas, Śramaṇas, relatives, friends, acquaintances, servants, dependents, the poor and the sick. Thus Aśoka's *dharma* laid emphasis on good conduct and morality and not on performance of rituals. He advised his people to eschew violence, cruelty, anger, vanity and jealousy.¹⁷

Most of the scholars think that the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusmṛiti* assumed their present form from some time between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. According to Vālmiki¹⁸ good conduct and *Dharma* are synonyms hence Rāma who had good conduct was the embodiment of *Dharma*. Rāma says that he is bound by the vow of following his *dharma*.¹⁹ Thus Vālmiki aimed at the establishment of a moral society and he expected all people to follow the ideals which Rāma followed in his life as an embodiment of *Dharma*.

The *Mahābhārata* also lays down that virtuous conduct is the *dharma* of all persons.²⁰ When people do not follow *dharma* there is disorder in society because on account of *dharma*, people are stationed separately in their respective stations.²¹ It is *dharma* which makes all persons follow the rules laid down for their *varṇas* (classes) and *āśramas* (stages in life). According to the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* that from which result material gain and spiritual good is *dharma*.²² Similar views have been expressed by Manu. He says if we do not follow *dharma* it will destroy us.²³ Thus *dharma* has all along been the basis of Hindu social

organization. Manu adds one other source of *dharma* namely the satisfaction of one's conscience. It was because Indians believed that God pervades the souls of all individuals and if an individual follows his conscience he will follow the divine will which aims at the harmonious progress of the society as a whole. Similar views about the sources of *dharma* are expressed by Yājñavalkya. He states that the Vedic scriptures (*śruti*), the sacred law (*Dharmaśāstras*), the practice of good, whatever is agreeable to one's own-self and the desire which has arisen out of wholesome resolve, all these are traditionally known to be the sources of *dharma*. Thus we see Yājñavalkya added a sixth source of *dharma* viz. 'the desire which has arisen out of wholesome resolve'. This sixth source is so comprehensive that it can cover all actions of an individual provided the resolve is wholesome i.e. in the interest of the society as a whole.

Thus we see that the meaning of *dharma* has changed with the changed social conditions. The concepts of *dharma* for the *Kṛta* age, the *Tretā* age, the *Dvāpara* age, and the *Kali* age were not identical.

We have discussed above the impact of the *sāmānya dharma*, on society as revealed in the ancient Indian literature. We have discussed the impact of *Varṇa dharma* on society in detail in section I of Chapter II of this part. It will be sufficient here to state that according to the Hindu view God assigned different duties to different *varṇas* for the harmonious development of society. The code of conduct prescribed by the scriptures for the four *varṇas* constituted the highest *dharma*. According to the *Gītā* it is better to die discharging one's duty than to adopt the profession of another *varṇa*. Here the emphasis was on the performance of one's duty and not on his right. If every individual discharged his

duty faithfully and conscientiously the progress of society was bound to be the outcome.

The *āśrama dharma* (rules laid down for different stages in life), no doubt, aimed at the spiritual advancement of the individual towards his final aim of salvation but the people in the *brahmacharya*, *vānaprastha* and *sāṃnyāsa āśramas* depended for their sustenance on those in the *grhastha āśrama*. The Householder is expected to discharge his duties towards the sages, gods, ancestors, guests and all creatures of the world before he can think of his own spiritual advancement. Thus here too the good of the society is primary while the good of the individual is secondary. Thus *āśrama dharma* also contributed to the progress of society. There was no contradiction between the interests of the individual and the interests of the society as a whole. The duties were discharged by the individual as an obligation imposed upon him by his *dharma* not out of fear that he would be punished by the state if he failed to perform the five daily great sacrifices prescribed for him by the law-givers.

We shall now say a few words on *rājadharmā* and its impact on society. The chief aim of *rājadharmā* was maintenance of peace and order in society. Kauṭilya states that a ruler should consider his own happiness in the welfare of the people.²⁵ The ruler himself was bound by his *dharma*. He followed his *dharma* and compelled the people to follow the rules prescribed for different classes of society and stages in the individual's life.²⁶

He could maintain law and order in society if he faithfully discharged his duty as a ruler. The people could rise in revolt against an unrighteous ruler. When all people discharged their duties as members of different classes and befitting the stages of life in which they were, the social progress was the outcome. Maintenance of peace and order by the ruler

provided every individual to develop his innate qualities to the maximum and contribute to the welfare of the society. Manu also prescribes that the ruler should compel the *vaiśyas* and the *śūdras* to do their duties otherwise there will be disorder in society.²⁷ But Manu²⁸ and Yājñavalkya²⁹ permit, in an emergency, members of three high castes to follow avocations different from those prescribed for their *varṇas*. The *Mahābhārata*³⁰ clearly states that if the ruler does not impart justice to weaker sections of the society then the members of his own family will treat him in the same way and the kingdom will be ruined. The *Raghuvamśa* describes the duties of a ruler as making arrangements for education, imparting justice, protection of all people and providing opportunities for employment so that they might earn their living. A ruler, according to Kālidāsa, is, for this reason, called the father of his people. He collected taxes for the welfare of the people and not for his own enjoyment. Thus the chief aim of *rājadharmā* was maintenance of peace and order in society.

Some European scholars were of opinion that Hinduism laid more emphasis on the spiritual side of life than on the material aspects of life. This view does not seem to be correct. Of the four aims of life *artha* and *kāma* deal with the material aspects of life, *dharma* and *mokṣa* refer to the spiritual aspect of life. Hindu *dharma* did not simply mean theology. It was a way of life or a code of conduct. Every activity of the individual as a member of the society was regulated by his *dharma*. The aim of *dharma* was to create such conditions as would enable all individuals to make progress towards their goal of life i.e. salvation. In reality Hinduism tries to synthesise the two aims of life namely enjoyment of life in this world and salvation after death. The four *puruṣārthas* and the

scheme of *āśramas* make it clear that both the aspects of life are covered by Hinduism. It aimed at individual progress as well as social progress. It does not in any way disregard the aim of life in this world i.e. enjoyment of the pleasures of life but the enjoyment must be within the limits prescribed by his *dharma* and thus it also takes care of the life after death.

In the words of S. Radhakrishnan the term *dharma* stands for all those ideals and purposes, influences and institutions that shape the character of man both as an individual and as a member society. It is the law of right living, the observance of which secures the double object of happiness on earth and salvation.³¹

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25. Kauṭ. I. 19.
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27. Manu. VIII. 4, 18.
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QUESTIONS

1. Discuss how the observance of the principles laid down in the Rgveda by the individuals resulted in maintaining peace and order in society in that period.
2. State critically what constituted *Dharma* in the later Vedic Period.
3. How have the authors of the *Sūtras* aimed at the harmonious development of the society by laying

- down rules for persons of different *Varnas* and for different *stages* (*āśramas*) in an individual's life?
4. Discuss how observance of rules laid down in *rājadharmā* by a ruler was necessary for maintaining peace and order in society.
5. Discuss critically the concept of *dharma* in Hinduism and its impact on society.

Chapter 3

The *Puruṣārthas*

In Hinduism every individual had four chief aims of life, namely, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. In chapter 2 of this Section we have tried to explain the meaning of *dharma* which is much more than morality. The word *dharma* is derived from the Sanskrit root *dhṛ* which means holding together or preserve. In the *Mahābhārata* it is clearly stated that *dharma* was created for the well-being of all creatures.¹ *Artha* refers to all the means necessary for acquiring worldly prosperity such as wealth or power. A human being cannot conduct the activities of his life without *artha* which constitutes the material means of living. *Kāma* refers to all the desires in a man for enjoyment and satisfaction of the life of the senses including the sex drive. The word refers to the totality of the innate desires and drives of man. *Kāma* in its restricted sense simply means sex drive which helps the propagation of species. Thus both *artha* and *kāma* are necessary for the material well-being of an individual. They are the material resources for successful living but it is *dharma*, the moral force which regulates the correct quality and quantity, the place and time of *artha* and *kāma*. By acting in accordance with his *dharma* a person is able to live an ideal life. *Dharma* is the foremost of the three *puruṣārthas*. *Artha* comes next in importance and *kāma* the last.

According to Manu an individual can attain happiness in this world and in the life hereafter only by a proper synthesis of these three *puruṣārthas* viz. *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*. Vātsyāyana in the beginning of his work, the

Kāmasūtra, has expressed his adoration to all these three *puruṣārthas*. It shows that he considered all the three equally important for getting happiness in this world. But an individual should try to collect the material resources (*artha*) within the limits prescribed by his *dharma* and satisfaction of worldly pleasures (*kāma*) is also to be limited to the extent prescribed by *dharma*. According to Manu the good of man consists in the harmonious coordination of the three *puruṣārthas*.² All the lawgivers have prescribed that an individual should not collect material resources and not indulge in the satisfaction of sensual pleasures in a way that it might prove to be a hindrance in the performance of his *dharma*. As we have stated before³ it is *dharma* which is capable of holding the universe in harmonious working condition. If people begin to amass material resources without any consideration of their *dharma* and enjoy them without any regard to morality there will be anarchy in society. To maintain the social order man must control his desires, feelings, thoughts instincts and needs to be in accord with the values of life which the society, in which he lives, cherishes. The social organization is based on these values of life hence the need to regulate *artha* and *kāma* keeping in view these values of life. These three *puruṣārthas* control the activities of the individual as well as those of the society as a whole. It is *dharma* which decides to what extent the individual should collect material resources and in what way he should spend

them to make himself happy without creating any hindrance in the progress of the society.

The fourth *puruṣārtha mokṣa* or salvation concerns the individual but according to the Indian belief an individual cannot attain salvation unless he discharges his duty towards sages, gods, ancestors, guests and all creatures in this universe. To be a part and parcel of the Universal Soul the individual must act in harmony with the divine will. He must identify his individual-self with the group of which he is a part, with the society in which he lives, with the nation of which he is a citizen, and the whole universe which is a divine creation. Thus salvation does not remain a selfish desire of the individual for the attainment of bliss in life after death. Without discharging his duty towards all creatures an individual cannot hope to get salvation. The whole life of an individual is a sacrifice in the

service of divine creation. Only then can he aspire for salvation.

Collectively the four *puruṣārthas* satisfy the individual sex instinct, his attachment to amassing wealth and power, his keen desire to give expression to his artistic and cultural instinct and his desire to become a part of the universal soul after death. The four *puruṣārthas* provide the psycho-moral basis of the *āśrama* theory which enables an individual to realize the ultimate purpose of his existence viz., salvation in this universe. The three *puruṣārthas* viz. *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, are only a means to realize the ultimate aim of life viz., *mokṣa* (salvation).

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QUESTIONS

1. Which are the four chief aims of life '*Puruṣārthas*' according to Hinduism. Explain the significance of each of them in an individual's life.
2. How can, according to Manu, an individual attain happiness in this world and in the life hereafter?
3. How can an individual co-ordinate the first three *Puruṣārthas* to enjoy life in this world and attain salvation after death?
4. Discuss the basis for the belief that an individual cannot attain salvation unless he discharges his duty towards all creatures in this world.
5. "The whole life of an individual is a sacrifice in the service of divine creation". Elucidate.
6. "The four *Puruṣārthas* enable an individual to realize the ultimate purpose of his existence viz. salvation in this universe." Discuss the above statement.
7. Explain how the four *Puruṣārthas* enable an individual to satisfy his hereditary sex instinct, his desire to satisfy his artistic and cultural tastes and his desire to have wealth and power in this world.

Chapter 4

The Doctrine of Three Ṛṇas

According to Manu¹ and Yājñavalkya² each individual has to repay three debts in his life. These three ṛṇas (debts) are (1) the debt to fathers of learning and founders of religious life (ṛṣi ṛṇa), (2) the debt to ancestors (pitṛ ṛṇa) and (3) the debt to gods (deva ṛṇa).

The individual can repay the debt to ṛṣis by studying the Vedas in accordance with the rules laid down for their study. This he can do in the *brahmahcarya āśrama* by observing all the rules laod down for a *brahmhacārī*.

He can repay the debt to the ancestors by entering the stage of a *gṛhastha* (house-holder) begetting sons in accordance with *dharma* and thus perpetuating his family.

He can repay the debt to the gods by offering sacrifices according to one's capacity as a householder and as a *vānaprastha* (forest dweller).

Only when he had repaid these three debts he becomes eligible to aspire for salvation by entering the stage of *saṁnyāsa*. The man who failed to carry out any of these obligations due to him during the first three āśramas is not entitled even to aspire for *mokṣa*.³

The *Gṛhyasūtras*⁴ prescribe that every householder must perform five daily great sacrifices viz. *Brahmayajña*, *Pitṛyajña*, *Devayajña*, *Atithiyajña* and *Bhūta-yajña*. The *gṛhastha* was expected to read Vedic literature daily. This was called *Brahmayajña*. By the performance of *Bahmayajña* he repaid his debt to ṛṣis. He performed *Śrāddha* for ancestors and begot sons to perpetuale his family. This

was called *Pitṛyajña*. In this way he repaid the debt to his ancestors. He offered oblations in the fire. This was called *Deva-yajña*. Thus he repaid his debt to gods. In this way the doctrine of three ṛṇas to ṛṣis, gods and ancestors was merged in the five great sacrifices which every householder was enjoined to perform every day. Thus this doctrine of three ṛṇas, clearly shows that the individual could not make his spiritual advancement without fulfilling his social obligations. The significance of the doctrine of the three ṛṇas will be manifest to us if we keep in view the Hindu view of life, according to which this life, merely by itself, alone has no meaning. It has meaning only as a link in a chain of links of births in the past and in the future. It is a stage of transition from previous births towards furture birth or births or *mokṣa*. This birth of a human being is but an opportunity for him to free himself from the bonds of chain of previous births by living a life of *dharma*. Thus, only if the individual in this life repays the debts which he owes to ṛṣis, gods and ancestors and discharges his social obligations can he be considered eligible for salvation. This is the great significance of the doctrine of three ṛṇas in Hinduism.

References

1. Manu. VI. 35.
2. Yāj. III. 57.
3. Manu. VI. 37. Cf. Yaj. III 56.
4. Baudh. II. 34; Āpastamba. II 24.

QUESTIONS

1. Mention the three debts (Ṛṇas) which an individual is expected to repay in his life and state how he can repay them.
2. What is the importance of the repayment of these three ṛṇas by an individual?

Chapter 5

Āśramas

Origin

Varṇa and *Āśrama* are the two institutions which are the corner stones of the Hindu theory of social organization. *Varṇa* as we have stated in Chapter II of this part laid emphasis on the individual's duty to discharge his social obligations to the best of his ability. This also enabled him to develop his personality and innate qualities in a congenial social atmosphere where members of each *varṇa* contribute to the progress of the society as a whole. It was a system in which each class served as a complementary unit and not as a competitive unit. The duties assigned to each *varṇa* were those which suited the individual's innate qualities and temperament.

The scheme of *āśramas* was based on the principle that the whole of the life of an individual is a kind of schooling in self-discipline. During the course of this schooling he has to pass through four stages called the *āśramas*. The four *puruṣārthas*¹ viz. *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* are the psycho-moral bases of the *āśrama* theory² because the individual receives a psychological training through the *āśramas* in the use and management of the *puruṣārthas*. These *āśramas* also enable him to discharge his moral duty towards the society. The main objective of the institution of *āśramas* was to enable the individual to be happy in this world and to achieve salvation after death which according to the Hindus is the ultimate aim of an individual's life. According to the Hindu

belief God created this universe and the individual can attain salvation only if he does his duty towards all creatures which were created by God. He cannot realize his ownself without harmonizing his activities with those of the group, of the society, of the nation and of the whole human race as a whole of which he is an indivisible part, all being inseparable parts of God's creation. The individual cannot attain salvation without repaying the debts to the society. Salvation of the individual depends on his discharging his duty towards the society. Thus the scheme of *āśramas*, which no doubt aimed at the ultimate progress of the individual, was not based on the individual's progress alone. It also contributed to the progress of the society as a whole.

The word *āśramas* is derived from the root *Śrama* which means to exert. Thus the word *āśrama* implies a place where an individual stays for sometime exerting himself with a view to attaining the ultimate goal of life viz. salvation. Every *āśramas* is thus a stage where the individual gets some training to be successful in the next stage of his life. In every stage *dharma* is supreme and *artha* and *kāma* are only means which enable the individual to act in accordance with his *dharma*. Salvation can be achieved only if the individual has acted according to his *dharma* befitting his *varṇa* and his stage in life.

The *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*³ refers to three stages in life viz. those of a householder, an ascetic and a student but the *Dharma-sūtras*

refer to all the four āśramas viz those of a student (*brahmacarya*), a householder (*gṛhastha*), a forest-dweller (*vānaprastha*) and a hermit (*saṁnyāsa*). This means that *saṁnyāsa* was not considered an āśrama in the beginning because according to the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* a *saṁnyāsī* is above all the āśramas because he is no longer a social personality. He has no ties of family, caste or society as a whole. He has renounced everything worldly and is for all practical purposes dead.

According to the authors of the *Dharmasūtras* an individual should follow all the rules laid down for all the four stages one after another.⁴ According to some of them an individual, who had not followed all the rules laid down for the first three āśramas, is not eligible to get salvation.⁵ According to Kautīlya the king should punish all those persons who do not follow the rules laid down for the āśramas in which they are because if the rules laid down for different *varṇas* and āśramas are not followed by the people there will be social anarchy and if they do it there will be all round progress of the society.⁶

The Brahmacharya (The stage of a student)

In the *Rgveda* the word *brahmacārī* is used in the sense of a religious scholar.⁷ From the *Gāyatrī* mantra it is clear that the two main objectives of a student in ancient India were development of intelligence and character-building.⁸ From the *Gṛhya-sūtras* we know that a child entered the stage of *brahmacarya* after the *Upanayana* sacrament.⁹ We have the earliest reference to this sacrament in the *Atharvaveda*.¹⁰ The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions all the following four characteristics of this sacrament which are described in the *Gṛhyasūtras*.

1. On the request of the child the teacher accepted him as his pupil.

2. The teacher prayed to some gods for protecting the child.
3. The teacher told the pupil the vows and duties which he had to fulfil as a pupil while living as a member of the teacher's family for example arranging pieces of fuel for a sacrifice, sipping water and bringing food by begging from house-holders.
4. The teacher told the pupil the articles of his uniform such as the skin of a deer, the girdle and the staff.¹¹

According to the *Gṛhyasūtras* the son of a brāhmaṇa should have his *upanayana* sacrament at the age of eight years, that of a kṣatriya at the age of eleven years and that of a vaiśya at the age of twelve years. Before the sacrament the teacher asked the child's name and particulars of his family. After some rituals the teacher taught the pupil *Gāyatrī mantra*.¹² This sacrament was considered the second birth of the child hence he was called *dvija* (twice-born). The main aim of this sacrament was to make the child realize his responsibility as a student.

In this āśrama the student had to help the teacher in every activity¹³, and the teacher was expected to lead the child from the darkness of ignorance towards the light of knowledge.¹⁴ The teacher loved the pupil as his own son while the pupil practised self-control in food and wearing clothes. He woke up before the teacher and slept after the teacher had gone to bed.¹⁵ He lived in strict discipline. The teacher laid emphasis on his intellectual as also on his moral development.¹⁶ According to the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* the student should, with his studies practise to acquire such virtues as love of justice and truth and self-control. He should practise continence (*brahmacarya*) as without it no moral development was possible. The three most important duties of a student were (1) study of Vedic lore,

(2) service of the teacher and (3) practice of *brahmacarya*.

At the end of the pupil's education the teacher delivered a convocation address which throws considerable light on what the teacher expected of his pupil as a house-holder. The address states that the student should speak the truth, all his conduct should be in accordance with his *dharma* (as a house-holder). He should not neglect the study of Vedic literature. He should always work with the greatest efficiency and aim at being famous (for his being virtuous and of exemplary conduct). He should not neglect his duty towards gods and ancestors and regard his parents, teachers and guests as gods. He should imitate the teacher only in those actions which were good and should not imitate him in those which, according to him, were improper for a gentleman to do.

According to the *Gṛhya-sūtras* the sacrament which was performed after the student had finished his educational career and returned home was called *Samāvartana*. He took a bath as a symbol of his being free from the obligations which he was expected to fulfil as a student. So he was called a *snātaka*.¹⁷

According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* a pupil who has completed his education becomes wise and does not depend upon others. With the passage of time he becomes more prosperous. He is his own physician. He sleeps peacefully. Every learned person acquires three virtues viz. self-control, steady mind and well-developed intelligence.¹⁸

The *Dharmasūtras* mention two categories of students viz. *naiṣṭhika* and *upakurvāṇa*. *Naiṣṭhika* students remained unmarried throughout their lives. They dedicated their lives to study and teaching. The *Upakurvāṇa* students entered the stage of a house-holder after finishing their education.

In the post-Vedic period as well the importance of the *brahmacarya āśrama* remained undiminished. Manu and Yājñavalkya mention all the rituals which were performed at the *Upanayana* sacrament in the earlier period.¹⁹ The law-givers of this period prescribe eight, eleven and twelve years at which the *upanayana* sacrament of *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya* children should be performed respectively.²⁰ But Yājñavalkya lays down that this sacrament could be performed according to the custom and convenience of the family.²¹ Manu also permits performance of this sacrament upto the ages of 16, 22 and 24 in the case of *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas* respectively.²² If the *upanayana* sacrament of any individual was not performed within the maximum ages prescribed above the individual was looked down upon in society and was called *vrātya* and was deprived of the privilege of reciting *Gāyatrī mantra*.²³

Manu prescribes that a *brāhmaṇa* student should wear clothes made of hemp, a *kṣatriya* those of silk and a *vaiśya* those of wool. The student also wore the sacred thread, carried a staff in his hand, begged food and took his meals after giving a part of the alms to the teacher.²⁴ He did not apply oil massage to his body nor applied collyrium in his eyes nor used scent, umbrella or shoes.²⁵ He did not participate in assemblies where music, dancing, gambling or idle talk were going on. He observed continence, spoke the truth, was polite, practised self-control and kept himself free from vices such as lust, anger and greed. He did not behave violently with anybody.²⁶ He woke up before sun-rise²⁷, took bath and performed *Sandhyā* both in the morning and in the evening.²⁸ According to Kauṭilya the main aim of ancient Indian education was character-building. A student should have self-control. One who has no control over his senses is ruined very soon. A student should, therefore,

avoid evils like lust, anger, greed, conceit, arrogance and excess of joy.²⁹ According to Manu a student should not indulge in gambling, quarrels, speaking ill of others and telling a lie. He should not unnecessarily come in contact with women and should not make others unhappy.³⁰ According to him a student who has full control over his senses is better than one who is learned in all the four Vedas but has no control over his senses.³¹ According to Yājñavalkya the teacher should teach with devotion a student who is grateful, does not hate or envy others, is intelligent, is clean in his habits, is healthy, honest and active.³² The law-givers fully realized that a student who does not strive at character-building cannot be a good citizen and cannot contribute to the progress of society.

Manu also lays down the duties of a teacher. He says that the teacher should always teach his pupils with dedication.³³ According to Yājñavalkya the student should serve his teacher if he wants to acquire learning. He should listen to the teacher's discourse with attention and always strive for the well-being and progress of his teacher.³⁴ To offer fees for teaching and accept any charges for it were both considered improper.³⁵ Every twice-born child was expected to study Vedic lore and follow all the rules laid down for a student. If a twice-born child did not study Vedic literature, he was given the status of a śūdra in society.³⁶

In the Vedic period girls also had their Upanayana sacrament at the ages fixed for different varṇas. But probably after 400 B.C. the girls did not have this sacrament as they were married at an early age. Thus they were deprived of educational training.

In the *brahmacharya āśrama*, of the four *puruṣārthas*, *dharma* was considered the most important. A student had full control over his desires and his economic activities were

always within the limits prescribed by his *dharma* as a student. His aim was to equip himself with all those qualities which would enable him as a house-holder to repay the debt which he owed to gods, sages and his ancestors, and to extend hospitality to guests and set apart some food for other creatures by performing *Bhūtayajña*. By the educational training which a student got in this *āśramas* he could discharge all his duties efficiently as a householder and contribute to the progress of the society. The moral training which he got as a student enabled him to move a step forward towards his ultimate goal of salvation.

The Gr̥hastha āśramas (The stage of a house-holder)

A student who had finished his education took a ceremonial bath to be free from the vows which he was expected to fulfil as a student and he was called a *snātaka*. Then he entered the stage of a house-holder (*gr̥hastha āśramas*). From the *R̥gveda* we know that there were three main duties of a householder (*gr̥hapati*) viz., performance of sacrifices, study of Vedic literature and practice of charity to deserving persons. By performance of sacrifices he repaid his debt which he owed to gods, by having children he repaid the debt to his ancestors as it resulted in the continuance of his family heritage and by the study of Vedic literature he repaid his debt to the sages who had passed on the store of knowledge to him. The house-holder was expected to perform five great sacrifices³⁷ viz. *devayajña*, *brahmayajña*, *pitryajña*, *atithiyajña* and *bhūtayajña* daily. According to the authors of the *Gr̥hya-sūtras* every householder commits five sins by killing creatures, by kindling fire, by using grinding stones, by using a broom in sweeping the floors, in using mortar and pestle and a jar. In order to expiate for these five sins he must perform daily the five great

sacrifices mentioned above. The doctrine of repayment of three debts which an individual owed to gods, sages and ancestors was merged in this concept of five great sacrifices. In this context *yajña* implied the performance of one's duty towards all creatures dead or living. Offering oblations in fire was called *devayajña*. This freed him from the debt which he owed to the gods. The study and teaching of Vedic lore was regarded as *brahmayajña* because by doing this he became free from the debt which he owed to the sages of ancient times. Performance of *śrāddhas* for the ancestors was called *pitrayajña*. This freed him from the debt which he owed to his ancestors. He set apart some food for other creatures from his own food. This was his duty towards all creatures which were a part of Gods' creation and a householder must live in harmony with every living being in the creation. Extending hospitality to guests was considered so essential that it was made a part of the five daily great sacrifices of a householder and it was given the name *atithiyajña* or *Nṛ-yajña*.³⁸ Ordinarily the householder and his wife took their meals after they had served food to sages, gods, ancestors, family gods, guests and servants of the family.³⁹

Baudhāyana in his *dharmasūtra* mentions two kinds of house-holders viz. *sālīna* and *yāyāvara*. *Sālīna* house-holders had their own property and used it in doing their duty as house-holders. The *yāyāvara* house-holders did not have any property of their own. They probably maintained themselves on the charity of *sālīna* householders.

In the sixth century B.C. the teachings of the Buddha and Mahavira appealed to the common people so much that many persons became monks without fulfilling their obligations towards the members of their families. It posed a great danger to the system of *āśramas* which was a corner stone of the

Hindu social organisation. It is why Kauṭilya in his *Arthasāstra* lays down that a king should punish all those persons who do not fulfil their duties towards the members of their families. According to him the ruler should not permit such an ascetic to enter a village or a town. The scheme of *āśramas* was based on the principle that an individual must do his duty towards the society before he can think of his own salvation.

According to Manu just as air is essential for all living beings similarly people in all the other three stages of life are dependent on the householders because it is they who supply the necessities of life such as food to them.⁴⁰ The proper condition of all the people in the other three *āśramas* is dependent on the householders.⁴¹ According to him if we take into consideration the rules laid down by the *Vedas* and the *Smṛtis* the best *āśrama* is that of a householder.

According to the later parts of the *Mahābhārata* the householder's life is pure and the best because it is through this *āśrama* that an individual can realize the aim of his life.⁴² All creatures depend on the householder.⁴³ An individual can repay his debt to gods, ancestors, and sages only by discharging his daily duties as a householder.⁴⁴ An individual can make his individual spiritual advancement and contribute to the progress of the society, as a whole, only when he discharges his duties as a householder. By doing so he pursues the three *puruṣārthas*, *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* and he makes his individual progress towards *mokṣa*, the ultimate aim of life.⁴⁵

The *Vaikhānasa dharmasūtra* (C. 3rd century A.D.) mentions four categories of householders namely :

- (1) Those who maintained themselves by agriculture, trade, cattle-rearing and commerce.
- (2) Those who owned sufficient property (*sālīna*) and who performed all the

sacrifices prescribed for householders.

- (3) Those who did not possess any property but taught and officiated as priests at sacrifices and practised charity.
- (4) Those who performed sacrifices themselves but did not officiate as priests at the sacrifices of others, who themselves studied Vedic lore but did not teach it to others and practised charity but did not accept sums of money given in charity (*ghorāchārika*).

The above discussion clearly shows that the householder's stage was the most important of all four stages in a man's life. The main aim of an individual in this *āśrama* was to enjoy life by earning sufficient money but all this he did within the limits laid down by his *dharma*. Even enjoyment of life was limited to the extent that it must in no way hinder the progress of the society. Above all he must in no way forget his ultimate aim of life i.e. salvation by working in harmony with the divine creation because spiritual advancement is possible only when he acts keeping in view the interests of all the creatures in this world.

Vānaprastha Āśrama (The stage of a forest-dweller)

The earliest reference to *Vānaprastha* *āśrama* is met with in the *Tāndya Brāhmaṇa*. When a person had grey hair and his skin had wrinkles he entered the stage of a forest-dweller. After he had enjoyed life as a householder, as a preparation for the ultimate aim of salvation, an individual entered this stage. One who wished to be a forest-dweller (*Vikhānasa*) left his family and his village and went to a forest. His main objective was to have full control over his senses.⁴⁶ He did not

collect any articles for future use. He observed the vow of chastity, stayed at one place only during the rainy season. He entered the village only for begging food. He wore only a loin cloth on his body. He did not pluck flowers or fruits from plants for food. He did not stay in the same village for more than a night. He lived only on the food which he got by begging from the householders. Sometimes he ate only roots and fruits which he found lying on the ground in the forest. He slept on bare ground and practised penance. This life of self-control was necessary for spiritual advancement. But he did not give up completely his duty towards the society. This is evident from two examples. Vālmiki maintained Sītā when she was sent to the forest by her husband Rāma and Kāṇva supported Śakuntalā before she was married to Duṣyanta. It was for doing his duty towards the society that a forest-dweller (*vānaprastha*) was permitted to keep his wife with him even in the third stage of life. His personality could not develop fully if he devoted this stage of his life only to his own spiritual advancement. Only when he did his duty towards the society could he hope to get salvation in the end. The example of Mandanīś⁴⁷ shows how Indian ascetics did not care for the pleasures of this world and were not afraid even of death. They were fearless and realized the importance of spiritual advancement of the soul and the bliss which an individual hoped to achieve by salvation (the merging of the individual soul with the universal soul).

Baudhāyana mentions two kinds of *vānaprasthas* viz *pachamānaka* and *apachamānaka*.⁴⁸ *Pachamānakas* were those *vanaprasthas* who cooked their food themselves and *apachamānakas* were those who maintained themselves on uncooked food such as leaves and fruits.⁴⁹ These ascetics avoided meat preparations and sweets.⁵⁰ Even when very hungry they did not pluck cereals or fruits

from the trees.⁵¹ They wore deer-skin or bark of trees as clothes.⁵² They observed the yow of chastity and lived under trees.⁵³ They performed the five great sacrifices which they used to perform as house-holders.⁵⁴ They served food to the guests out of the food which they had begged from the house-holders.⁵⁵ For their spiritual advancement they spent most of their time in the study of the *Vedas* or the *Upaniṣads* and in practising austerity.⁵⁶ Even in this *āśrama* they treated all creatures with kindness and sympathy.⁵⁷ According to Manu if a forest-dweller died performing all the duties assigned to him as a *vānaprastha* he attains salvation.⁵⁸

The *Vaikhānasa-dharma-sūtra* (3rd century A.D.) mentions two kinds of forest-dwellers. Those who lived with their wives (*sapatnika*) and those who lived without their wives. But their daily routine conformed to what had been stated by Manu in his *dharmaśāstra*. They did not neglect their duty towards society and guided the householders for their spiritual advancement on the basis of their study and meditation. In this *āśrama* the forest-dweller concentrated on *dharma* and *mokṣa* for him the other two *puruṣārthas* viz *artha* and *kāma* had no importance.

Samnyāsa Āśrama

The *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions all the three *āśramas* except *Samnyāsa*⁵⁹ but there were many *saṁnyāsis* in the Upaniṣadic period. In the *saṁnyāsa āśrama* the individual completely renounced worldly affairs.⁶⁰ According to the commentators on the *Manusmṛti* and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* an individual could enter the *saṁnyāsa āśrama* directly from the *gṛhastha āśrama* without passing through the stage of a forest-dweller.⁶¹ P.V. Kane has pointed out the following three main differences between the life of a forest-dweller and that of a *saṁnyāsin*.

1. A forest-dweller could live in the forest with his wife but a *saṁnyāsin* could not do so.
2. The forest-dweller offered oblations in the fire but a *saṁnyāsin* renounced the use of fire altogether.
3. The forest-dweller could bear all kinds of suffering such as remaining hungry or remaining without putting on clothes in the winter season but a *saṁnyāsin* did not at all worry about his worldly needs. He spent all his time in meditating on the Ultimate Reality.⁶²

According to Manu a *saṁnyāsin* neither collected any articles for future use nor did he depend upon others.⁶³ He could beg food from householders only once in a day.⁶⁴ He did not at all worry about his life and was in no way afraid of death.⁶⁵ He renounced every thing worldly and with firm faith in God meditated on Him and wished for the eternal bliss of salvation. By his life of sacrifice and good conduct he left his mark on all those individuals with whom he came in contact, and guided all those persons who came in contact with him. He devoted all his time in meditation to have a glimpse of the Ultimate Reality in his soul. *Kauṭilya* and the authors of the *Mahābhārata* have described all these duties of a *saṁnyāsin*.⁶⁷

His only aim in this stage of life was attainment of salvation. For this he worked for a synthesis of only two *puruṣārthas* namely *dharma* and *mokṣa*.

In the first three stages of an individual's life all his activities were guided by *dharma*. According to the *Bhagavadgītā* the aim of all the activities of an individual should be welfare of all the creatures in this world and he should dedicate all his activities in the service of God. Thus the individual becomes free from the consequences of his actions. In this sense all life was a sacrifice in the service of humanity.

For a Hindu all life was a school of training for the ultimate goal of salvation. In the first stage of a student he led a disciplined life so that he might be able to face all the problems of life as a householder with confidence and fortitude. In the householder's stage he discharged his duty towards gods, sages, ancestors, all the creatures of this world and guests by performing the five great sacrifices and contributed to the progress of the society by discharging all the duties befitting the *varṇa* to which he belonged. As a forest-dweller he renounced the pleasures of life but continued to guide the house-holders on the basis of his learning and experience. In the final stage of *śaṁnyāsa* his only aim was achievement of salvation but even in this stage he guided the activities of the householders because according to Hindu thinkers a self-centred individual can never attain salvation.

From the above discussion it is evident that the aim of the scheme of *āśramas* was two-fold. It aimed at the all round progress of the individual in this world and salvation after death. Besides the progress of the individual the scheme of *āśramas* aimed at the progress of the society because each individual aimed at the development of all the innate qualities with which God had endowed him and cooperated with others for a harmonious development of the society.

References

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तप एव द्वितीयो, आचार्य कुलवासी तृतीयो।
—Chand, Up. II 13.1
4. Gaut. III. 1, Āp. II. 21.2, Āp. II 9.21. 1. and
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QUESTIONS

1. Explain the full implications of the word *āśrama* in an individual's life.
2. Discuss how the scheme of *āśramas* did not aim only at the progress of the individual but also contributed to the progress of the society as a whole.
3. Why does Kautilya lay down that it is the duty of a ruler to punish all those persons who do not follow the rules laid down for the *āśrama* in which they are.
4. Describe critically the four characteristics of the *Upanayana* sacrament mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.
5. Why was the *Upanayana* sacrament considered the second birth of a child?
6. Describe briefly the chief features of the life of a student when staying with the teacher as a member of his family.
7. Discuss the commandments which the teacher gave to the pupil in his convocation address after he had finished the course of study which he was pursuing.
8. What was the main aim of a student in ancient India?
9. Of the three debts (*R̥ṇas*) which an individual was expected to repay which debt (*R̥ṇa*) did he repay as a student and how?
10. Discuss the significance of the performance of five great sacrifices by a householder. Also state how the doctrine of the three *r̥ṇas* was merged in it.
11. Why was the stage of a householder (*Gṛhastha-āśrama*) considered the most important of all the *āśramas*?
12. How did an individual as a forest dweller (*Vānaprasthī*) aim at his spiritual advancement but did not give up completely his duty towards the society.
13. Bring out the main differences between the life of a *Vānaprasthī* and a *Saṁnyāsī*?
14. How did a *Saṁnyāsī* act to realize his aim of attainment of salvation?
15. Discuss the importance of different *Puruṣārthas* in each of the four *āśramas*.
16. Discuss how for a Hindu all life is a school of training for the ultimate goal of salvation?

Chapter 6

Origin and Development of Varṇa System

From the dawn of civilization man has formed social groups on the basis of such things as belief in a common origin, common avocations and community of interests. In ancient Iran the fourfold division of society into *atharva* (priest), *rathestha* (warrior), *vastrya-fsuyat* (head of the family) and *huiti* (manual worker) corresponds to the fourfold division of society in India to *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras*. Similarly in ancient China the society was divided into four groups namely (1) the educated class, (2) the farmers, (3) the artisans and (4) the traders. In Europe the society was divided on the economic status of a person (1) nobles (the aristocracy), (2) Clergy (the priests), (3) free farmers and (4) serfs or villeins. In these four social groups inter-group marriages were not possible.

Harappan Culture (c. 2350 B.C. to 1700 B.C.)

S.C. Malik,¹ on the basis of the remains of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, is of opinion that labourers required for agriculture must have been available in the Harappan civilization. Outside the citadel at Mohenjodaro were discovered sixteen two-roomed quarters. These were most probably occupied by some labourers who ground wheat into flour or worked as coolies in storing grain or making bricks. Some of these might have been artisans who made ornaments of gold, silver or copper or utensils and furniture for domestic use. Some of these might be placed in the category of *śūdras*. From the existence

of grain-godowns, development of trade and uniformity in town-planning he concludes that there must have been a central authority who regulated all these activities. Probably this central authority consisted of a priestly class. There is ample testimony in the Harappan remains for the existence of a class of farmers and another social group consisting of artisans as is evident from the painted pottery, stone sculptures and cast bronze seals found in the remains of this civilization. From the remains of Harappa with fortified towns and weapons it is clear that there must also have been a class of warriors in society.

The R̥gvedic Period (c. 1500-1000 B.C.)

From the Family books of the *R̥gveda* it appears that the society was divided mainly into two groups namely the *Āryas* and the *Dāsas*. These two groups differed from each other both physically and culturally. Physical differences are clear from the epithets used by *Āryans* for non-*Āryans*. The latter were darkskinned (*kṛṣṇa-tvach*), had dark children (*kṛṣṇa-garbhāḥ*) and snubnosed (*anāsaḥ*). The epithets which express the cultural differences are *mṛdhra-vāchaḥ* (speaking an unintelligible language), *a-karman* (devoid of rites), *a-yajvan* (non-sacrificing), *a-devayu* (not worshipping the *Āryan* gods), *a-brahman* (wanting in prayer), *a-vrata* (not observing the Vedic vows), *deva-pīyū* (reviling) the Vedic gods and *Śiśnadevāḥ* (those who worshipped the phallus).

The word *varṇa* originally meant colour. Later it implied the character, temperament and

distinctive quality of a group. For social stratification literary sources alone are not our only guide. R.S. Sharma has made a thorough analysis of earlier portions of the *Rgveda* and comes to the conclusion that the early Vedic society was primarily pastoral. In the central portion of the *Rgveda* the references to agriculture are fewer as compared with those to cows. According to him agriculture was probably carried on with the hoe or the wooden ploughshare. Cattle-rearing was an important source of subsistence. Plough cultivation seems to have been a subsidiary source of sustenance. The tribal kinsmen of the chief of the tribe gave voluntary presents (*bali*) to him but defeated hostile tribes were compelled to pay tributes. At the time of periodical sacrifices the chief distributed the gifts and tributes amongst his tribesmen. The lion's share remained with the priests and the chief. Cattle, horses and woman-slaves were generally given as gifts. Ordinary members of the tribe received a share (*amśa* or *bhāga*). The distribution of booty especially cattle, introduced an element of differentiation elevating the tribal chief and priests above the remaining segment of the tribal communities but the early Vedic society could not evolve the class and status system. He comes to the conclusion that the various types of social institutions such as *varṇa*, *janapada* etc. could not emerge in a situation in which people lived on booty capture and cattle-rearing.²

In the *Puruṣa-sūkta* of the *Rgveda* it is stated that the *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* were respectively created from the head, arms, the thighs and the feet of the Creator.³ This passage refers to the first three *varṇas* not as sprung from, but as identical with the mouth, arms and thighs of the Creator. In the *Puruṣa-sūkta* the Creator (*Puruṣa*) represents the organiser of the whole society as is clear from a passage in the hymn itself.⁴

The eighth *maṇḍala* of the *Rgveda* mentions three groups namely, *Brahma*, *Kṣatra* and *Viś*⁵ but the first *maṇḍala* of the same work also refers to the fourth group.⁶ It states that the first group was created for achieving the highest ideal, the second for the highest glory, the third for profit or gain and the fourth for serving others throughout life.

From a hymn⁷ in the ninth *maṇḍala* of the *Rgveda* it is clear that in the early Vedic period there was no restriction on the choice of profession. In this hymn a man says, 'I am a poet. My father was a physician. My mother ground flour. All of us desire wealth and animals.'

According to majority of scholars the first and the tenth *maṇḍalas* of the *Rgveda* contain late hymns. From the above discussion we may conclude that in the earliest society represented by the *Rgveda* there were probably different classes and professions but there was no caste system based on heredity. Probably the *brāhmaṇas* and the *kṣatriyas* occupied a higher status in society than the *vaiśyas* but even their professions were not hereditary.

The Later Vedic Period (c. 1000-500 B.C.)

In the Later Vedic the sacrificial ritual became very complicated hence the status of *brāhmaṇas* was raised in society. But the brahmanical organisation was based on learning and not on birth. In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*⁸ it is clearly stated that one who is learned (*bahuśruta*) is a *brāhmaṇa*. Similar views have been expressed in the *Kāthaka Saṁhitā*. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* it is clearly stated that an individual is considered a *brāhmaṇa* on account of learning and not because he is born in a *brāhmaṇa* family.⁹

From the account of the origin of *brāhmaṇas* and the *kṣatriyas* in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* it is clear that there was no innate difference between the *brāhmaṇas* and the

ksatriyas. It is stated in this *Brāhmaṇa* that a ruler can become a brāhmaṇa by initiation. Similar views have been expressed in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which says that one who officiates as a priest at a sacrifice becomes a brāhmaṇa.¹⁰ From the above statement we may infer that by officiating as a priest at a sacrifice even a vaiśya could become a brāhmaṇa.

From the above discussion it is clear that even in this period those who were well-versed in Vedic lore and could officiate as priests were considered brāhmaṇas. There was no rigidity in brahmanical organisation even in this period. The persons constituting this group included that of the Śūdras but matrimonial relation of any member of the three high castes with the Śūdras was looked down upon in society. The brāhmaṇas were classified according to the particular branch of Vedic learning to which they subscribed e.g. *Rgvedin*, *Yajurvedin* etc.

The ksatriya organization consisted of representatives of aristocratic families and chiefs of different tribes. Their organization was also not rigid. On account of their learning they could become brāhmaṇas. For example Janaka was a ksatriya. When he became well-versed in the philosophical teachings of Yājñvalkyā he became a brāhmaṇa. The development of the two organizations viz that of the brāhmaṇas and that of the ksatriyas was almost on parallel lines.

The vaiśyas represented the community as a whole from which the brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas were selected. There was no uniformity of temperament or quality of work. They differed from individual to individual. We may say that they had no organization of their own.

The word śūdra in this period included all those persons who had not yet fully imbibed Aryan culture hence they could not be regarded as honourable members of the Aryan society. But they were permitted to study Vedic learning, could sit near the sacred fire and could also have cremation rites for their dead. We know about their work from a hymn of the *Rgveda*.¹¹ They either served the members of three high castes or worked as artisans.

References

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2. R.S. Sharma, M.C.S.F., pp. 157 to 159 and pp. 165-166.
3. ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद् बाहू राजन्यः कृतः ।
ऊरु तद् अस्य यद् वैश्यः पद्म्यां शूद्रोऽजायत ।
—Rv. X, 90.12.
4. पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद् भूर्त यच्च भाव्यम्
—Rv. X. 90.2.
5. Rv. VIII, 35, 16 - 18.
6. Rv. I, 113, 16.
7. Rv. IX, 112.3.
8. Tait Sam. VI. 6. 1. 4, Kath. Sam XXX 1.
9. Śat. Bra. II. 6.2.10.
10. Ibid., XIII. 4.1.3.
11. Rv. I. 116.13.

QUESTIONS

1. On the basis of the archaeological evidence discuss the social organization of the Harappan people.
2. Discuss the evidence in the *Rgveda* that originally the society was divided into two groups, the Aryans and the non-Aryans.
3. Discuss the importance of the *Puruṣasūkta* of the *Rgveda* as the earliest evidence of the origin of the varṇa system.
4. Trace the development of the Varṇa system in the

later vedic period and point out the differences in the status of the members of different varṇas in the society in this period.

5. "The development of the brahmanical organization and that of the Ksatriyas was almost on parallel lines." Elucidate the above statements.
6. Discuss to what extent there were any restrictions on the choice of a profession in the later Vedic Period.

Chapter 7

The Caste System and the Mixed Castes

The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions three different words *ehi*, *āgachchha* and *ādrava* which were to be used to welcome to a sacrifice respectively the members of *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya varṇas*.¹ This makes us infer that the social status of three *varṇas* was not the same and the practice of differentiating on the basis of caste by birth had its beginning in this period. From the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* it seems that the struggle for supremacy in society between the *brāhmaṇas* and the *kṣatriyas* started during this period. This work mentions *kṣatriyas* before the *brāhmaṇas*.² In the *Kāthaka Samhitā* it is clearly stated that the *kṣatriyas* were superior to *brāhmaṇas*.³ Similar views have been expressed in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. It states that a *brāhmaṇa* follows the king.⁴ From the above references it is clear that the *brāhmaṇas* occupied a privileged position in society in this period and towards the end of this period the *brāhmaṇas*, the *kṣatriyas* and the *vaiśyas* had organized themselves into separate groups on the basis of birth. The position of *brāhmaṇas* and the *kṣatriyas* was definitely superior to that of the *vaiśyas*. The members of the first two castes could extort as much money as they liked from the *vaiśyas*.⁵ The reason for the lowering of status of the *vaiśyas* in society seems to have been their close contact with the *śūdras*.

In the *Atharvaveda* the *śūdras* have been mentioned as a class which makes us infer that the *Śūdras* were an Aryan tribe which came to India after the *Rgvedic* Aryans. This

tribe had to fight against the *Rgvedic* Aryans for land and animals. It was defeated by the *Rgvedic* Aryans. For this reason the *śūdras* were given the same status as assigned to non-Aryans. Later the non-Aryan people who lived in India before the advent of the *Rgvedic* Aryans were also included in the *śūdra* class. In the *Brāhmaṇas* the *rathakāra* (charioteer) and *takṣaka* (carpenter) are included in the category of *ratnins*. This shows that they had a respectable status in society in this period. The Aryans could marry *śūdra* girls but a *śūdra* could not marry an Aryan girl. But the *śūdras* were not considered untouchable in this period. According to the *Kāthaka Samhitā* *śūdra* should not milk a cow of which the milk was to be used in sacrifice⁶ but according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* a *śūdra* could take part in the *Soma* sacrifice⁷ and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* mentions a formula by which sacrificial fire was established for a *rathakāra*.⁸ A *śūdra* could not have the sacred thread ceremony and he was completely debarred from Vedic ritual. A *Niṣāda* was a non-Aryan but he could perform a sacrifice. A *śūdra* could also prepare *havis* (articles to be offered as oblations) for a sacrifice with members of the three high castes. He could not sprinkle water in the *rājasūya* sacrifice. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* a person initiated for a sacrifice should not talk to a *śūdra*.⁹ According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* the members of the three high castes could beat a *śūdra* at will and could expel him from the village at will.¹⁰ All these

references show that the position of a śūdra was deteriorating but some leaders of the society did not wish to completely cut off their relations with the śūdras. In the communal life the śūdras could take part with members of the three high castes. Towards the end of the period they were, no doubt, debarred from performing most of the religious rites, probably because as pointed out by R.S. Sharma, they could not give large sums of money as fees to the brāhmaṇa priests in the sacrifices.

As pointed out by R.S. Sharma Western U.P. and the neighbouring areas of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan became the centres of material and cultural activities of the Aryans in the later Vedic period. These people took to agriculture on a large scale. These people used Painted Grey Ware and used iron only for making weapons. But the archaeological evidence suggests that the settlements where P.G. W. people lived were rural. The chiefs used iron weapons to fight their rivals and also possibly to collect tribute from their tribesmen. The amount of tribute and cereals were sufficient to enable the princes to perform sacrifices and reward their priests. These sacrifices benefited the kinsmen of the chief (*rājanyas*) and his priests. Thus they were raised above the peasants (*viś*). These peasants paid tribute to the nobles and warriors and gifts to the priests. The nobles also gave gifts to the priests. The farmers also supplied food to the smiths and carpenters. The chiefs of the later Vedic period did not have regular collectors of taxes apart from their kinsmen. They did not have a permanent administrative system with a professional army but only a peasant militia. The peasants used only wooden ploughshare and killed cattle for food. They did not know the process of transplantation of rice. They, therefore, produced only Vrihi and not Śāli rice. They, therefore, did not produce much over and above their need. But the later Vedic phase

which was based on agriculture and the limited use of iron marked the transition of tribal states into territorial states and the gradual disintegration of the tribal society into class and occupational groupings.

The Sūtra Period (c. 800 to 300 B.C.)

According to the Śrauta-sūtra of Kātyāyana when initiated for a sacrifice even vaiśyas and rājanyas (kṣatriyas) should be addressed as brāhmaṇas. This shows that even in this period the principle of division of society on the basis of profession was partially accepted.

In the *Dharma-sūtras* different ages and seasons are prescribed for performing the sacred thread ceremony of the children of three high castes. For example a brāhmaṇa child should have his sacrament at the age of 8 and in the spring season, a kṣatriya at the age of 11 and in the summer season and a vaiśya at the age of 12 and in the winter season. This shows that the *varṇa* system was changing into *jāti* system during this period. In the *Dharma-sūtras* the brāhmaṇas are regarded as the highest caste in society. These *sūtras* mention special privileges of a brāhmaṇa. For example he was exempted from payment of many taxes. He could accept food offered by the vaiśyas but not that offered by the artisans.

The members of the three upper castes are called *dvijātis* in the *Dharmasūtras* because only they could have the sacred thread ceremony. There are three common duties assigned to members of three high castes namely study of Vedic lore, performance of sacrifices and practice of charity. Special duties of a brāhmaṇa were teaching (*pravacana*), conducting sacrifice (*yajña*) and receiving gifts offered spontaneously and respectfully in recognition of his work as a source of his livelihood (*pratigraha*).

Special duties of a kṣatriya were protection of all created beings (*sarva-bhūta-rakṣaṇam*),

righteous rule (*nyāya-daṇḍatvam*), patronage of learned men (*śrotriya*s), relief of non-brāhmaṇas in distress, supporting ascetics and those serving the public (*upakurvāṇah*) such as physicians, marching through the country with his army, firm stand to death in battle without retreating therefrom and levy of just taxes for defence of realm (*tadrakṣaṇa dharmitvāt*).

The special duties assigned to a vaiśya were agriculture (*kṛṣi*), trade (*vāṇijya*), cattle rearing (*paśupālya*) and money-lending (*kusīda*). The śūdras were assigned the following duties by the authors of the *Kalpasūtras* :—

Practice of purity, truthfulness and humility, taking bath, performance of funeral rites, supporting the dependents, continence, menial service, pursuit of independent occupations such as those of a barber, washerman, painter, carpenter or blacksmith.

The *Kalpasūtras* have laid down the ideal which the members of the four castes were expected to follow but the actual conditions were considerably different from the above ideal. Pāṇini mentions some states where the brāhmaṇas followed the profession of arms. *Gautama Dharmasūtra* permits brāhmaṇas to get their land cultivated by servants or follow other professions such as trade and money-lending. *Gautama* permits a hungry brāhmaṇa even to follow the profession of a śūdra. All these injunctions show that brāhmaṇas in this period followed the professions of all the four castes. Buddha has classified brāhmaṇas into five categories :—

1. *Brahmasama* who devoted most of their time to meditating on *Brahman*.

2. *Devasama* whose character was as pure as that of gods.

3. *Mariyāda* who followed all the rules laid down by the law-givers for brāhmaṇas.

4. *Sambhinna-mariyāda* who did not

observe all the rules laid down for brāhmaṇas and

5. *Brahma-Canḍāla* whose conduct was like that of *Canḍālas*.

This shows that the brāhmaṇa caste at this time included individuals having different temperaments and following different professions. But this caste, even in this period, also included some individuals who were known for their ideal character and learning.

The status of kṣatriyas in society was equal to that of the brāhmaṇas but they could not act as priests in this period. In the early Buddhist works the kṣatriyas are considered superior to brāhmaṇas because Gautama Buddha was himself a kṣatriya. Another reason seems to have been that some of the kṣatriya rulers were not inferior to brāhmaṇas in learning and had political authority with them. But some kṣatriyas also followed professions other than those assigned to them by the law-givers. Some of them were potters, gardeners, cooks, or basket-makers. Both Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha wished to organize the society on the basis of the actions of the individuals but they did not fully succeed in it. The author of the Jaina work *Pannavaṇā* divides Aryan society into five classes on the basis of region, birth, family, professions, languages and arts. This means that he does not attach importance to caste by birth alone.

The status of vaiśyas continued to deteriorate because of their close contact with the śūdras. In the early Buddhist works the word *Gṛhapati* (a house-holder) has been used for a vaiśya. They had full control over trade and industries. Some of them were very rich. Their children were educated with those of brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas. The *gṛhapatis* were called *Seṭṭhis*, but some of the poor *gṛhapatis* followed ordinary professions like those of a tailor or a potter. Some of them earned their living by serving others or selling vegetables

and fruit. But all of them continued to be members of the vaiśya caste.

The organization of society on the basis of castes by birth also affected the legal system of the land. For the same crime very light punishment was awarded to a brāhmaṇa, a little more severe to a kṣatriya and still more severe to a vaiśya. The śūdra was awarded the maximum punishment. The legal rate of interest and fines were also graded according to castes and a śūdra received capital punishment for homicide for which lighter punishments were awarded to the three high castes.

Mixed Castes (Varṇa-saṁkara)

In the beginning the children born as a result of *anuloma* type of marriage belonged to the father's caste. Even the Buddha said, 'Wise men of old have said what matters the mother's birth, the birth of the father is the measure'. This shows that intercaste marriages were widely prevalent in this period though marriage within one's own caste was preferred. In *anuloma* type of marriage a member of a higher caste could take unto himself a wife or wives of the lower castes in addition to one of his own caste. The *Dharmasūtras* give the names of the mixed castes that arose not only as a result of *anuloma* marriages but also those which arose as a result of the *pratiloma* marriages which were prohibited. In the *pratiloma* marriages the husband's caste was lower than that of the wife. According to the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, the members of the three high castes namely brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas are respectively born as *Chandāla*, *Pukkasa* and *Veṇa* in the next birth if they commit theft in this birth. Baudhāyana thinks that all these castes came into existence as a result of mixed marriages. According to the *Vasiṣṭha Dharma-sūtra*¹¹ the children of a

śūdra father and a brāhmaṇa mother become *chandālas* and should be treated as out-castes. This is an example of *pratiloma* marriage. According to Baudhāyana the children of a vaiśya father and a śūdra mother become *rathakāras*. This is an example of *anuloma* marriage. Thus the theory of mixed castes was an ingenious device with which the authors of the *Sūtras* explained the existence of so many castes because they did not wish to say anything against the Vedic lore according to which God created only four *varṇas*.

Even in the *Sūtra* period the caste system was not as exclusive as it is now. Inter-dining and inter-marriages, in the *anuloma* form, were not prohibited. Even out-castes who had performed the prescribed penances could be admitted to the Aryan fold.

The position of śūdras further deteriorated during this period. According to Gautama (c. 400 B.C.) and Āpastamba (c. 400 B.C.) a brāhmaṇa should not himself serve food to a śūdra. He should get it done through a servant. According to Āpastamba a brāhmaṇa while taking food, if touched by a śūdra should discontinue eating as he becomes impure by the touch of a śūdra. According to Baudhāyana (C. 300 B.C.) one who has completed his Vedic studies should not go on a journey with degraded persons, women and śūdras. Brāhmaṇas could not take food offered by śūdras but the latter could cook food after getting their hair cut, nails clipped and after they had taken bath.¹² This makes us conclude that the kṣatriyas and vaiśyas had no objection in taking food touched by śūdras.

In the beginning of the period matrimonial relations between the three high castes and the śūdras were not prohibited¹³ but towards the end of the period such an act was considered most despicable.

Śūdras were permitted to study Vedic literature in the beginning of the period but they were deprived of this privilege because

they could not have the sacred thread ceremony.¹⁴

Śūdras could take part with the three high castes in some Vedic rituals like 'Odana sūtra' and 'Mahāvratā'. They could also have funeral rites with oblations into fire.

The discrimination against the śūdras was also extended to the legal field as well. For example if a brāhmaṇa committed a theft he was blinded but if a śūdra committed the same crime all his property was confiscated and he was awarded capital punishment.¹⁵

Pāṇini has mentioned two categories of śūdras *niravasita* and *aniravasita*. *Aniravasita* śūdras were those who could take food in the utensils of the three high castes but if *niravasita* śūdras took their meals in the utensils of the three high castes these utensils became impure. Probably *niravasita* śūdras included such tribes as the Niṣādas who did not lead a life of cleanliness as was expected by an Ārya.¹⁶

Śūdra caste probably included all those people who could not culturally attain the standard of living expected by the Āryans. Śūdras were expected to take bath daily, support the members of their families and serve the three high castes. They could also maintain themselves by such occupations as were considered low by the members of the three high castes such as those of a barber, a washerman, a painter, a carpenter and a blacksmith. But all śūdras were not considered untouchable even in this period.

The early Buddhist works mention five *Hīna-jātis* (despised castes) namely Chaṇḍāla, Niṣāda, Veṇa, Rathakāra and Pukkusa. These *Hīna-jātis* were not included among the śūdras who were a part of Aryan social organisation. Probably the Chaṇḍālas and Pukkusas were aboriginals hence they were considered untouchable. Their main occupation was hunting. The main occupation of the Veṇas

who were also aboriginals besides hunting was making baskets from bamboos. They were not considered untouchable. But the Niṣādas were considered untouchable. The social status of Rathakāras was better than that of the Chaṇḍālas or Pukkusas. But after some time the Veṇas and Rathakāras were also considered untouchable probably because all occupations which involved manual labour were looked down upon by members of the three high castes.

Some of the *Hīna-jātis* were non-Aryan tribes who were culturally much below the Aryans or followed some professions involving manual work which was considered low as the brāhmaṇas attached more importance to intellectual work.

In this period in eastern U.P. and Bihar wrought iron began to be used, coins were minted and the richer section of society used Northern Black Polished ware. From some iron artifacts the archeologists have come to the conclusion that these people used iron ores from Singhbhum and Moyurbhanj. Thus according to R.S. Sharma the age of the Buddha marked the beginning of the second phase in the history of iron. In this phase iron was used not only for making weapons but also for making plough-shares and implements for crafts. Thickly forested areas of eastern U.P. and Bihar were cleared with iron implements and the use of iron ploughshares resulted in surplus production of cereals. The production of transplanted paddy was doubled. This led to rise of towns. The rulers devised methods for regular collection of taxes and maintained a professional army in place of a peasant militia.¹⁷

The process of social stratification gathered momentum and assumed significance about 500 B.C. Primary producers were gradually separated socially and politically from those who collected and consumed taxes, tributes and gifts etc. The

varṇa system was fully established in the post-Vedic times.

The brahmanical varṇa ideology was, according to R.S. Sharma, a clever device for regulating production, tax/gift collection and distribution. But it carried discriminatory legislation too far with the result that it hindered new material changes. The teachings of the Buddha tried to soften the rigours of the varṇa system and in the early early Buddhist and Jaina texts the kṣatriyas assert their supremacy. The vaiśyas as agriculturists and śūdras as craftsmen were able to improve their status in society on account of improvement in their economic condition as they could now earn much more when the restrictions on their professions imposed by the brahmanical law-givers no longer stood in their way.

Pre-Gupta Period (c. 300 B.C. to 300 A.D.)

From the *Mahābhārata* we have clear indications of two types of society. In the *Śānti-parva* and the *Anuśāsana-parva* we have the description of a varṇa-divided society but emphasis is still laid on the actions or professions. For example in a verse of the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* it is stated that in the beginning of creation God created men. Later they were divided into different varṇas on the basis of their actions.¹⁸ Similar ideas are expressed in the *Gītā*. In a well known verse of the *Gītā* Kṛṣṇa says that he created the four varṇas on the basis of qualities of individuals and their actions¹⁹ but in the *Anuśāsanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* it is clearly stated that Prajāpati created four varṇas and assigned duties to the members of different varṇas.²⁰

According to R.S. Sharma the earlier portions of the *Mahābhārata* indicate the existence of a tribal society before the class-based society developed. In these portions the

ruler is called protector of the tribe (*viśāmpati*) or lord of the tribe (*janeśvara*). In the tribal society of the *Mahābhārata* the king is not guided by the council of ministers, he consults his kinsmen and friends. The description of the *Rājasūrya* sacrifice shows that some tribal practices such as the presentation of gifts to Yudhiṣṭhira by members of all varṇas continued even when tribal community disintegrated into castes and classes.²¹

But the later portions of the *Mahābhārata* especially the *Śāntiparva* reflect a society in which bonds of kinship were undermined by economic factors because the individuals could then earn their livelihood and amass wealth by means of agriculture, numerous handicrafts, state service, trade, usury etc.²²

Thus during this period *jātis* took the place of varṇas and birth became more important than the temperament or actions of an individual, but the principles on which varṇa system was based were not completely ruled out. Even in the *Anuśāsana-parva* it is stated that brāhmaṇas are called brāhmaṇas on account of their virtuous conduct, even a śūdra of good conduct can attain the status of brāhmaṇa.²³

Both in the *Manusmṛti*²⁴ and the *Mahābhārata*²⁵ some common duties of all the four varṇas are laid down such as observance of non-violence, truth, non-stealing, purity. Similarly both Manu²⁶ and the authors of the *Mahābhārata*²⁷ lay down that teaching the Vedic lore is the specific duty of the brāhmaṇas, protecting the people of the kṣatriyas and trade that of the vaiśyas. According to Manu a person of any of the varṇas should not follow a profession of a varṇa higher than his own,²⁸ but according to him in an emergency the persons of all the four varṇas can follow any of the following ten occupations namely teaching, handicrafts, working as a labourer, service, cattle-rearing, trade,

agriculture, to be satisfied with whatever one earns by begging the usury.²⁹

Mixed Castes (Varṇa-saṁkara)

According to Manu God created the four varṇas for the proper functioning of the society. According to him all the jātis (castes) except the four varṇas came into existence as a consequence of pratiloma marriages.³⁰ In this way he accounts for the existence of 57 castes which were in existence when this portion of the *Manusmṛti* was compiled. The author did not wish that there should be any deviation from the Vedic statement hence he devised, this ingenious method of explaining the existence of 57 jātis of his times. However, according to him the children of anuloma marriages belong to the caste of the father.³¹

From the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* also it is evident that a number of castes were in existence in Hindu society when this portion of the work was compiled. In this work the existence of so many castes is explained as a consequence of both anuloma and pratiloma marriages.³² On the basis of a comparative study of the *Manusmṛti* and the *Mahābhārata* V.S. Sukthankar had come to the conclusion that these portions were added to the *Mahābhārata* by those very members of the Bhṛgu family who had compiled the *Manusmṛti* in its present form. The inclusion of *ambasṭhas*, *ugras*, *vaidehikas*, *śvapākas*, *pukkusas*, *sūtas*, *māgadhas* and *vṛātyas* in this list shows that the authors tried to include even non-Aryan tribes like the *ambasṭhas* into the fold of Hindu social organisation.³³ Even the *hīnajātis* like the *pukkusas*, the *niśādas* and the *chandālas*, mentioned in the early Buddhist literature were absorbed in the Hindu social organisation.

Megasthenes in his account mentions seven classes or castes into which the whole population of India was divided namely

(1) Philosophers, (2) Husbandmen, (3) Herdsmen and hunters, (4) Artisans and traders, (5) Military personnel, (6) Overseers or Spies and (7) Councillors and Assessors. The first class of Megasthenes can be regarded as people belonging to the brāhmaṇa varṇa, the second, third and the fourth classes can be included in the vaiśya varṇa, the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh classes in the kṣatriya varṇa. According to him all the seven castes had marriage relations in their own castes and had to follow their hereditary professions. This makes us conclude that the jāti principles were becoming more important in Maurya times than those on which the original varṇa system was based. Megasthenes' division of society is, however, based on occupations and not the theoretical division mentioned in the brahmanical works of the period. From the account of Kauṭilya³⁴ also it appears that some people in the Hindu society began to attach greater importance to the principle of birth rather than to that of occupation and temperament.

Kauṭilya assigns four occupations to the members of the śūdra caste, namely (1) service of the members of the three high castes, (2) earning money by agriculture or trade (*vārtā*), (3) practising arts and (4) crafts. Kauṭilya also mentions some organisations (*saṁghas*) whose members earned their living by agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade. This means that the members of these *saṁghas* consisted to vaiśyas and śūdras. The Mauryan state encouraged arts and crafts. This must have resulted in improving the economic condition of śūdras. thus there was hardly any difference left between the social status of the śūdras and that of the vaiśyas.

In this period the śūdras were deprived of the privilege of hearing the Vedic texts and they could not have all the sacraments, but they were allowed to cook food for the

members of three high castes. They could also have the sacrament of marriage and could perform śrāddhas (funeral ritual).³⁵ Manu also mentions some śūdra teachers³⁶ but the position of śūdras considerably deteriorated during this period. This is clear from the fact that Manu makes no distinction between the śūdras and the slaves and he prescribes very severe punishment for the crimes if they were done by the members of the śūdra caste.³⁷

The Gupta Period

(c. 300 A.D. to c. 700 A.D.)

The supremacy of the brāhmaṇas was at its zenith in the Gupta period. From the rules laid down by Yājñavalkya it is clear that he tries to change the *varṇa* organization into *jāti*-system. According to him for an ideal marriage both the bride and the bridegroom should belong to the same caste.³⁸ Similar views have been expressed by Viṣṇu.³⁹ The lawgivers of this period in converting *varṇas* into *jātis* had three principal aims in view. Firstly they did not wish to deviate from the Vedic statement that God himself created four *varṇas*. The second aim was to fit in all the occupations in these *varṇas* so that every individual might discharge his duty towards the society faithfully. The third aim was to absorb the tribal people and foreigners in the Hindu social organization. The Greeks, the Parthians, the Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas were generally part of the administrative machinery hence they were absorbed in the kṣatriya *varṇa* even before the beginning of the Gupta period.

But even in this period there are many references to persons following professions not assigned to their castes. Mayūra Śarmā was a brāhmaṇa but acted as a ruler. The imperial Gupta rulers were most probably vaiśyas. Chandragupta II gave his daughter in marriage to Rudraśeṇa who was a brāhmaṇa by birth. We have many examples of brāhmaṇas

following the professions of teachers, architects and royal officers. Some kṣatriyas were also traders.

One important social development during this period was the formation of separate castes of farmers, traders, cattle-rearers, black-smiths, carpenters, oil mongers and weavers. They no longer-regarded themselves as members of one vaiśyas caste. Many śūdras were traders, farmers and artisans but the Kāyasthas had not yet organized themselves as one caste. The members of three upper castes generally avoided marrying śūdra girls. But the rules of inheritance make it clear that some bridegrooms of upper castes did marry some śūdra girls even in this period. For example according to Yājñavalkya the son of a brāhmaṇa father and a śūdra mother should inherit the property of his father.⁴⁰ With regard to food as well there was some latitude to accept the food offered by a śūdra. According to Yājñavalkya the members of the three upper castes could accept food offered by a farmer, barber, milkman and a śūdra friend of the family.⁴¹

Mixed Castes (Varṇa-saṁkara)

Yājñavalkya mentions a number of mixed castes. For example he calls the son of a brāhmaṇa father and kṣatriya mother *mūrdhābhiṣikta*, that of a brāhmaṇa father and vaiśya mother *ambastha*, that of a brāhmaṇa father and śūdra mother *niṣāda* or *pāraśava*, that of a kṣatriya father and vaiśya mother *māhiṣya*, that of a kṣatriya father and śūdra mother *ugra*, that of a vaiśya father and śūdra mother *karaṇa*. All these are examples of *anuloma* marriages. He calls the son of a kṣatriya father and brāhmaṇa mother *sūta*, that of a vaiśya father and brāhmaṇa mother *Vaidehaka*, that of a vaiśya father and kṣatriya mother *Pulkasa*, that of śūdra father and vaiśya mother *Āyogava* and that of a śūdra father

and brāhmaṇa mother a Chāṇḍāla.⁴² All this shows that this was an ingenious way of explaining the existence of so many castes which was purely a product of the imagination of the law givers.

Even in this period the Chāṇḍālas could not be absorbed in the Hindu social organization. They were considered impure, liars, thieves and athiests who were always inclined to quarrel over petty matters. However, they were employed as sweepers and looked after corpses. They were fishermen or hunters. They were not permitted to enter the residential area of a town at night. Even during the day they had to wear a dress by which they could be distinguished from members of other castes. According to Fa-hien they lived outside a town and struck a stick when they entered a town so that the members of the upper castes might not be polluted by their touch. But Yājñavalkya does not prescribe any expiatory rites if a member of any of the three high castes was touched by a śūdra. He only lays down that he should take bath and recite the *Gāyātrī mantra*. The *Amarakośa* gives ten synonyms of Chāṇḍāla such as *plava*, *divākīrti* and *jaṅgama*. These are not mentioned as Chāṇḍālas in earlier works. This makes us conclude that there was some increase in the number of untouchables during the Gupta period.

The Early Medieval Period (700-1200 A.D.)

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (C. 700) vehemently criticised the division of society on the basis of occupations. He laid emphasis on the principle of birth and in this period *varṇa* became a synonym of *jāti*. The law-givers of this period laid emphasis on purity of blood and laid down rules which rigidly restricted matrimonial relations, interdining and the choice of professions. Brāhmaṇas had full faith in the principle of *jāti* system. They were

divided into a number of sub-castes such as *bisalanagarā*, *śrīmāla*, *sāgara*, *pañchagaṇḍa*, *pañcadravida*, *dadhya*, *dāhima*, *puṣkara*, *rāyakavāla*, *āvasathika*, *purohitā*, *dvivedī*, *trivedī*, *caturvedī*, *miśra*, *dikṣita*, *tripāthī*, *nāgaras*. The basis of these sub-castes was generally the region from which their ancestors had come or the branch of knowledge which they studied.

Jaina scholars vehemently criticised the rituals and false beliefs of the brāhmaṇas but many brāhmaṇas who were great scholars had a respectable position in society. According to Artī the brāhmaṇas who earned their living by the use of weapons should be called *brahma-kṣatras*. Those who were agriculturist or traders *vaiśya-brāhmaṇas* and those who dealt in resin, salt, milk, clarified butter, honey and meat should be called *śūdra-brāhmaṇas*. From the above discussion it is clear that the brāhmaṇas had a narrow outlook but some of them were highly honoured on account of their learning.

Hindu society did not completely give up the principles on which the *varṇa* organisation was based. Harichandra Pratīhāra was a brāhmaṇa he married a kṣatriya girl and acted as a ruler. Rājaśekhara was a brāhmaṇa and he married a kṣatriya girl. Some brāhmaṇas followed the profession of kṣatriyas, others became administrators and some others traders. This shows that the restrictions on the choice of professions or marriage relations were not observed by all the members of brāhmaṇa community.

Kṣatriyas mostly followed the *varṇa* principle. The Cāhamānas and Guhilas were brāhmaṇas by birth but were considered kṣatriyas. Paramāras were most probably brahma-kṣatra. All the Rajput clans whatever their origin were considered kṣatriyas in the tenth century A.D. From the account of Ibn Khurdadbah it appears that there were two

categories of *kṣatriyas*. Those who were descendents of royal families are called *sat-kṣatriyas* and others are simply called *kṣatriyas*. Some non-Aryan tribes such as the *Gonḍṣ* and foreigners like the *Hūṇas* were given the status of *kṣatriyas* in the contemporary Hindu social organization. Even Medhātithi, the commentator of the *Manusmṛti*, states that all those who acted as rulers should be considered kings even if they did not belong to the *kṣatriya* caste because they discharged all the duties of the *kṣatriyas* such as protection of people, earning a living by the use of weapons, not running away from the battle field. Thus indirectly Medhātithi also admitted that they belonged to the *kṣatriyas* caste.

In this period all those persons who were traders were included in the *vaiśyas* caste. All the *vaiśyas* of Rajasthan such as the *agravālas*, the *maheśvaris*, the *jayasavālas*, *khandelavālas* and *oswals* claim that they are the descendents of *kṣatriyas*. They were influenced by the teachings of Jaina monks so they gave up the profession of arms and became traders. Thus in their case their *jāti* was determined not by birth but by profession which they followed.

In the inscriptions of this period potters, gardeners, stonecutters, wine merchants and oilmen all are called *sūdras* but some of them were organised into guilds. All the artisans who were organised in their guilds were regarded as different *jātis* in this period. They were *sūdras* but they were appointed on responsible and respectable posts because their economic condition had considerably improved in this period. For example Kumārapāla Caulukya appointed a potter named Sajjana as the governor of Chittor.⁴³ According to Yuan Chwang the rulers of Sindh and Matipur were *sūdras*.⁴⁴

The farmer population, in this period was largely composed of *sūdras*. According to R.S. Sharma the transformation of *sūdras* from the

position of slaves and hired labourers into that of agriculturists should be regarded as a factor of great significance, in the development of feudalism.⁴⁵

According to Medhātithi *sūdras* could possess their own property and they could have their sacraments without the recitation of Vedic mantras.⁴⁶ They could also be members of those village committees which looked after the management of temples and the protection of villages.⁴⁷ All these facts make us conclude that the economic condition of the *sūdras* had much improved during this period.

Skanda Purāṇa mentions 18 sub-castes of *sūdras* viz., artisans, dancers, carpenters, potters, usurers, painters, weavers, washermen, oilmen, gardeners, leather-workers, hunters, musicians, oil-pressers, fishermen, spinners, men having raised navel and *Chāṇḍālas*. This *purāṇa* classifies 18 sub-castes of *sūdras* into three categories. Of these 18 the author places six in the good, five in bad and seven in the worst category (*antyaja*). The *antyajas* were considered untouchable. They lived outside the city. This category included washermen, leather-workers, dancers, fishermen, *varuḍas*, *mendṣ* and *bhīls*.⁴⁸ According to the *Kuvalayamālā* also *Chāṇḍālas*, *bhīls*, *ḍomas*, *pig-rearers* and fishermen were all *antyajas*.⁴⁹ Culturally they were much inferior to other *sūdras*.

But P.V. Kane thinks that washermen, acrobats, basket-makers, shield makers, boatmen, fishermen, fowlers and weavers were not considered untouchable during this period. The garland-makers supplied flowers, the beel-sellers beel-leaves and oilmen oil to the temples. Carpenters also gave pieces of land to the temples. Thus they could, by performing these acts of charity (*pūrtadharmā*), become virtuous. Some foreigners such as the Śakas, the Greeks and *Hūṇas* who could not be absorbed in Hindu social organization were

considered *mlecchas*. Some tribal people such as Śābaras, Kirātas, Khasas, Odras, Goṇḍas, Pulindas and Bhīls were also regarded as *mlecchas*. They were called drunkards, abusers, cow-killers and killers of brāhmaṇas.⁵⁰ All these *mlecchas* along with Caṇḍālas were considered untouchables.

Kāyasthas : In the Gupta period Kāyasthas were writers. They were not a caste. But in the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. we have mention of *vallabha*, *gauḍa*, *mathura*, *saksenā*, *vāstavya* sub-castes of the *kāyasthas*. Some of these subcastes had their origin in the region from which the ancestors of these subcastes had migrated for instance Gauḍa or Vallabha. According to Halāyudha⁵¹ the *kāyasthas* were originally *śūdras* but according to Soḍḍhala⁵² (11th century A.D.) they were originally *kṣatriyas*.

Khatrīs : Probably the *khatrīs* were descendents of a *kṣatriya* father and a brāhmaṇa mother but some of the *khatrīs* claim that they are descendents of *kṣatriyas*.⁵³

Jaṭs : The Jaṭs of Rohtak district regard themselves as descendents of *kṣatriyas* but in Rajasthan even now Jaṭs are considered *śūdras*.⁵⁴

Mixed Castes (Samkara-jātis) : The authors of the *Dharma-śāstras* were of opinion that all the sub-castes except the four *varṇas* originated from inter-caste marriages but this view does not seem to be correct. For example we know that the Āndhras were the residents of the region near the eastern coast of the Deccan but Manu calls them *śūndaras*. Similarly, according to the *Mahābhārata* the *Ambaṣṭhas* were *kṣatriyas*. The *Pulindas* were a non-Aryan tribe, *Ugras* were also a tribe and *Khasas* were a hill tribe, *Māgadhas* were most probably originally residents of Magadha, *Kirātas* and *Niṣādas* were also non-Aryan tribes. Thus it is clear that the theory of mixed-castes was the product of the imagination of

the authors of the *Dharmaśāstras* because they wished to uphold the Vedic view that only four castes were created by God.

According to P.V. Kane we can trace three stages in the process of evolution of mixed-castes. In the first stage the children belonged to the caste of the father. In the second stage the children were given a status which was lower than that of the father and higher than that of the mother. In the third stage the children were given the status of the mother.

References

1. Śat. Brā. I. 1.4. 12.
2. Vaj. Sam. XXXVIII. 39.
3. Kath. Sam. XXVIII. 5.
4. Sat. Brā. I. 3.3.2.
5. Ait. Brā. VII. 29.3
6. Kāth. Sam. XXXI. 2.
7. Śat. Brā. V. 3.4.9.
8. Tait. Brā.
9. Śat. Brā. III. 1.1.1.
10. Ait. Brā.
11. Vas. Dh. Sū. XVIII. 1.
12. Āp. Dh. Sū. II. 23. 1-6.
13. Gaut. Dh. Sū. IV. 22., Vas. Dh. Sū. XVIII. 1.
14. Āp. Dh. Sū. and Satyā., Śr. Sū.
15. Gaut. Dh. Sū. XII. 1.
Āp. Dh. Sū. II. 10.
27, IX. 14. 15.
16. Pāṇini II. 4. 10.
17. R.S. Sharma, M.C.S.F., pp. 162.
18. न विशिष्टोऽस्ति वर्णानां सर्वं ब्रह्ममिदं जगत् ।
ब्रह्मणा पूर्वं सृष्टं कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गतम् ॥
—Mbh. Śānti. 188.10.
19. Gīta, IV. 13.
20. Mbh. Anu. XLVIII. 3.
21. R.S. Sharma, M.C.S.F., p. 144.
22. Ibid., p. 145.
23. सर्वोयं ब्राह्मणो लोके वृत्तेन तु विधायते ।
वृत्ते स्थितस्तु शूद्रोऽपि ब्राह्मणत्वं नियच्छति ॥
—Mbh. Anu. CXLIII. 55.
24. Manu. X. 63.
25. Mbh. Śānti. IX. 7.
26. Manu. X. 80.
27. Mbh. Śānti. XL. 8-29.
28. Manu. X. 95-96.
29. Ibid., X. 106.

30. Ibid., X. 11.
31. Ibid., X. 6.
32. चतुर्णामिव वर्णानामागमः पुरुषर्षभ।
अतोऽन्ये त्वतिरिक्ता ये वै संकरजाः स्मृताः।
क्षत्रियातिरथाम्बुष्टा उग्रा वैदेहिकास्तथा।
श्वपाकाः पुष्कसास्तेना निपादाः सूतमागधाः।
आयोगाः करणा ब्राह्मणाश्चाण्डालाश्च नराधिप।
एतेभ्यो वर्णभ्यो जायन्ते वै परस्परात्॥
33. Mbh. Santi, CCXLVII, 7-9 quoted by V.V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, Pt-I, p. 51, fn. 121.
34. Shamasastri, Kauṭ. p. 189.
35. Manu. IV. 99, X. 4.
36. Ibid., IV. 156.
37. Ibid., VIII, 279-282.
38. Yaj. Sm. I. 55. 57.
39. समानवर्णासु पुत्रा सवर्णा भविन्त।
—Viṣṇu Sm.
40. Yaj. Sm. II. 134.
41. Ibid., I. 166.
42. Yāj. Sm. I. 91-92.
43. Dasharatha Sharma, Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 248.
44. Watters, Vol. I, p. 322 and Vol. II, p. 552.
45. R.S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism, p. 288.
46. Medhātithi on Manu. III. 156 and VII. 415.
47. Dasharatha Sharma, Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 247.
48. Atri. Sm. 199, Yama Sm. 33.
49. Kuvalayamālā, p. 40 line 29 quoted by Dasharatha Sharma, Rajasthan through the Ages, p. 429.
50. Kuvalayamālā, p. 40 line 27 and page 112 quoted by Dasharatha Sharma in Rajasthan through the Ages, p. 428.
51. Brij Narain Sharma, Social Life in Northern India, p. 59.
52. Dasharatha Sharma, Rajasthan through the Ages, p. 448.
53. Ibid., p. 448.
54. Ibid., p. 449.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the evidence from the literature of the later Vedic Period which shows that differentiation on the basis of birth had its beginning in this period.
2. Critically describe the composition and rights of the Śūdras in the later Vedic Period.
3. Discuss how the later vedic phase marked the transition of tribal society into class and occupational groupings.
4. Bring out the evidence which shows that the varṇa system was changing into jāti system during the sūtra period.
5. Discuss the composition of the brāhmaṇa caste, keeping in view their classification by Gautama Buddha.
6. Critically describe the status of the Kṣatriyas in the life time of the Buddha as also the professions which they followed.
7. Discuss the status of Vaiśyas in society as gleaned from the early Buddhist works.
8. Describe critically the position of the Śūdras in the Sūtra period (C. 800 B.C. to 300 B.C.)
9. On the basis of earlier and later portions of the Mahābhārata show how varṇa system changed into jāti system.
10. Trace the beginnings of the theory of mixed castes (varṇa-saṁkara) in the Dharmasūtras and state why their authors resorted to this ingenious device.
11. Explain how the authors of the Manusmṛiti and the Mahābhārata by means of the theory of mixed-castes included many non-Aryans and hinajātis in the Hindu social organization. Give suitable examples in support of your answer.
12. Discuss the three aims of the authors of the Dharmaśāstras of the Gupta period when they converted the varṇas into jātis.
13. Give suitable examples to show that proliferation of castes started in the Gupta period.
14. Show how there was an increase in the number of untouchables in the Gupta period.
15. "In the Early Medieval period the varṇa became a synonym of jāti but Hindu society did not completely give up the principles on which the varṇa organisation was based." Elucidate.
16. Discuss the position of the Śūdras in Hindu society in the Early Medieval Period.
17. Describe the composition of the antyajas and mlecchas in the Early Medieval Period.

Chapter 8

Theories about The Origin of the Caste System

About the origin of castes various scholars have expressed different views. We shall examine these views and try to come to some actual factors which resulted in the proliferation of castes in India.

(1) The traditional view about the origin of castes that *anuloma* and *protiloma* marriages resulted in the proliferation of castes is puerile in the extreme as we have discussed above.

(2) According to Abbe Dubois the caste system was the ingenious device of the *brāhmaṇas* to maintain their supremacy in the society. There is no doubt that the *brāhmaṇas*, partly out of their honest desire to preserve the purity of the Vedic ritual, partly being the victims of their own ideas of ceremonial purity and partly also owing to their consciousness of superiority over the aborigines, first enacted rules for the guidance of their own members, which were intended to prevent the possibility of the *śūdras* in any way lowering their moral standard or contaminating them by their inferior blood.¹ With the progressive assimilation of the *vaiśyas* with the *śūdras* the *brāhmaṇas* enacted rules to keep their group free from admixture with them by assigning different status to the issues of the union of a *brāhmaṇa* male and a *vaiśya* female.² But this factor alone cannot explain the origin of all the castes. But the view of Abbe Dubois does not seem to be correct as the *brāhmaṇas* were not an organised body with a hierarchy of officers who might have enforced their overlordship. If the *brāhmaṇas*

had tried to do so of their own the powerful *kṣatriyas* and the rich traders must have risen in revolt against the *brāhmaṇas*.

2. According to Dehlaman the castes originated as a result of hereditary occupations or peculiarities in the professions for example *gvālīā* (cattle-breeding group), *sunār* (goldsmith), *baḍhai* (carpenter), *lohār* (blacksmith), *ṭhaṭherā* (brazier), *telī* (oilmen), *lūniā* (salt-worker), *tamoli* (betel-leaf seller), *kumhār* (potter) are all castes which are associated with different professions. Thus with functional differentiation in society there came into existence separate occupational groups with more or less distinct interest. According to N.K. Bose caste assured employment and security to all. It also served as a steady source of economic and cultural advantage for the dominant group. Ancient Indians recognised the advantages of complementary and non-competitive guilds. They modified the guild system by a feeling of racial superiority. Thus the caste system came into existence.³

3. Senart was of opinion that the members of one family worshipped one ancestor and participated in one family dinner at the time of a sacrament. This gave birth to a separate caste. This view can also be accepted as correct for example all the Agrawals trace their origin to a ruler named Agrasena.

4. According to Risely racial and colour differences led to the creation of castes in Hindu society. This theory is partially true as we know that in the beginning Vedic society was divided into two categories *Ārya-varṇa* and

Dāsavarṇa. Aryans had a patriarchal system while the Dravidians had a matriarchal system. This resulted in different cultural groups leading to the existence of different castes. Castes such as Arorās, Gūjars, Bhātiās and Ahirs were formed on the basis of tribal or ethnic differences.

5. Regional variations were an important factor in the origin of castes for example we have *Gauḍa* (Bengal), *Maithila* (Mithilā), *Kanaujā* (Kannauj) and *Sārasvata* (Sarasvatī) sub-castes among the brahmanas. We also have *Gauḍa* and *Māthur* sub-castes among the Kāyasthas.

6. Many castes came into existence on account of different food habits because the Indians believed that the mental make up of an individual depended on his food. In Maharashtra those who take impure meat are called *kāreberada* and those who avoid it are called *bileberada*.

7. Many castes came into existence as a result of ritual differences. For example we have *Ṛgvedī*, *Yajurvedī* and *Sāmavedī* brāhmaṇas, *Satnāmī camāras*, *Viṣṇoi*, *Jogī*, *Gosāin*, and *Vaiṣṇavas* in Maharashtra.

8. When members of one professional

caste had matrimonial relation with the member of another professional caste a new caste came into existence for example when a *Kolī* (weaver) bridegroom married a *Chamār* (leather-worker) girl their children were called *Kor-chamārs*.

9. Some sub-castes came into existence after the nick-names of certain members of a group. For example weavers who were in the habit of forgetting in weaving cloth were called *bhūliā* and those who were out-cast were called *bhaṅgis*.

10. Those who had one totem formed their separate caste.

From the above discussion it is clear that no one factor can be assigned to the proliferation of castes in India. There were a number of factors regional, social, economic and religious. Many castes came into existence on the basis of differences in food-habits or taboos.

References

1. G.S. Ghurye, *Caste, Class and Occupation*, Bombay, 1961, p. 173.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
3. N.K. Bose, *Culture and Society in India*, Calcutta, 1967, p. 226.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss how the traditional view about the origin of castes that *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages resulted in the proliferation of castes is puerile in the extreme.
2. Examine the view of Abbe Dubois about the origin of castes that it was the ingenious device of the brāhmaṇas to maintain their supremacy.
3. To what extent Dehlaman's view about the origin of castes that they originated as a result of

hereditary occupations or peculiarities in the profession is valid?

4. Examine how far Senart's opinion that the members of one family who worshipped one ancestor became a separate caste is correct.
5. Examine the validity of Risley's theory that racial and colour differences led to the creation of castes in Hindu society.
6. Mention other factors which led to the proliferation of castes in the Hindu society.

Chapter 9

Importance of Caste System in the Past

The *varṇa* system enjoined upon the members of each *varṇa* the performance of certain duties needed for the social life of the community. It was a cooperative and not a competitive social institution. Duties implied obligations and the stress was far more on obligations than on rights. The aim was to benefit not so much the doer as others. A *brāhmaṇa* taught members of all castes but charged no fees. A *kṣatriyas* protected the members of all *varṇas*. A *vaiśya* supplied food to all and a *śūdra* served all the three high castes.

This system integrated the society. The rich and the poor, the intelligent and the less intelligent, all the members of a caste performed their duties. It was a great stabilizing force. Foreign invasions, famines, and social upheavals of all kinds could not bring about any significant change in Hindu social organization. It maintained its cultural peculiarities even under Muslim rule and resisted aliens and their ways by social ostracism and sheer non-recognition of everything alien. If the *kṣatriyas* resisted the foreigners in every fort and village their women courted fire in order to leave a mighty tradition of unsullied chastity. According to Syndey Low 'it is the main cause of the fundamental stability and contentment by which Indian society has been braced up for centuries against the shocks of politics and catalysms of nature'.

It was a device for the future ascent of those who were culturally at a low level. When these people raised their cultural level they

became a part and parcel of Hindu social organisation. Its purposes were both worldly and unworldly. In this life it aimed at harmonious social development. The idea of getting salvation in life after death served as an important motive force to live and act in harmony with nature. Thus the *varṇa* system absorbed indigenous tribes and foreigners into Hindu society by laying emphasis on their qualities and actions rather than on their origin.

It paved the way for the hereditary transmission of specialized functions of artisans, craftsmen, traders, warriors and priests.

Thus caste system harmonized society and spiritualized it. It made for harmonious development through cooperation of different elements. It aimed at a permanent solution of every side of the social problem genetic, psychological, spiritual and economic. It served the social purpose and survived because it was based on a reasoned philosophy of existence, of rational perception of the strength of instincts and of the possibility of conserving them by heredity.¹

But caste system was not an unmixed blessing. It had some drawbacks which no student of social history can ignore. It arrested intellectual development of a major section of the society because education in early medieval India was meant only for the upper sections of the society. It created a feeling that intellectual development was far superior to manual work. Thus it degraded arts and

crafts and resulted in the destruction of economic guilds. Caste assured employment and security to all, but it also served as a steady source of economic and cultural advantage for the dominant group. It thus prevented the full and unhampered growth of personality of lowlier peoples who came under its sway. There was social control over economic occupations. The individual had to follow the calling of his father. From this point of view society was more authoritarian than it is today, but the totalitarianism was maintained by custom rather than by the arm of the state as it is in Russia at the present time.

The brahmanical restrictions on trade and commerce hampered their full development. The caste loyalty of the individual did not allow full scope for the development of a national feeling.

It was a conservative corporatism and prevented the emergence of political

individualism. Even vague elementary and undeveloped conceptions of individual rights versus the state did not emerge in ancient India. The priesthood was used to suppress other groups that could, together, have formed an effective opposition. No united front could be presented to the holders of political power.

In spite of these drawbacks as well have pointed out above it was a useful social institution in the past. Keeping in view the changed social and economic conditions if we try to imbibe some good features of the caste system such as due consideration for the weaker sections of the society and consciousness of our duty towards the community Indian society can still become an ideal society.

Reference

1. N.K. Bose, *Culture and Society in India*, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 221-222.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss briefly the benefits which the *Varna* system bestowed on the individual and the society in ancient India.
2. Examine the drawbacks of the caste system in the past.
3. State how by imbibing some good features of the caste system Indian society can become an ideal social organization in modern times.

Chapter 10

Slavery in Ancient India

Slavery seems to have been a recognised institution of Indian society from the earliest times. In the Harappan culture (C. 2300-1750 B.C.) sixteen dwelling units were discovered which had two rooms each and there were remains of a factory where grain was pounded in mortars with pestles. Piggot called these dwelling units coolie-quarters and we know that slaves existed in Mesopotamia in this period and Harappan people had trade relations with Mesopotamia. On this basis there is a possibility that the grinding of corn in mortars with pestles was done by slaves who lived in these two-roomed tenements.

In the *R̥gveda* there are many references to the struggle between the *Dāsas* and the *Āryas*. The non-*Āryans* who were defeated in war were most probably reduced to slavery. These slaves served the *Aryans* all their lives. From a reference in the *R̥gveda* we know that slaves were given as gifts just as animals were presented to relatives.¹ Rulers gave female-slaves as presents. Purukutsa gave 50 female-slaves in this way. All these slaves worked as domestic servants. We also know from the earlier portion of the *R̥gveda* that a slave could become free by payment of money.² In the first and tenth *maṇḍālas* of the *R̥gveda* the word *dāsa* has been used in the sense of an attendant. Probably these *dāsas* in this period helped the *Aryans* in arts and crafts as the *Āryans* were primarily pastoral people and the *dāsas* were very skilful in arts and crafts.

From the later portions of the *R̥gveda* it appears that at that time the number of slaves

had considerably increased. Probably then all those persons who could not repay their debts were also reduced to slavery. These slaves served the rulers as also priests and other aristocratic people. But we have no evidence that the slaves were employed in agriculture or arts and crafts in the *R̥gvedic* period. From the earlier portions of the *Atharvaveda* it appears that the number of female-slaves was more than that of male slaves.³

Some non-*Āryans* are called *sūdras* in the *Brāhmaṇas*. But all these *sūdras* were not slaves. Some of them took part in *Soma* sacrifice⁴ although according to the *Yajurveda* a *sūdra* could not milk a cow whose milk was to be used for a sacrifice.⁵ From the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* we know that the *sūdras* could be beaten at the master's will. Probably these *sūdras* were those who were reduced to slavery. Even in the later Vedic period the slaves served as domestic servants. They pounded paddy or ground corn or brought drinking water for their masters. There is no evidence to support the view expressed by Keith that they helped their masters in agriculture.

It is stated in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* that the ruler of *Aṅga* gave female-slaves who were brought from many countries, to his priest.⁶ Most probably they were brought from the countries which the ruler of *Aṅga* had conquered. Probably some of these female-slaves were also treated as concubines as we have many references to the sons of female-slaves in the later Vedic literature. Probably even in this period some persons who could

not repay their debts or those who could not earn their livelihood by other means offered themselves to work as slaves.

Kalpasūtras and Early Buddhist Works (c. 600-300 B.C.)

Nature of work of Slaves

From two *Śrauta sūtras*⁷ we learn that some slaves who were children of slave fathers and mothers were given with the pieces of land which were given in charity. Probably they were employed by their masters in agriculture otherwise most of the slaves were domestic servants. They cooked food, brought drinking water, pounded paddy, took food for their masters working in their fields. They also washed the feet of their masters and mistresses. The slaves used to get leavings of food and used clothes from their masters. They were treated like domestic servants but being slaves they could not become free. The female slaves also brought drinking water, swept the floors and pounded paddy.⁸ Some female-slaves were treated as concubines by some rich persons in this period.⁹

Kinds of Slaves

Baudhāyana¹⁰ states that some persons purchased female-slaves during this period and according to Vasiṣṭha¹¹ these female slaves could also be mortgaged. From the *Dharmasūtras* we also learn that some people were engaged in slave trade.¹² From these references it is clear that some purchased slaves were in existence in this period.

The *Vinayapiṭaka* mentions three kinds of slaves namely (1) Children born of female slaves, (2) persons imprisoned in war and (3) persons purchased by payment of money. The *Dighanikāya* mentions a fourth kind of slaves namely those who of their own accord became slaves to maintain themselves.

Treatment meted out to Slaves

In Indian society slaves were treated with great consideration. They were provided enough food to eat and clothes to wear. Their condition was far superior to that of the slaves in European countries. Āpastamba lays down that the householder must provide food to the slaves even when he, his wife or his children have to remain hungry for want of food.¹³ The Buddha laid down some rules to be followed by his lay followers. He says that a slave should be assigned as much work as he can easily do. He should be given proper food and clothes. He should be treated by the master and the mistress with due consideration. The master should attend to the needs of his slave when the latter is ill. The slave should get up before his master wakes up in the morning and he should sleep after his master has gone to bed. The slave should serve his master faithfully and should remain satisfied with whatever his master gives to him. He should always praise his master and bear patiently whatever hardships he has to face thinking that it was the result of his bad actions in a previous life. A slave could hope to become free only if he pleased his master by his devotion to him. By laying down these rules the Buddha tried to remove dissatisfaction in society both on the part of the master and his slaves.

The Maurya Period (c. 300 B.C to 100 B.C.)

On the basis of the *Indica* of Megasthenes Arrain wrote. 'All Indians are free. None of them is a slave.....They do not reduce even foreigners to slavery. There is thus no question of their reducing their own countrymen to slavery'.¹⁴ In Europe slaves were considered movable property of their master. In India slaves were treated as members of a family. Hence Indian slaves were not slaves in the European sense. This is how we can explain

the above statement of Megasthenes. This is evident from a statement of Kauṭilya who says 'If a slave is mortgaged the mortgagee should not ask the slave to do unclean work such as carrying a corpse, sweeping the floors, removal of urine or stool' or cleaning the leaving of food. All such work is illegal. In India the number of slaves was less than that in the western countries and Indian economy was not based on slavery. In some cases the slaves could own their property and could also be free by fulfilling certain stipulated conditions.

From the rules laid down by Kauṭilya it is clear that in the Maurya period slaves were also employed by their masters in agriculture.¹⁵ The state also got its land cultivated by labourers and slaves. State also gave some pieces of land in lieu of salary to its officers and as a reward to great brāhmaṇa scholars. Probably these officers and scholars also got their land cultivated by slaves and labourers. The rich householders also got their land cultivated by slaves and labourers.

We have detailed information about female-slaves in the *Arthśāstra*. Some of them acted as body-guards of the king. They helped the members of the royal family in taking bath applied massage to their bodies, prepared garlands for them and provided amusement to them by display of their skill in some arts such as music. When they had crossed their youth and were unable to undertake work which required much physical exertion they were asked to prepare food, to look after the stores or to spin and weave cloth.

Kinds of Slaves. Kauṭilya mentions the following eight categories of slaves :

1. Born of a female slave (*grhajāta*)
2. Inherited from father (*dāyāgara*)
3. Presented by some other person (*labdha*)
4. Purchased by paying a sum of money (*krīta*)

5. Imprisoned in a war (*dhvajāhṛta*)
6. One who sells himself as a slave (*ātmavikraya*)
7. Mortgaged for loan (*āhitaka*)
8. Reduced to slavery as punishment for some grave offence (*daṇḍa-praṇīta*)

According to Kauṭilya if a free man was sold by an individual as a slave or mortgaged as a slave the state punished the offender. According to him no Ārya should be reduced to slavery. Even if an individual, on account of economic difficulty sells himself as a slave it is the duty of his relatives to make the payment due from him and get him freed from the purchaser as early as possible.

Treatment meted out to the Slaves

Kauṭilya has laid down rules how slaves should be treated by their masters. The master should not punish a slave without any cause. If a master ill-treats his slaves the state should punish him. If the slave happens to be less than eighteen years of age the master should not ask him to do any unclean work against his wishes. He should neither send him to a foreign country nor mortgage him. Aśoka in Rock Edict IX says that all people should treat their slaves with sympathy and consideration.

Kauṭilya has also laid down rules for the proper treatment of female-slaves. He says that if a person outrages the modesty of a mortgaged female-slave the sum of money for which she was mortgaged is destroyed. If a person raped a mortgaged female-slave the state punished him severely. If a son was born to a female-slave as a result of sexual intercourse with her master both the mother and the son were set free. The sale of female-slaves who were pregnant was forbidden. One who purchased a pregnant female-slave was punished by the state. If a person outraged the modesty of the daughter of a female slave

he had to pay money-fine and provide clothes and ornaments for the girl's marriage.

If a slave stole his or her master's articles he or she was punished severely and sometimes his or her hands and feet were chopped off.

Purchased slaves should become free by making payment of the sum of money equal to that for which they were purchased. Even persons reduced to slavery as war-prisoners could become free by doing some act of extraordinary valour. If a master did not set a slave free even after getting his money back the government punished him by imposing a money-fine.

Even in the Maurya period the majority of slaves were employed as domestic servants and they were treated as members of the families of their masters. The number of slaves employed in industries and agriculture was so limited that it had hardly any extensive impact on the contemporary society.

The period of the Smṛtis, Jātakas and the Epics.

(c. 200 B.C to 600 A.D.)

In this period also the word *dāsa* was used in the sense of a person who was in bondage of another.¹⁶ The master of the slave was also considered master of the slave's wife.¹⁷ The treatment meted out to Draupadī by the Kauravas after Yudhiṣṭhira had lost her in gambling shows the miserable condition of the female-slaves in this period. The society did not take any responsibility for the maintenance of the chastity of a female-slave.¹⁸

The *Mahābhārata* and the early Buddhist literature mention the following four categories of slaves :

1. *Imprisoned in war* : For example Bhīmasena reduced Jayadratha to slavery after defeating him.¹⁹
2. *After losing in gambling* : Draupadī

was reduced to slavery when Yudhiṣṭhira was defeated by the Kauravas in gambling.²⁰

3. *Given as gifts* : Yudhiṣṭhira gave many female-slaves to brāhmaṇas after the Rājasūya sacrifice.
4. *Purchased* : A brāhmaṇa wished to purchase a slave to give him to a demon.

Besides the above four categories of slaves Manu (c. 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) mentions five other categories of slaves.

These are :

1. One who sold himself for the sake of food in a famine (*bhaktadāsa*)
2. Born of a female slave (*gr̥haja*)
3. Given by relatives as present (*dātṛma*)
4. Inherited from father (*dāya*)
5. Reduced to slavery in lieu of punishment.

Nārada (100 A.D. to 500 A.D.) mentions the following other categories of slaves :

1. Mortgaged (*āhitaka*)
2. reduced to slavery because he could not re-pay a debt (*ṛnadāsa*).²¹
3. reduced to slavery because of sexual intercourse with a female-slave.
4. reduced to slavery for a stipulated period.
5. Sold as a slave by thieves or robbers.
6. One who became a householder after having entered the stage of an ascetic.
7. One who voluntarily became a slave.

Vidura Paṇḍita Jātaka mentions another category of slaves namely those who became slaves on account of fear of any kind.

The above categories show that there must have been some cases of sexual intercourse with the female slaves as also of those who became householders after having entered the stage of an ascetic.

According to Nārada kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras could be slaves of a brāhmaṇa, vaiśyas and śūdras of a kṣatriyas and śūdras of a vaiśyas.

From the description of slaves in the *smṛtis* of this period it is clear that the master of a slave could sell him, give him on hire²², present him to some one else, mortgage him and give him as inheritance. Even a father could sell his son as a slave to maintain himself.

Nature of work of slaves

Even in this period the slaves used to do domestic work which included some unclean work such as sweeping the floors, cleaning stool and urine and applying massage to sexual organs. According to Nārada clean work should be done by servants and unclean by slaves.²³

Probably even in this period some slaves helped their masters in agriculture.²⁴

Treatment meted out of slaves

From the *Jātakas* we know that slaves in India were treated as members of a family.²⁵ They were taught reading and writing and given training in some arts and crafts.²⁶ Some slaves were very loyal to their masters. Much importance was attached to the advice of some slaves. This shows that good-natured masters treated their slaves with consideration by they had no legal rights. But some mistresses beat their slaves with ropes. In case the slaves stole the articles of their masters their limbs were chopped off. Like animals, houses, fields and gold they were considered the property of their masters. Some times when the master treated them inhumanly they revolted²⁷ against him but as the slaves were not organised their revolt was easily suppressed by their masters.²⁸

According to Manu the master could beat his slave with a rope or stick.²⁹ A slave's

evidence was not considered trustworthy.³⁰ He had no legal rights.³¹ From the *Nārada Smṛti* it is evident that some rich persons indulged in sexual intercourse with their female-slaves.³² But it appears that the condition of slaves in this period had some-what improved as compared with that in the early period.

Post-Gupta Period (c. 600 A.D. to c. 1200 A.D.)

Kinds of Slaves : From the contemporary Indian literature³³ it appears that there was a flourishing trade in slaves in this period. Some managers of temples purchased slaves for the service of the gods. Besides purchased slaves we have references to persons who were reduced to slavery because they could not repay their debts, persons who sold themselves as slaves for maintaining members of their families. In the *Lekhapaddhati* there is the account of a Rajput girl who, of her own accord, offered to serve as a female-slave in the family of a vaiśya merchant at the crossing of main roads of a town. This shows that the moral standard of the people in India had considerably deteriorated during this period. Otherwise they could not have borne such an ill-treatment meted out to a Rajput girl at a public place. They must have come forward to repay the debt incurred by that Rajput girl if they had any regard for the honour of a female. We have also references to persons who were reduced to slavery because they were arrested in feudal wars. In 1197 A.D. 20,000 Indians were reduced to slavery when Muslims occupied Gujarāt. Similarly 50,000 Indians were enslaved when Kalanjar was occupied by Muslims. But the condition of slaves in Muslim society was better than that in the Hindu society. The digest writers of³⁴ this period were of opinion that in no circumstance could a brāhmaṇa be reduced to slavery. But from the

Kathāsaritsāgara we know that four traders were enslaved but were set free by their captors when they paid the sum of money required by their captors as ransom.

Nature of work of slaves : From *Medhātithi* (c. 825 to 900 A.D.) we know that slaves were expected to do unclean work while the servants were employed to do clean work such as applying massage to the body or looking after the property of the master. Similar views have been expressed by later commentators namely *Vijñāneśvara* (c. 1070 A.D. to 1100 A.D.), *Aparārka* (c. 1224 A.D.) and *Devanṇabhaṭṭa* (c. 1150 A.D.-1225 A.D.).

Female-slaves generally did domestic work such a pounding, grinding, drawing water from the well, sweeping the floor and plastering the walls with cow-dung.³⁵ They also cooked food, milked the cows and helped their masters in agriculture.³⁶

Medhātithi also mentions some female-slaves who were maintained for sexual enjoyment by their masters. *Vijñāneśvara* (1070-1100 A.D.) calls such female-slaves *avaruddhā* or *bhujīṣyā*. From the *Lekha-paddhati* it is clear that many rich persons kept some female slaves as concubines.

Many slaves worked in temples and female-slaves, as *devadāsīs*, dedicated their lives to the service of gods and goddesses in temples. For example the Chola ruler *Rājarāja* I gave 400 *devadāsīs* to the temples erected by him.

Treatment meted out to slaves

According to *Medhātithi* a slave could use his master's property if permitted to do so by him.³⁷ He also says that the master should not actually beat the slave with a rope or a staff. What is aimed at that he should keep the slave in strict discipline.³⁸ These views of *Medhātithi* make it clear that he was quite sympathetic towards slaves. The author of

Māna-sollāsa (c. 1126-1138 A.D.) says that a person who wishes to be happy in this world and in life after death should properly look after his slaves.

These views express the ideal but the actual condition of slaves in this period was far from satisfactory. From the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā puruṣa-charita* we know that they had to carry heavy loads, were not given even enough food to eat and beaten like asses. The condition of female-slaves was worse. In all seasons they had to do very difficult and tiresome work. From the *Lekhapaddhati* it is clear that if a female-slave tried to run away from her master, committed theft or did not obey the orders of her master or his relatives or spoke ill of her master, her master could tie the female-slave with a rope and beat her.

The *Lekhapaddhati* clearly mentions the rights of the master and the duties of a slave but does not say a word about the rights of slaves. They had no hope of being released if they earned some money by extra labour. They were given only food to eat and clothes to wear.

Vijñāneśvara mentions 15 categories of slaves who could be made free on fulfilling the stipulated conditions. But it is very doubtful that the rich persons with great prestige and influence, who were generally the masters of slaves, followed all these rules laid down by the law-givers.

Some masters no doubt treated their slaves as their children but their number seems to have been very limited.

There were many reasons for the increase in the number of slaves during this period. On account of feudal wars and foreign invasions the economic condition of the common man deteriorated a good deal. When there were famines the masses could not maintain their families. Many of these common people, of their own accord, sold themselves as slaves. The persons who were imprisoned in feudal

wars were treated as slaves. The moral standard of the society had deteriorated to such an extent that no importance was attached to the freedom of the individual. The result was that the treatment meted out to slaves in this period was worse than that in the Gupta period.

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QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the evidence on the basis of which we conclude that probably slavery existed in Harappan society.
2. Bring out the condition of slaves in the *Rgvedic* period and state the work which they were expected to do.
3. Discuss the condition of slaves with special reference to female slaves in the later Vedic Period.
4. Describe critically the living conditions and the nature of work of slaves in the *Sūtra* period.
5. State the categories of slaves which are referred to in the Early Buddhist canonical literature. Also describe their living condition as gleaned from the rules laid down by the Buddha for their treatment by his followers.
6. Discuss how Indian slaves were not slaves in the European sense with reference to the account of Megasthenes and the rules laid down for their treatment by Kautilya.
7. Describe the work assigned to female slaves and the treatment meted out to them in the Maurya period.
8. State how a purchased slave and one reduced to slavery as a war prisoner could become free in the Maurya period.
9. Mention the categories of slaves referred to in the *Smṛtis* of the Gupta period and their condition in this period with special reference to female slaves.
10. Discuss why the condition of slaves deteriorated in the Early Medieval Period.
11. Mention the reasons which led to an increase in the number of slaves in the Early Medieval Period.

Chapter 11

Position of Women in Hindu Society

Position of women throws considerable light on the cultural development of any society. India was not an exception to it. In all patriarchal societies, in ancient period, sons occupied a better status than daughters. We can assign two reasons for this state of affairs in the ancient period. Firstly in a society where security depended on success in war sons could be more useful as warriors than daughters. Secondly economically as well either in a pastoral society or in an agricultural one the son could earn more than a daughter. These two factors seem to have been at the root of the inferior status of women as compared to that of men in all patriarchal societies in ancient times.

From the earliest times to c. 600 B.C.

As a daughter : In an atmosphere of warfare it was but natural that the parents wished to have a son in preference to a daughter. The *Atharvaveda* mentions some rituals which were performed by those parents who wished to have a son.¹ But if a daughter was born the parents had no anxiety because daughters also contributed to the happiness of the family by doing productive work such as milking of cows. It was for this reason that a daughter was called *dūhitṛ*. They could study Vedic lore and perform sacrifices in order to advance spiritually. There are many hymns in the *R̥gveda* composed by learned women such as Lopāmudrā, Viśvavārā, Sikatā, Nivāvarī and Ghosā. This shows that full attention was paid to the education² of women in the early Vedic

period. In the *Bṛhadāranyaka upaniṣad*³ there is a ritual which was performed by the parents in order to get a learned daughter. It was not at all difficult to find a suitable life-partner for them. Widows could have children by levirate or could remarry. Thus they were not a burden on society. In the later Vedic period only sons could perform sacrifices and the daughters were deprived of this right and the birth of a daughter began to be looked upon as an inauspicious event by the parents. But bringing up of a daughter was not neglected and she was educated like sons. The sacred-thread ceremony was performed even of the daughters. They generally remained unmarried upto the age of 16 years. The *Atharvaveda* clearly mentions that girls performed all their duties in⁴ the first stage of *Brahmacarya* (student). Maitreyī, the wife of Yājñavalkya, participated in philosophical discussions with her husband.⁵ Both Gārgī and Maitreyī were well versed in Vedic lore.⁶

A daughter generally lived under the protection of her parents. After the death of her father a girl was looked after by her brother. In the later Vedic period the daughter was regarded as a source of sorrow to the family and only son came to be regarded as the protector of the family.⁷

As a wife: In ancient Indian society the main objective of marriage was to enable the husband and wife to give expression to all their innate qualities so that they might themselves make their own progress and by giving birth to worthy children and by educating them

properly contribute to the progress of the society as a whole. In the *R̥gveda* period marriage was considered a sacrament and an individual who remained unmarried was considered impure.⁸ From a later *Sūtra* work we know that funeral rites were performed only of a married woman.⁹ A mother who gave birth to a son had an honourable status in the family.¹⁰ A family which did not have children was considered unfortunate.¹¹ Ordinarily monogamy was the rule but in aristocratic families polygamy was also prevalent.¹² Mostly the rich *kṣatriyas* had more than one wives.¹³ *Yājñavalkya* also had two wives.

From the *R̥gveda* and the *Atharvaveda* it is clear that girls were married at an advanced age¹⁴ and girls themselves selected their lifepartners.¹⁵ From the *R̥gveda* and the *Atharvaveda* it is clear that wife occupied a highly respectable position in the family.¹⁶ The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states that a man remains incomplete without his wife.¹⁷ A sacrifice performed by a man without his wife was also considered incomplete.¹⁸ According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* the wife is a friend of the husband.¹⁹ there was no conflict between the two because they had identical views.²⁰ The wife herself supervised all domestic work.²¹ She had full control over her father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law and sister-in-law. Wives showed due respect to the members of the family.²² In the later Vedic period women did not take part in religious ceremonies or political assemblies. Women have been classed with wine and gambling.²³ The wife took food after the husband had taken his meals.²⁴ A woman who did not contradict her husband was considered of good temperament.²⁵ All this shows that, in this period, the position of wife had considerably deteriorated.

The position of a widow : In the *R̥gveda* it is stated that a widow bathed the corpse of

her husband but she did not burn herself with her husband's corpse.²⁶ From the *Atharvaveda* we know that the widow used to lie with the corpse of her husband before it was burnt.²⁷ From these references we may conclude that in the earlier period the custom of *sati* existed in some Aryan tribes. Some widows had a son by having sexual intercourse with the dead husband's younger brother. This custom of levirate was called *niyoga*.²⁸ But some widows remarried.²⁷ Other widows might have led a simple life as they had already a son from their dead husband and remained without a second marriage throughout their lives.

The custom of keeping women under a veil : From the *R̥gveda* we know that when a newly married bride came to her father-in-law's house the guests ceremonially wished to see her face³⁰ but women participated in public assemblies³¹ and sacrifices with their husbands and according to *Yāska* they attended courts of justice in cases of inheritance. This shows that *parda* system was not prevalent in the Vedic period.

Occupations : In this period male members of the family often remained busy fighting in wars hence women cultivated the fields, milked cows, wove clothes, dyed them, stitched them. They also made baskets, bows and arrows. They also ground corn with a grinding stone. They enjoyed dancing for amusement.

Rituals : The prayers to gods in the *R̥gveda* are on the part of both the husband and the wife. When the husband was out of station the wife alone performed rituals.³² Both of them were expected to look after the domestic fire.³³ From the *Atharvaveda* it is clear that the girls also had the *Upanayana* (sacred thread) sacrament and they studied Vedic literature.³⁴ In this period the ritual had become complicated hence some sacrifices were performed only by the male members of the family³⁵ but wife's participation with the

husband was obligatory in some sacrifices such as *Aśvamedha*, *Vājapeya* and *Rājasūya*. Yāska (before c. 600 B.C.) lays down that if a person did not have a son his daughter could perform his funeral rites. Thus in ritual the later Vedic period seems to be a period of transition.

Property rights: In the Vedic period only that daughter who had no brother inherited her father's property.³⁶ In such a case the son-in-law agreed to give his first son to the father-in-law so that his family might not come to an end. If a daughter remained unmarried throughout her life she inherited a part of her father's property. But ordinarily a woman did not inherit any part of her father's property. The husband considered his wife as his movable property.³⁷

Attitude of society towards women

From the Vedic literature it is clear that women had a respectable status in society. In the family they showed due respect to the elders but their views were generally accepted in all domestic matters. They took part with their husbands in all social and religious functions.

From c. 600 B.C. to c. 700 A.D.

As a daughter: From the Sūtras we learn that even in this period girls had the *Upanayana* sacrament.³⁸ There were two kinds of girl-students in this period. Those who got married after completing their education were called *sadyodvāhās* and those who remained unmarried throughout their lives and dedicated their lives to the study and propagation of Vedic literature were called *brahmavādinīs*. Great honour was accorded to highly educated women like *Sulabhā*, *Maitreyī*, *Gārgī* and *Vāchaknavī*.³⁹ According to the *Śaṁyutta nikāya* a virtuous daughter should be considered better than a son. But the position

of a daughter considerably deteriorated in this period. According to the *Mahābhārata* all the future prospects of a family depend on the sons and a daughters is a source of many troubles to a family.⁴⁰ Similarly the author of the *Pañchatantra* states that as soon as a daughter is born her father feels worried. He feels anxious how he will find a suitable partner for her. Even when she is married he remains anxious about her happiness in her father-in-law's family. Thus being the father of a daughter is always a source of sorrow and anxiety.⁴¹ Some women were highly educated even in this period⁴² but their number was limited. In the Gupta period only girls of aristocratic families were given instruction in fine arts such as music, dancing, painting and house decoration.

As a wife: According to the *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* after their marriage the bride and the bridegroom became a single existence. They merged their individuality into one unit. The husband and the wife cooperated fully in every activity.⁴³ From a passage in the *Therīgāthā* it appears that some mother-in-laws ill treated their daughters-in-law.⁴⁴ According to Manu the existence of families is as essential for a society as a soul for life.⁴⁵ From the contemporary literature it appears that marrying a daughter was considered an obligation which the parents must discharge and the society did not approve of grown up girls remaining unmarried.⁴⁶ They were generally married at the age of 12 or 13 years. We can assign two reasons for lowering the age of marriage in this period. Firstly some girls joined the Buddhist or Jaina orders but were unable to lead lives of chastity. This was a matter of great disgrace to the parents of the girls. Secondly the society regarded a married girl socially more secure than an unmarried girl. For these two reasons the parents married their daughters at the age of 12 or 13 years.

Generally the authors of the *Sūtras* were of opinion that a husband should treat his wife with due consideration. According to Baudhāyana the husband should divorce an issueless wife in the tenth year, one who gives birth only to daughters in the twelfth year, one whose children die soon after their birth in the fifteenth year but he can divorce a quarrelsome wife immediately after marriage.⁴⁷ But according to Vasiṣṭha the husband should in no case divorce his wife.⁴⁸ Even a woman who commits adultery, according to Vasiṣṭha, can be purified by performing the prescribed expiatory rites.⁴⁹ According to Āpastamba if the wife leaves the husband but later performs expiatory rites the husband should accept her as his wife.⁵⁰ and according to him, if a husband divorces his devoted wife the ruler should inflict severe punishment on him.⁵¹ From the *Mahābhārata* it appears that a wife occupied an honourable position in the family.⁵² But later when the girls began to be married at a lower age the husband treated his wife as a tutor treats his pupil. Manu states that a husband can divorce his wife without any fault of hers.⁵³ He can inflict corporal punishment on her.⁵⁴ He gives a long list of the lapses on the part of the wife for which the husband can divorce her and marry another girl. But Nārada's attitude towards women seems to be more sympathetic. He states that if a girl is married to a youngman whose blemish could not be ascertained before her marriage the wife was free to marry another person. But ordinarily the law-givers do not give the right of divorce to a wife.

The Position of Widows

The custom of levirate (*niyoga*) continued upto c. 300 B.C.⁵⁵ From the *Mahābhārata* we know that Kuntī had three sons by following the custom of levirate. But P.V. Kane on the

basis of the *Dharmasūtras* is of the view that the custom of *niyoga* was not prevalent in this period. As before a widow could have a son by following this custom but she must fulfil two conditions. She must have had no son from her dead husband and the elders of the family should have permitted her to have a son by *niyoga*. Then she could have it only within a year of her husband's death. All these restrictions show that having a son by *niyoga* was not a rule in this period but only an exception. After c. 300 B.C. most of the law-givers did not approve of this practice.⁵⁶ In the *Purāṇas* the practice is called *kalivarjya* (not to be followed in the Kali age).

Some authors of the *Dharma-sūtras* permitted a wife to remarry some other man if her husband did not return from a foreign country for five years.⁵⁷ Kauṭilya permits such a woman to remarry after ten months had elapsed. Some law-givers permitted a child-widow to remarry.⁵⁸ But after c. 300 B.C. widow remarriage was not permitted by most of the law-givers.⁵⁹ But Nārada permits the wife to remarry in the following circumstances :

1. After the death of her husband.
2. When her husband cannot be traced anywhere.
3. When her husband has become an ascetic.
4. When her husband is impotent.
5. When her husband is outcasted.⁶⁰

According to Manu a widow should lead her life with selfcontrol and observe fasts.⁶¹

The first historical case of *Satī* is mentioned by Curtius (c. 316 B.C.). Manu and Yājñavalkya do not mention this custom. But according to Viṣṇu (c. 100-300 A.D.) the practice is not illogical. In the *Mahābhārata* we have some references to the custom of *Satī*. For example Mādri⁶² and the wives of Vasudeva⁶³ burnt themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands but there are a number

of cases in which the widows did not commit *Satī*. For example the widows of Abhimanyu, Ghaṭotkaca and Droṇa did not burn themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands. According to Bṛhaspati (c. 300-500 A.D.) the best course for a widow is that she should lead a simple life like that of an ascetic but if she is unable to do so she may burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. The literary works by Vātsyāyana,⁶⁴ Kālidāsa,⁶⁵ and Śūdraka⁶⁶ have references to the custom of *Satī*. The first historical case of *Satī* of the Gupta period took place in A.D. 510 when the wife of Goparāja, after her husband had died fighting against the Hūṇas, burnt herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

The custom of keeping women under veil

In this period the lawgivers imposed certain restrictions on the movement of women. They were expected in childhood to live under the protection of their parents, in their youth under that of their husbands and in the old age under that of their sons.⁶⁷ The references to the custom of *pardā* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁶⁸ and the *Mahābhārata*⁶⁹ seem to be interpolations as most of the women mentioned in the epics did not observe this custom. In the frescoes of Sāñchi all women are shown without a veil. But from some *Jātakas*,⁷⁰ the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mṛchchhakaṭika* it appears that women in the royal families observed this custom in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Occupations : In this period some women taught literature and grammar, others preached the principles of Jainism and Buddhism.

In this period the prostitutes occupied a position of honour in society. The Buddha had himself accepted an invitation for lunch at the residence of Āmrapālī who was a prostitute. Some prostitutes mentioned in the *Jātakas*

were well-versed in fine arts. Vasantasenā, the heroine of the *Mṛchchhakaṭika*, was the daughter of a prostitute. Some women dedicated their lives to the service of gods as *devadāsīs* in temples. Kālidāsa refers to *devadāsīs* in the temple of Mahākālā at Ujjayinī.⁷¹ The *purāṇas* lay down that the rich should purchase prostitutes well-versed in fine arts and present them to the temples as *devadāsīs*.⁷²

Some women in this period actively participated in political affairs. Nāganikā, the widow of Satakarṇi I ruled the *Sātavāhana* kingdom and in the Gupta period Prabhāvatī Guptā acted as regent in the Vākāṭaka kingdom on behalf of her minor sons.

Rituals : The authors of the *Sūtras* permitted performance of some rituals such as *Sītā-Yajña*, *Rudra-bali* and *Rudra-yāga* by women even without their husbands. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we know that Kauśalyā performed *Svasti-yāga* and Nāganikā performed many Vedic sacrifices. But according to some *Sūtras* except marriage all sacraments of women should be performed without Vedic *mantras*. But even in this period women were permitted to offer oblations in the morning sacrifices. Sītā used to perform *Sandhyā*⁷³ but women had their *Upanayana* sacrament in this period without Vedic *mantras*. According to Yājñavalkya women should not have the *Upanayana* sacrament. Thus they were completely deprived of the right of performing Vedic ritual.

Property Rights of a Wife: Even in the earlier period reflected in the *Mahābhārata* the husband considered his wife his movable property. It was why Yudhiṣṭira staked Draupadī in gambling.⁷⁴ According to the authors of the *Sūtras* both the husband and his wife were the joint owners of the family property. In the absence of the husband the wife could incur necessary expenditure out of

her husband's property.⁷⁵ According to Baudhāyana whatever sums of money the husband gave to his wife as presents all that belonged to her.⁷⁶ According to Manu this included presents given not only by the husband but also those given by father, mother, brother and other relatives of the wife.⁷⁷ Viṣṇu (c. 100 A.D. to 300 A.D.) includes in *strīdhana* (wife's property) presents given by the son and those given by other relatives after marriage and the maintenance allowance paid to her.⁷⁸ Kātyāyana (c. 400 A.D. to 600 A.D.) divides *strīdhana* into two categories. Category one includes presents given by father, mother and husband. He calls this category *saudāyika*. The wife was the absolute owner of this property. She could give it to any one. The other category is termed *asaudāyika* by him. She could not part with the property of the second category. According to Kātyāyana the woman could even sell immovable property but according to Nārada she could sell only movable property.

According to Manu both the son and the daughter should inherit the mother's property.⁷⁹ Probably here property means only immovably property. According to Yājñavalkya if the husband spent some money out of *strīdhana* in some emergency like a famine, illness or some religious act of charity he need not return it to his wife but according to Kātyāyana if the husband had promised to return it to his wife, before he borrowed the sum of money he should return it to his wife.

Property Rights of a Daughter: Āpastamba was not in favour of giving any hereditary right to a girl in her father's property but according to the authors of the *Mahābhārata* the daughter should inherit half of what the brother inherits.⁸⁰ Kauṭilya states that the daughter's share should be less than that of her brother.⁸¹ According to Yājñavalkya after the death of the son and his mother the daughter should

inherit whole of her father's property. According to Viṣṇu, Nārada and Kātyāyana the daughter should inherit the father's property only if she remains unmarried. But after c. 500 A.D. all the Hindu law-givers prescribed that the daughter should inherit a part of the father's property.

Property Rights of a Widow: Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Manu⁸² were of opinion that a widow should not inherit her husband's property. But Kauṭilya says that she should get a maintenance allowance.⁸³ According to Gautama the widow should get a part of her husband's property.⁸⁴ All the Hindu law-givers of the Gupta period were not unanimous about giving property rights to a widow. Viṣṇu⁸⁵, Vājñavalkya⁸⁶ and Bṛhaspati prescribe that she should inherit her husband's property but Manu, Nārada⁸⁷ and Kātyāyana⁸⁸ were against it.

The attitude of the Society towards Women

In the Buddhist and Jaina Society the status of women was definitely inferior to that of man. The Buddha had permitted women to join the Buddhist order after great reluctance. In the *Gītā* (c. 200 A.D.) women and the *sūdras* are placed in the same category. From the Buddhist works we know that only when the father-in-law and the mother-in-law were not alive the wife had full control on the members of her family. According to Manu a mother should get greater respect than that accorded to a teacher or a father. According to the law-givers of the period 300 A.D. to 700 A.D. if an enemy had by force sexual intercourse with a woman she could be accepted by her husband after she had performed expiatory rights.⁸⁹ It shows that most of the law-givers of this period were quite sympathetic towards women.

Post-Gupta Period (c. 700 A.D. to 1200 A.D.)

As a Daughter : In this period the position of a daughter in the family deteriorated a good deal as compared with that of the son. According to the author of the *Kathasaritsāgara* the son is an embodiment of happiness while a daughter is the root cause of all the troubles.⁹⁰ The education of girls was confined to a few aristocratic families in which they were imparted instruction in fine arts such as music, dancing and painting. But some highly educated women were still there. For example, the wives of Maṇḍana Miśra and Rājaśekhara were highly educated.

Most of the law-givers of this period were in favour of marrying the girls before they attained the age of puberty. According to them they should be married at the age of eight or nine.⁹¹ We have some examples of love marriages (*gāndharva*) even in this period,⁹² but their number seems to have been limited. Similarly the number of inter-caste marriages seems to have been very limited⁹³ in this period.

As a Wife: The law-givers of this period expected the wife to serve the husband in all possible ways but the husband was also expected to pay full attention to the comforts of his wife. According to Medhātithi both the husband and the wife should have legal redress for the cruel treatment by the other.⁹³ The husband was expected to maintain his wife in all circumstances.⁹⁴ According to Medhātithi even if the wife commits some offence the husband should not turn her out of his house.⁹⁶ He is not in favour of husband's beating the wife with a rope.⁹⁷ Some law-givers were of opinion that even if the husband divorces his wife for adultery he should give her maintenance allowance,⁹⁸ and if a husband divorces his devoted wife for no fault of hers the king should punish the husband.⁹⁹ Even in

this period the aristocratic people were polygamous.¹⁰⁰

The Position of Widows

The lawgivers of this period prescribed that a widow should lead a very simple life. According to Medhātithi if a widow did not observe self-control the king could turn her out of her house.¹⁰¹

According to Sulaiman widows burnt themselves on their husband's funeral pyres of their own accord.¹⁰² But the practice was confined to the royal families of northern India. It was a rare occurrence in the Deccan and an exception in South India.¹⁰³ In 842 A.D. the mother of Chaṇḍa Mahāseṇa committed *Satī* in Rajasthan and in 1020 A.D. one hundred wives of Chedi ruler Gāṅgeyadeva drowned themselves with the corpse of their husband in the *Triveṇī* (confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā). There are many cases of *Satī* in Kashmir royal families. Aṅgīrasa and Hārīta (c. 700 A.D.) speak very highly of this custom and the *Agni Purāṇa* (ninth century A.D.) states that a widow who burns herself on the funeral pyre of her husband goes to heaven¹⁰⁴ but Medhātithi condemns it. Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa (12th century A.D.) also does not approve of it. Thus it appears that the lawgivers of this period were not unanimous about the propriety of this custom.

The custom of remaining under veil

From Abu Zaid we learn that women of royal families attended royal assemblies without any veil but in some parts of the country this custom was in vogue. We can think of two factors which encouraged this practice. Some Hindu women practised it to maintain their chastity from the foreigners and in some Hindu royal families ladies followed it when they saw that the ladies of Muslim royal families observed it.

Occupations

Even in this period some women ruled their kingdoms with distinction. In Kashmir Sūryamatī, the wife of Ananta, ruled with her husband and did not give up the throne for her unworthy son. In this very kingdom queen Sugandhā, in the tenth century A.D. and Didda later ruled with great success.

Prostitutes occupied an honourable position even in this period. This is evident from the fact that the *Matsya Purāṇa*¹⁰⁵ discusses in detail the rights and duties of prostitutes. According to an Arab traveller¹⁰⁶ the profession of prostitutes is not considered illegal in India. The *Upamitibhava-prapañchakathā*¹⁰⁷ and the *Kuṭṭanīmatam*¹⁰⁸ refer to some prostitutes who were well-versed in fine arts such as music and dancing. The practice of presenting girls as *devadāsīs* to temples was in full vogue during this period.¹⁰⁹

Rituals

Women had been deprived of participating in Vedic rituals because they did not have *Upanayana* sacrament in the Gupta period. But since c. 500 A.D. the Paurāṇic ritual became very popular in which there was no necessity of reciting Vedic *mantras*, women, therefore, observed fasts, practised charity, worshipped gods and goddesses and went on pilgrimages with great enthusiasm.

Property Rights

From the seventh century A.D., the law-givers included many other items in *Strīdhana*. Devala (c. 600-900 A.D.) included profits and maintenance allowance in it. Vijñāneśvara (c. 1070-1100 A.D.) included property inherited from father, that purchased by a woman herself, that she got by division of property⁵ and that which had been in her possession for a long time. Thus the scope of

Strīdhana was considerably widened by the twelfth century A.D.

According to Devala if a husband spent some money out of his wife's *Strīdhana* he should return it to her with interest.

Daughter's property rights

According to Vijñāneśvara *Strīdhana* should be inherited by daughters. Preference should be given to unmarried daughters. In case there are no unmarried daughters it should be inherited by married daughters.¹¹¹ Most of the law-givers of this period were of opinion that a daughter should inherit a part of her father's property. According to Sūkra the division should be in the following ratio :

Wife 1 part, every son 1 part, and every daughter 1/2 part, but Medhātithi was against giving any share to a daughter in her father's property.

Property Rights of a Widow

Most of the law-givers of this period were in favour of giving a share to the widow out of her husband's property but the ownership of a widow in the immovable property was limited. She could use the income from that property but could not sell the immovable property.

The Attitude of Society towards Women

Most of the law-givers of this period were of opinion that if a woman was forced to have sexual inter-course with a stranger against her wishes the husband should not divorce her. After she had performed expiatory rights she should be accepted as a wife by her husband. Atri goes to such an extent that if a woman in these circumstances becomes pregnant after delivery the husband should give the child to some other person and after the woman had performed expiatory rights he should accept her as his wife. Upto 900 A.D. this was the

attitude of Hindu society towards abducted women but in the eleventh century A.D. women abducted by Muslims had no place in Hindu society.

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QUESTIONS

1. Compare the positions of a wife and a daughter in the family in the later vedic period with those of both in the *R̥gvedic* period.
2. Discuss why the position of a daughter in the family considerably deteriorated in the post-vedic period.
3. Discuss the factors which led to the deterioration of the position of the wife in the past-vedic period.
4. Write a brief note on the custom of levirate (*niyoga*).
5. Mention the five circumstances in which Nārada permits the wife to remarry.
6. Discuss the reasons which led to the custom of *Satī* becoming common in the Gupta period.
7. Describe critically the position of the prostitutes in society as gleaned from the Early Buddhist literature.
8. Why were the prostitutes well-versed in fine arts presented as *devadāsīs* to temples by the rich in the Gupta period?
9. Discuss the property rights of the wife on the basis of the *Sūtras* and the *Smṛtis* of the Gupta period.
10. Discuss why the law-givers of the Early Medieval Period were in favour of marrying a girl at the age of eight or nine?
11. Discuss why according to the law givers of the Early Medieval Period. The husband should maintain her wife in all circumstances.
12. Examine the views of the law-givers of the Early Medieval period about the propriety of the custom of *Satī*.
13. Bring out the evidence to show in support of the view that the prostitutes occupied an honourable position in society in the Early Medieval Period.
14. Discuss the probable reasons why the scope of *strīdhana* was considerably widened toward the end of the Early Medieval Period.

Chapter 12

Family

Origin

In the beginning the chief aim of the family was to have children. But with the passage of time its importance increased as a unit of society. According to MacIver and Page 'Of all the organizations, large and small, which the society unfolds none transcends the family in the intensity of its sociological significance'.¹ The three most important functions of a family are the following:

- (1) It satisfies the sex urge of the man and the woman for a longer time.
- (2) It enables the husband and wife to have children and bring them up in a congenial environment.
- (3) It gives the happiness which the members of a family derive by living together in a home.²

The satisfaction of the sex instinct in the family does not make a man commit adultery or go to prostitutes. The bringing up of children in a family is definitely better than in a state or public nursery.

Sociologically and psychologically family is very important both for the individual and the society. The qualities which are necessary for the development of the personality of the individual and are useful for the society develop in an individual only when he comes in contact with other human beings and talks to them. He gets the initial training for the development of these qualities only in him and thus maintains a cultural continuity between the individual and his society and indeed between generation to generation of a society.³

The genetic traits and characteristics which are due to the biological inheritance provide the raw-material for the shaping of the personality. But their actual function and meaning develop in the psychogenetic interaction and in social experience.⁴ They are formed in the emotional development of the child in the family environment, in the interpersonal relationships of the family. They include "tendencies to extroversion and introversion, dominance and submission, optimism and pessimism, emotional independence or dependence, self confidence or lack of confidence in self, and egocentrism and sociocentrism."⁵ The psycho-social influence of the family environment on the child is so deep and so quick that in the view of the psychologists the child acquires almost all its personality and character traits of later adulthood before five and according to some, even earlier.

The family, as a social unit, has already assimilated through ages the traditions, the sentiments and the modes of behaviours of the society. It, therefore, plays the part of a suitable medium to convey these to its individual members. Thus in the family, the biological, psychological and sociological forces meet in giving the individual his start in life."⁶ The family more than any other group, affects development of the individual's moral attitudes. All the altruistic attitudes of man could be traced to their roots in the family life, cooperation, self-sacrifice, service to humanity, universal brotherhood and love of

living beings, have been traced back to their origins to co-operation in the family life.⁵

The most important service of the family is that it provides for the satisfaction of four fundamental desires, viz., the wishes for new experience, for security, for recognition and for response. The new experiences the child meets with in the family environment aid in its mental and social development. The child gets physical and emotional security from his parents. The family in Hindu society also affords a religious security to its members. The Hindu parents find a spiritual immortality through their sons.

There is no doubt that the family must have had its origins in the biological phenomenon of reproduction, but it gradually developed into a socio-psychological phenomenon of the highest significance. Among the Hindus the original biological functions and the satisfaction of the sex were positively made subservient to the higher values of life, to moral and spiritual life and to life after-death.

Evolution

The R̥gvedic Period (c. 1500-1000 B.C.)

In the Aryan family the father was given the highest honour. In the *R̥gveda* he is called *kulapa*⁸, the protector of the family. He was considered an embodiment of nobility and kindness.⁹ He treated his son with great affection¹⁰ and the latter had always to obey his father.¹¹ The father could inflict any punishment on his son if he failed in his duty. The son was considered a great asset to the family because he fought against the enemies of the family and helped his father in the maintenance of the family.

The wife occupied an honourable position in the family. The marriage hymn makes it clear that she had full control over his

husband's younger brother, father-in-law and mother-in-law although she extended due honour and respect to her father-in-law.¹² She participated in feasts and rituals with her husband. Ordinarily the people in the R̥gvedic society were monogamous and after the death of the father the brother looked after his sisters. Every family considered extending hospitality to guests its most sacred duty.

Later Vedic Period (c. 1000 B.C. to 600 B.C.)

From the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* we know that the son was under the absolute control of his father.¹³ The father as a rule did not arrange the marriage of his son or daughter.¹⁴ To show his affection towards his son the father kissed his head.¹⁵ In case the father had no son he adopted one. After the death of the father the brother looked after his sisters. Generally three generations of family lived in the same house.

Even in this period the wife occupied an honourable position in the family. It is stated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* that a man is incomplete without a wife. He becomes a complete man only when he has children.¹⁶ In the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* Yājñavalkya has very beautifully explained the unity of husband and wife. According to him man was alone in the beginning of creation. He being alone was unhappy so he divided himself into two parts. These two parts are known as husband and wife in this world. These two parts are like two hemispheres. Only when they are united a complete sphere is formed. This description shows that the husband and wife both were equally important for the happiness of the family. The relations between the head of the family and other members were based on love and affection and not on fear alone. Probably the eldest son got more share in the father's property than other sons. In the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* the status of different members is

described in this order father, mother, brother and sister.¹⁷

From the *Atharvaveda* we know that hospitality was considered an important duty of every house-holder even in the later Vedic period.¹⁸

The Sūtra Period (c. 600 B.C. to 300 B.C.)

We have detailed description of the family life in the *Gṛhya-sūtras*. Joint family system continued even in this period but after the death of the father sometimes the brothers separated.

Even in this period the parents wanted to have many sons but daughters, when born, were not ill-treated. Amongst children some preferential treatment was shown to sons as they were considered more useful in fighting against enemies and in earning money.

The head of the family took his meals after children, old persons, and pregnant women had taken their food but according to Pāraskara he could take food before other members of the family.¹⁹

According to the *Gṛhya-sūtras* family life started with marriage. After marriage all the duties of the family devolved on the householder.²⁰ One of the most important duties of a householder was performance of five daily great sacrifices.²¹ This duty included the earlier idea of repayment of three debts (*ṛṇas*). Thus doing his duty towards others was considered more important for a householder than towards his own-self or the members of his own family. By performing the five great sacrifices the householder discharged his duty towards the ancient sages (*Brahmayajña*), that towards his ancestors (*Pitṛyajña*), that towards gods (*Devayajña*), that towards all creatures (*Bhūtayajña*) and that towards guests (*Atithiyajña*).²²

The house-holder was expected to perform three other kinds of sacrifices on special

occasions. The sacrifices in which cooked food articles were offered as oblations into fire were called *pākayajñas*. The sacrifices in which clarified butter was poured into fire as oblations were called *haviryajñas* and those in which *Soma* juice was drunk by sacrificers were called *Soma yajñas*. Ordinarily the householder and his wife took their food after they had served food to sages, gods, ancestors, domestic deities, guests and servants.²³ According to Āpastamba in a family the husband should always maintain cordial relations with his wife and children.²⁴ According to him the chief aim of marriage was to ensure the continuity of family by having children who would pass on the cultural traditions of the family to the future generations.²⁵

The sacred fire which was kindled at the time of marriage was kept burning all the day and night. It was the duty of the house-holder to keep it burning. In his absence his wife, son or daughter discharged this duty. According to some law-givers if, on account of some lapse, the fire extinguished the wife was expected not to take food as a penance.²⁶

When a house-holder built a new house he performed a special ritual and offered oblations for *Vastospati* so that he might protect the members of his family and cattle who lived in that house.²⁷

The *Gṛhyasūtras* mention also the sacraments which an individual was expected to perform in this world.²⁸ The aim of these sacraments was to purify an individual from the blemishes which he might have inherited from his previous births and enable the individual to develop all his inherent good qualities to the maximum. Sacraments were performed even in the cases of women but Vedic mantras were not recited when sacrifices,²⁹ for women, were performed.

According to the lawgivers of this period after the death of the father the younger

brothers should show the same respect to the eldest brother which they previously showed to their father and carry out his orders.³⁰ Both Āpastamba and Baudhāyana were of opinion that all sons should get equal shares in the father's property.

In this period the importance of sons as compared with that of daughters increased in the family but the latter were not ilitreated. Gautama Buddha had permitted women to join the Buddhist *Samgha* only when Ānanda pleaded for them. Probably the society in the Buddha's time thought that their entry into the *Samgha* might lead to moral degeneration.

Pre-Gupta Period (c. 300 B.C to C. 300 A.D.)

From the account of Megasthenes³¹ and references in the *Manusmṛiti*³² it appears that all women were not exclusively devoted to their husbands. According to Magasthenes many Indians had more than one wives. They married some for having children, some for sexual satisfaction and some others to help them in their work.³³ Manu mentions all the eight kinds of marriages.³⁴ Of these eight, four namely-*Brāhma*, *Daiva*, *Ārṣa* and *Prājāpatya* he considers approved (*dharma-sammata*) and the other four namely *Āsura*, *Gāndharva*, *Rākṣasa* and *Paiśācha* as unapproved (*dharmaviruddha*). This shows that the marriages arranged by parents were considered good while others bad.³⁵

The relations between a husband and his wife

According to Manu gods are pleased with those families in which women are respected and the ruler should punish the husband who divorces his wife for no fault of hers.³⁶ If a wife belonged to the *varṇa* of her husband she was eligible to perform the ritual with her husband.³⁷ According to Manu if such a wife

had given birth to sons the husband should not marry another woman³⁸ and he should not show disrespect to such a wife.³⁹ The husband could marry another woman if such a wife willingly agreed to her husband's second marriage with another woman.⁴⁰ According to Manu divorce is not permissible in Hindu law.⁴¹ The wife according to Manu, should worship her husband, even if he be devoid of all virtues, as a god.⁴² The above view of Manu shows that the position of wife considerably deteriorated during this period. But Manu himself in Chapter IX lays down that husband and wife should be devoted to each other throughout their lives. They should always try that their views be in harmony.⁴³ If, according to him, in a family the husband be satisfied with the wife and the wife with the husband the family prospers.⁴⁴

According to Kauṭilya husband and wife should have equal status in the family. He permits the wife to divorce her husband if he be of bad character, had not come back from a foreign country for a long period, be a traitor, be a source of danger to her life, be outcasted or be impotent.

Manu also lays down that the householder should perform five great sacrifices⁴⁵ daily and he and his wife should take their meals after serving food to sages, gods, fore-fathers, domestic deities guests and servants.⁴⁶

The *Mahābhārata* in its later portions depicts a very high status of wife in the family. It states that the father-in-law, the mother-in-law and the husband's elder brother should show due affection to the householder's wife as she gives birth to children and the progress of society depends on children.⁴⁷ The wife is the husband's half body (*ardhāṅginī*). She is his true friend and is the source of four *puruṣārthas* viz., *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*.⁴⁸ No person in anger should do anything against the wishes of his wife because

the happiness, joy and fame of the family depend on her.⁴⁹ According to the same work if a family has sons, grandsons, daughters-in-law, and a number of servants but has no wife the house-holder is without any real source of joy or happiness.⁵⁰

According to Manu an individual is perfect if there is harmony between his own views and those of his wife and his son.⁵¹ Manu desires that the wife should supervise every domestic work. She should maintain accounts of income and expenditure, should cook food herself, keep every article neat and clean and at its proper place and should participate in every ritual with her husband.⁵² The above statements of Manu clearly show that though the position of the wife as compared to that of the husband was low in the family but it was still very important.

The Position of the Son in the family

It is clear from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* that non-Aryans sold their sons or mortgaged them but this practice was not in vogue among the Aryans. According to Manu if an individual wishes to get salvation he should try to have a son.⁵³ The *Mahābhārata* states that an individual can conquer the whole world if he has a son.⁵⁴ According to the same work there can be no greater source of happiness for an individual than having a son.⁵⁵ The birth of a son was considered a very sacred event as the continuation of a family depended on it.⁵⁶

The position of the eldest son in the family was more important than that of any other son. According to Manu when the eldest son is born the father passes on the hereditary debt to him and he becomes immortal because, in fact, he is a son in accordance with the *dharma* of an individual. All other sons are the by-product of the individual's desire for satisfaction of his sex instinct.⁵⁷ After the death of the father all other sons remained

under the control of the eldest son.⁵⁸ As long as the father was alive he too showed due respect to him but for the son the father was always worthy of respect as an elder.⁵⁹ According to the *Mahābhārata* the eldest son should treat his younger brothers as a teacher treats his pupils⁶⁰ and the younger brothers should have full faith in the eldest brother as they had in the father when he was alive.⁶¹ The eldest brother fully realized his responsibility and arranged for the proper bringing up and education of younger brothers and sisters, not minding the inconvenience which he had to bear in discharging his duty towards his younger brothers and sisters. Some law-givers have given the mother the highest position in the family,⁶² but all are unanimous that all children should fully respect father, mother, teacher and the eldest brother and carry out their instructions.⁶³ According to Manu the father should beat his son only if he wishes to bring him to the right path and not otherwise.⁶⁴

According to Manu after the father's death either the eldest son should inherit the whole of hereditary property and all other sons remain under his protection or they should divide the hereditary property equally among themselves.

The Position of the Daughters

According to Manu the father should always treat his daughters with affection. He should not quarrel with them.⁶⁵ Arranging the daughter's marriage at the appropriate time was considered the duty of the father.⁶⁶ When the marriage relation was once settled the father was not expected to change it.⁶⁷ He did not arrange the marriage of his daughter by accepting some money from the bridegroom.⁶⁸ If a person had no son his property was inherited by his daughter's son⁶⁹ and the latter was expected to perform *śrāddha* for his

maternal grand-father. The above references in the *Manusmṛiti* and the statement of the author of the *Mahābhārata*.⁷⁰ 'that in a family the goddess of wealth resides in the daughters' show that the daughter's position in the family was no doubt inferior to that of the son but she was not completely neglected.

Thus children in the family showed due respect to their elders and the latter treated them with affection but made them realize their duty towards other members of the family. Only in a family could an individual hope to realize the four aims of his life viz., *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. The householder considered it his duty to discharge his obligations towards all the members of the family. He also repaid the three debts which he owed to the sages, the ancestors, the gods by performing the five daily great sacrifices which included setting apart some food for guests and other creatures in the world. Proper family relations are the basic requirement of the progress of the society. Realizing this fact Aśoka in Rock Edict IX says that children should show due respect to their parents, teachers, and elders in position or age. Thus family played a pivotal role in the social organization in ancient India.

The Gupta Period (c. 300 A.D. to c. 600 A.D.)

Most of the lawgivers of this period were of opinion that the girls should be married before they attained the age of puberty but from the *Kāmasūtra* we know that some girls were married at an advanced age. The author of the *Kāmasūtra* states that the girl's age should be three years less than that of the boy.⁷¹ Even in this period the first four kinds of marriages viz. *Brāhma*, *Prājāpatya*, *Ārṣa* and *Daiva* were considered approved marriages by the law-givers but the *Kāmasūtra* refers to some *Gāndharva*, *Rākṣasa* and

Paiśāca forms of marriages in which the bridegroom and the bride themselves selected their life-partners. When girls were married at a lower age their proper education was neglected. Only in the aristocratic families education in some fine arts such as music, dancing and painting was imparted. Even in this period women took part in family rituals with their husbands.⁷²

Relations between Husband and Wife

An ideal wife according to Vātsyāyana should have three qualities. She should try her best to serve all the members of the family. She should have self-control and should be able to manage all domestic affairs skilfully. The ideal wife acted in everything according to the wishes to her husband. She prepared the food which her husband liked, participated only in those social functions in which her husband wished her to do so. She extended hospitality to all the friends of her husband. She carried out ungrudgingly the instructions of her father-in-law and mother-in-law. When her husband went to a foreign country she led a simple life. If the co-wife was older to her in age she treated her as her mother. If she was younger in age she treated her as her younger sister.⁷³

The above description clearly shows that the wife in the Gupta period occupied a very important position in the family. *Kātyāyanasmṛiti* also describes similar duties of a wife.⁷⁴ The advice which Kāṇva gave to Śakuntalā before her departure to the residence of Duṣyanta also supports the view that an ideal wife in the Gupta period did everything in accordance with the wishes of her husband and the males in aristocratic families were generally polygamous.

Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvamśa* makes Aja say about his wife 'she was my wife, my adviser, my friend and my pupil in fine arts.'⁷⁵

These words of Aja show how important a position a wife occupied in the family.

According to Yājñavalkya the husband should act according to the wishes of his wife and he should love her.⁷⁶ He should not think of marrying another woman if his first wife has given birth to a son and belongs to the same caste as his own because she is eligible to participate with him in all rituals.⁷⁷ He should not divorce his wife unless she be guilty of a very heinous crime such as adultery with the husband's teacher or pupil.⁷⁸ According to him the impurity of a woman is not permanent. She becomes pure after every menses.⁷⁹ He says that if a husband divorces his devoted wife the ruler should give one third of the husband's property to the devoted wife. He says that the wife gives birth to sons from whom we get grandsons and great-grand-sons. Therefore, all people should treat women with consideration, show regards to them and try to protect them in every way.⁸⁰

The house-holders were expected to perform daily five great sacrifices even in this period.⁸¹

From the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* we know that sacraments were performed even in the Gupta period for the purification of body⁸² and to make the individual conscious of his duties towards the society in various stages of his life. According to him marriage sacrament in the case of women should be regarded as their *upnayana* (sacred thread) sacrament.⁸³

Relations between the Father and the Son

According to Yājñavalkya father is like a teacher to his son.⁸⁴ Even when the son commits a very serious crime the father should not disown him.⁸⁵ According to Viṣṇu the father should beat the son only when he wishes that he should follow the virtuous path.⁸⁶ According to Yājñavalkya and Nārada the division of property by a father among his sons is legal

even if he has divided it unequally but Kātyāyana does not agree with their views and states that the division of property by the father among all his sons should be equal. No preferential treatment should be shown by him to any one.

Relations between other members of the family

From Bṛhaspati we know that the Hindu joint family consisted of all those members who took their meals cooked in one kitchen.⁸⁷ According to Nārada father, mother, children, brother, cousins, all lived in one house and all spent the income from the joint property of the family.⁸⁸ The house-holder and his wife were expected to take their meals after children, a married daughter living with parents (*svavāsini*), old members of the family, pregnant women, sick persons and servants had taken their meals.⁸⁹ According to him a house-holder should not amass wealth for himself. He should live like a farmer who gives all his corn to others and maintains himself on the gleanings collected from the fields.⁹⁰

From the above account it is clear that the patriarchal family of the Vedic Aryans had, by this time fully, changed into a joint family. The head of the family managed the joint property of the family. In this period there seems to be a tendency for the splitting of the joint family into individual families. The law-givers tried to use the patriarchal system to make the joint family system strong.

According to Manu if an individual earns without making use of the property of the joint family the earnings belong to him. If he wishes he may not give any part of it to other members of the joint family. Nārada and Kātyāyana were of opinion that if an individual makes any profit on account of his scholarship which he had acquired without making use of the property of the joint family he could keep the profit

with him. Thus the field of individual property was gradually being extended by the law-givers of the period. From a perusal of the *Dharmasūtras* and the *Manusmṛiti* it is clear that though the tradition of patriarchal family continued the mother, the mother's brother and the mother's father were counted as near relatives in all domestic rituals. For this reason it was laid down that matrimonial relation upto three generations on the mother's side should be avoided. Thus the members of the mother's side also became a part of the joint family. The family was no longer confined only to the relatives of father alone. Both the father's and the mother's relatives were included as members of the joint family.

The Post-Gupta Period (c. 600 A.D. to c. 1200 A.D.)

From the literature of this period we know that the position of the husband was supreme in the family. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* the wife should worship her husband like a god.⁹¹ Vedavyāsa suggests that the wife should starve herself and not use any cosmetics if her husband has gone to a foreign country.⁹² The *Daśsakumāracarita* states that the husband is like a god to the wife if he divorces her life will be more painful than death. Ordinarily even during this period the wife was devoted to her husband and managed all the domestic affairs.⁹³ From the descriptions of Rājyaśrī, Kādambarī and Mahāśvetā it is evident that girls of aristocratic families were given instruction in some fine arts such as music, dance and painting.⁹⁴

Love (*Gāndharva*) marriages were not at all approved by the society during this period.⁹⁵ Medhātithi is in favour of parents marrying their daughters before they attained the age of puberty.⁹⁶ According to him if the father of a girl is not able to find a suitable match for her when she had passed three years after

attaining puberty she could herself choose a life-partner. Even when some love (*Gāndharva*) marriages took place they were with the consent of the father of the girl. The author of the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* is also of the view that arranging the marriage of the daughter at a suitable age was considered the responsibility of the father.⁹⁷

From the inscriptions of this period it is clear that the rulers were polygamous. In this period some marriages took place by following the *Svayamvara* method. For example the Western Cālukya ruler Vikramāditya VI had a marriage in this way. But this was an exception not a rule in society of this period.⁹⁸ Ordinarily the father was expected to find a suitable match for her daughters.

The Relations between the Husband and the Wife

According to the lawgivers of this period the wife should remain fully devoted to her husband and carry out his instructions. According to Madhātithi she should serve her husband like a servant⁹⁹ but he also expects the husband not to hate or ill-treat his wife. According to him both have equal rights in the family but their functions are different. Both of them can legally claim their rights. If the husband oppresses the wife she can get redress by applying to the government. If the wife ill-treats the husband he can apply to the government for redress.¹⁰⁰ Both Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara were of opinion that the husband should maintain his wife even if he has to commit some crimes in discharging his duty towards her.¹⁰¹ According to Medhātithi the husband should make proper arrangements for the maintenance of his wife before he leaves for a foreign country.¹⁰² Only in case the wife is outcasted by the society could the husband divorce her¹⁰³ but even in such a situation the husband was expected to

arrange for her maintenance.¹⁰⁴ According to Medhātithi the husband should beat his wife very rarely only when he is not able to bring her to the virtuous path by scolding her.¹⁰⁵ According to him the husband can also inflict monetary punishment on his wife if necessary.¹⁰⁶ According to him wife can spend money only with the approval of her husband. She is not free to incur any expenditure without his consent.¹⁰⁷

The law-givers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era were of opinion that the husband should keep his wife so busy that she might not have any time to think about other persons. The husband and other relatives should present her fine clothes, beautiful ornaments and delicious food to show that they considered her services to the family praiseworthy. They also lay down that the husband should arrange for the maintenance of his wife before he leaves for a foreign country and the husband should also arrange for the maintenance of a divorced wife.¹⁰⁸ In case the husband divorces his wife for no fault of hers the government should inflict the same punishment which is inflicted on a thief.¹⁰⁹

According to the commentators of this period if a person died without a son the wife could inherit the whole of the property of her husband.¹¹⁰ In case the wife died before the husband the daughter could inherit her father's property.¹¹¹

The above account in the law-books of this period shows that there was some improvement in the economic position of the wife but on the whole her status in the family deteriorated a good deal. Her position was no better than that of an obedient servant.

But in educated families where the husband and wife were devoted to each other they faithfully discharged their duties towards children and society. Children got their early education in an atmosphere of affection, respect for elders and good conduct. They

became conscious of their duties towards elders and economically weak sections in society. They were less conscious of their rights than their duties. To make the older members of the family happy and comfortable they were willing to bear any hardships. When the feeling of consideration for the happiness of other members of the family disappeared there were quarrels and the utility of the institution of joint-family came to an end.

In the joint-families every members contributed to the economic betterment of the family and every member could get according to his needs. Another advantage which the joint-family system conferred on the coming generations was that the children had good training in hereditary craft of occupation. The children inherited the cultural traditions of the family and passed them on to the coming generations. The chief virtues which the child inherited in a joint-family were love of truth, spirit of sacrifice for others, and the desire for the welfare of the humanity as a whole.

Joint-family system was not an unmixed blessing. It had some drawbacks as well. The greatest defect of this system was that it made some members lethargic. Knowing that they would get their needs satisfied at the cost of others they did not exert themselves to the extent they were capable of. This resulted in a great loss not only to the family but to the society as a whole. Another great drawback of the system was that it did not provide women an opportunity to develop their personality.

In India the family organisation is either patriarchal or matriarchal. In many communities in other countries we now find the joint family system but relationship based both on the father's side and the mother's side is found only among the Hindus.

The law-givers after the ninth century A.D. recognised relationship on both the father's side and the mother's side and encouraged the tendency for individual family but they also

laid emphasis on the family organization based on partriarchal relationship.

In modern times joint-family system cannot succeed because unless every member of the joint-family exerts himself to the maximum it is difficult to provide for the needs of every member of the joint-family. Another reason why the joint-family system is not likely to succeed in modern times in India is that every individual has become too self-centred. He thinks of himself, his wife and his children and is not prepared to make any sacrifice for the other members of the joint-family especially those who are now unable to work hard on account of old age or sickness.

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QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the sociological significance of the institution of family.
2. Describe critically the psycho-social influence of the family environment on a child.
3. Discuss how the family, more than any other group, affects development of the individual's moral attitude.
4. Mention the four fundamental desires the satisfaction of which the family provides and state how the latter does it.
5. Explain the full significance of the account of the origin of the family in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
6. Discuss how according to the Gṛhyasūtras doing his duty towards others was considered more important for a house-holder. Then towards his ownself or the members of his own family.
7. What light do the Manusmṛti and the Arthaśāstra throw on the relation between the husband and the wife in the Pre-Gupta period?
8. Describe critically the positions of the son and the daughter in that family during the Pre-Gupta period.
9. Describe critically the position of the wife in the family in the Gupta period.
10. Discuss the relations between all the members in a joint family in the Gupta period. Also bring out the evidence which shows that there was a tendency in this period for the splitting of the joint-family into individual families.
11. Discuss the factors which led to the deterioration of the position of the wife in the family in the Early Medieval Period.
12. Discuss the necessary conditions for the success of the joint family system and mention its advantages and drawbacks.

Chapter 13

Marriage

The institution of marriage has a wide impact on the social organization of a country. We shall, therefore, discuss in this chapter the origin, development, nature and types of marriages mentioned in the Hindu law-books of ancient India.

Origin

According to the Hindu view marriage (*vivāha*) is in essence an obligatory ritual which an individual has to perform to be able to start his life as a householder (*gr̥hastha*). According to Manu women were created to be mothers and men to be fathers. The Vedas prescribe that *dharma* must be practised by a man together with his wife.¹ The ritual of marriage enables a man to have a son and without a son a Hindu cannot hope to get salvation (*mokṣa*) which is the ultimate aim of his life. It is, therefore, regarded as a sacrament (*saṁskāra*) which purifies the body. According to Manu marriage is a social institution for the regulation of proper relations between the two sexes.² According to the *Gṛhyasūtras* pregnancy of the wife brings happiness to the family, both in this world as well as in the life here-after.³ According to Manu, only he is a perfect man, who consists of his wife, himself and his off-spring.⁴

The aims of marriage

The aims of marriage discussed in the earliest religious works of the Hindus throw considerable light on the origin of marriage.

According to the *R̥gveda* the marriage had two objectives namely to enable an individual to perform sacrifices for gods and to have children.⁵ The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* states that the wife is called *jāyā* because in her the husband is born in the form of a son.⁶ Similar views about the aim of marriage are expressed in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*⁷, *Āpastamba*⁸ and *Jaimini*⁹ also support the view that performance of rituals and having sons were the two chief aims of marriage. Manu adds a third aim namely the satisfaction of the sex-instinct.¹⁰ Of the three aims mentioned above the first in importance was the duty to perform daily sacrifices as repayment of the debts to sages, gods, ancestors, all creatures in the world and the guests. The second in importance was the continuity of the human race and the last the satisfaction of the sex-instinct. Thus marriage was considered a divine institution. The marriage sacrament made an individual realize his duties towards others. All his actions were guided by his *dharma* as a householder (*gr̥hastha*). He with his wife did only those actions which brought him happiness as an individual and as a member of the society in this world and in the life hereafter. Satisfaction of the sex-instinct and desire to have children were probably the two aims of marriage in the beginning but the Hindu thinkers sublimated the sex-instinct. Duty towards others became more important than the two selfish desires of satisfaction of the sex-instinct and reproduction.

The age of marriage for a bridegroom

As soon as a student finished his educational career he could marry a suitable girl. The ages prescribed for the *Upanayana* sacrament of the sons of different *varṇas* were different namely 8 years for a *brāhmaṇa*, 11 years for a *kṣatriya* and 12 years for a *vaiśya* and all of them generally continued their education for 12 years. Thus the ages for marriage for bridegrooms of *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya* castes will be 20, 23 and 24 years respectively. But if the youngman continued his education for a longer period say 24, 36, or 48 years he could marry late. According to Manu a bridegroom of 30 years of age could marry a girl aged 12 years and one 24 years of age a girl aged 8 years.¹¹ The *Mahābhārata* lays down that bridegroom aged 30 years should marry a girl aged 10 years and one aged 21 years should marry a girl aged 7 years.¹² It appears from an example in the *Mahābhārata* that a man could marry even at the age of 60 years.¹³ This makes us conclude that there was no fixed age limit for a man by which he could marry.

Desirable qualities in a bridegroom

According to the *Gṛhyasūtras* the bridegroom should be intelligent, belong to a respectable family, be of good conduct, learned, healthy and virtuous.¹⁴ Baudhāyana also lays down that the bridegroom should be unmarried.¹⁵ According to Manu the most important desirable quality which a bridegroom should possess is that he must belong to a respectable family.¹⁶ Yājñavalkya lays emphasis on the bridegroom's being free from any hereditary disease.¹⁷ Kātyāyana specifies the diseases, such as madness, leprosy, impotency, blindness, being hard of hearing or suffering from epilepsy, from which the bridegroom must not have been suffering

at the time of his marriage.¹⁸ But from references about the division of property in the *Manusmṛiti* and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*¹⁹ it seems that in special circumstances marriages of even impotent bridegrooms did take place.²⁰

The age of marriage of a bride

From the *Ṛgveda* it is evident that girls were married at an advanced age.²¹ From the *Gṛhyasūtras* it is clear that the bridegroom and the bride cohabited on the fourth day after marriage. It was possible only when both of them were of advanced ages.²² But *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra*²³ states that the girl should be *nagnikā*. *Nagnikā* probably refers to girls who had not attained the age of puberty. These references seem to be later interpolations as in the marriage sacrament the girl is expected to recite *Vedic mantras* which a young girl could not do. Thus it is not certain that all girls in the times of Baudhāyana were married before they attained the age of puberty. But from the *Manusmṛiti*²⁴ it appears that at the time of its compilation (C. 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) girls were generally married before they were 12 years of age.

The *Vaikhānasa Smṛiti* (C. 200 A.D. to C. 500 A.D.) also supports the above view. But from the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana it appears that some girls in his time were married at an advanced age.

There seem to be a number of factors which made the lawgivers prescribe a lower age for the marriage of girls in India. The most important factor seems to be their desire to raise the moral standard of the society. It was for this reason that they laid down that the girls should be virgin. The second factor seems to be non-performance of *Upanayana* sacrament in the case of girls. Their marriage sacrament itself was regarded as their *Upanayana* sacrament. The third factor seems

to be the desire of some girls to become Buddhist or Jaina nuns but they could not lead the life of celibacy and brought great disgrace to their families. The fourth factor which contributed to the tendency for lowering the age of marriage of girls was the belief in the society that a married girl had to face less risks in life than an unmarried one. From about 450 A.D. *tāntrikism* appealed to the common people and the *tāntrikas* regarded sexual intercourse as the greatest bliss in this world. This might have resulted in lowering of the moral standard of the society. Probably some parents to save their children from the undesirable influence of *tāntrikism* decided to marry their daughters before they attained the age of puberty. According to Parāśara (Seventh century A.D.) the parent of a girl who remained un-married even after attaining the age of puberty goes to hell. This makes us conclude that after c. 600 A.D. majority of parents married their daughters before they attained the age of 12 years.

Desirable qualities in the bride

The lawgivers lay down that the bride should belong to a respectable family and should not be suffering from a hereditary disease²⁵ but greater emphasis was laid by all writers on their physical beauty and their being virtuous.²⁶ According to Bhāradvāja the bride should have four qualities namely (1) she should be from a rich family, (2) she should be beautiful (3) she should be intelligent and (4) she should be from a respectable family.²⁷ According to the *Mānavagr̥hya-sūtra* the fifth desirable quality in a bride is her proper education.²⁸ Most of the lawgivers were of opinion that the age of the bride should be less than that of the bridegroom.²⁹ According to Vātsyāyana the bride's age should be three years less than that of the bridegroom.³⁰ Some lawgivers

prescribe that a youngman should not marry a girl who has no brother.³¹ It was because these lawgivers did not wish that a girl should inherit her father's property³² because her son could have it if she had no brother. This rule thus compelled the girls who had no brother to remain unmarried throughout their lives at the residence of their fathers.³³

Some law-givers lay down that the *gotras* of the bridegroom and the bride should be different. They do not insist that the *pravaras* should also be different.³⁴ While some other law-givers insist that the *pravaras* of the bride and the bridegroom should be different but they do not insist on the *gotras* being different.³⁵ Most of the lawgivers prohibit marriage relations between seven generations on the father's side and five generations on the mother's side. The marriages in which these rules were not observed were considered illegal.³⁶

These exogamous taboos were designed for the restriction of free marital relationship. Their psychological origin lies in the horror of incest and the consequent incest taboo which aims at preventing sex-relations between parents and offsprings and between brothers and sisters.³⁷

The Hindu Marriage a Sacrament

The marriage sacrament was a permanent bond in which both husband and wife were equally responsible for the mistakes either of the husband or of the wife. It was not a contract between them. This bond could not be broken under any circumstances. The duties of both were joint. Both became one unit because both had to remain under one spiritual discipline. This unity of husband and wife has been expressed by Manu in the following words :

'Husband, wife and children, the three together, are called *Puruṣa*. So the learned say the husband and wife are one. It is the law

of Prajāpati that the wife cannot be separated from her husband either by sale or by separation.³⁸

Every house-holder was expected to perform daily five great sacrifices viz., *ṛṣiyajña*, *devayajña*, *bhūtayajña*, *nṛyajña* and *pitṛyajña*.³⁹ By the recitation of Vedic mantras, by offering oblations in fire, by setting a part of his food for other creatures, by extending hospitality to guests, and by performing *śrāddha* for the ancestors he performed these five great sacrifices daily. Thus both husband and wife were jointly responsible for discharging these duties towards sages, gods, other creatures, guests and ancestors. A house-holder who did not perform these five great sacrifices was considered as if he were dead. The aim of marriage was not only having children. It had a much higher aim namely to pass on to the coming generations the cultural traditions which the family had inherited from its forefathers. The children represented the ideals and cultural values of life of a nation. The duty of passing on the cultural traditions of the race to the coming generations was the primary duty of a householder. The satisfaction of the sex-instinct or reproduction of children were secondary to the duties in the scheme of life as chalked out by the Hindu law-givers for a house-holder.

In the Ṛgvedic times the two most important rituals of the marriage sacrament were holding the hand of the bride by the bridegroom.⁴⁰ (*Pāṇigrahaṇa*) in the presence of fire and going round the fire by both. The first is a promise that both together will lead a happy life and the god fire is considered a witness of this promise on the part of both. The second ritual probably signified that the bride belonged to god fire before marriage and is offered to the bridegroom by god fire himself. A *mantra* of the same hymn describes the newly married wife as becoming the most

respected mistress of her new household.⁴¹ From the *Atharvaveda* it is evident that she participated with her husband in all the domestic rituals.⁴² The bond which took place in the presence of gods could not be broken. Probably the ritual of keeping the foot on a piece of stone (*Śilārohaṇa*) also signified the firmness of this bond.⁴³

In the *Gṛhya-sūtras* some magic element was introduced in the marriage sacrament to remove the effect of evil spirits.⁴⁴ The husband and the wife together walked seven steps. This ritual was called *saptapadī*.⁴⁵ This ritual signifies that husband and wife promised in the presence of fire god that both will act in their married life after consulting each other. The *Gṛhyasūtras* also mention that on the fourth day after marriage the husband and wife cohabited (*caturthī karma*).⁴⁶ This shows that even in the period of the *sūtras* (600 B.C. to 300 B.C.) the bride and the bridegroom were of advanced ages. The offering of oblation of parched rice into fire (*lājā-homa*)⁴⁷ signified the power of reproduction, a long life, and prosperity. The ritual of the newly married couple looking at some stars as *dhruva*, *arundhatī* and *saptarṣi* represented the constant love for each other throughout their lives.⁴⁸

The above description of the chief rituals of the marriage sacrament shows that it was a very simple sacrament in the early Vedic period but later many rituals were added to it.

In the Ṛgvedic marriage sacrament the bridegroom prays that he may have sons and grandsons and lead a happy prosperous life.⁴⁹ He is very optimistic and self-reliant.⁵⁰ Thus in the Vedic period there is no indication of the inferior position of the bride as compared with that of the bridegroom in the family.

Hindu marriage was a duty towards the society and the community. The aim of individual happiness and progress was

considered not so important as the happiness and progress of the society as a whole. In fact, there was no contradiction between the interests of the husband and the wife or those of the individual and the society. The husband and the wife merged their individual personalities for the sake of happiness of the family and all the members of a family worked in such a way that their activities might contribute to the welfare and happiness of the society as a whole.

Nature of Hindu marriage

According to law-givers there was no scope for divorce in Hindu marriage but Kauṭilya permits a woman to remarry, if other members of her husband's family do not give her maintenance allowance. He also permits the husband to remarry if his first wife does not give birth to a son when eight to twelve years have elapsed after their marriage. Some lawgivers permit a woman to remarry if her husband does not return from a foreign country for a long time. Parāśara also permits a woman to remarry if her husband is dead, has become an ascetic or if he is impotent.

Kauṭilya calls *brāhma*, *daiva*, *ārṣa* and *prājāpatya* forms of marriages as approved (*dharmya*) marriages. He does not permit divorce in these four forms of marriages.

The law-givers assigned a lower status to the wife in the family than that of the husband with the result that these two who were initially equal partners in the family became unequal, the husband having the major say in family affairs.

The performance of rituals was the joint responsibility of the husband and the wife.⁵¹ It was, therefore, expected that both will remain devoted to each other.⁵² Manu permits the husband to punish his wife if she commits some crime.⁵³ Baudhāyana says if either the

husband or the wife refuses to cohabit he or she should be punished by the government.⁵⁴

As far as the economic status was concerned there was no question of one being indebted to the other as both were considered joint owners of the family property.⁵⁵ If, according to Kauṭilya, the wife borrowed a sum of money from some one the husband was legally bound to repay it.⁵¹ But according to Yājñavalkya if the wife borrowed a sum of money from her husband after signing an agreement it was her responsibility to repay it.⁵² According to Yājñavalkya after the death of the father the mother should get a share in her husband's property equal to that of her sons.⁵⁸

Manu states that if the wife commits some crime the husband should give some time to atone for it.⁵⁹ According to him if the wife is devoted to the husband but remains ill he should remarry with her consent.⁶⁰ According to Yājñavalkya even if the husband remarries the responsibility of maintaining his first wife still is that of the husband.⁶¹

Some law-givers also permit a wife to remarry in special circumstances but Manu does not recognise the right of the wife to divorce her husband under any circumstances.⁶² Nārada permits a woman to remarry if her husband is not traceable, is dead, has become an ascetic, is impotent or is outcasted.⁶³

There was no scope for divorce in Hindu marriage.⁶⁴ According to Manu even if the wife commits adultery the husband should accept her as his wife when she has expiated for it.⁶⁵ Yājñavalkya permits such a wife to be divorced by her husband but even in this case the husband is expected to give her maintenance allowance.⁶⁶ The above discussion clearly shows that Hindu marriage was a bond which continued as long as husband and wife were alive.

Marriage and Incest

According to some scholars there was incestuous intercourse between father Prajāpati and his daughter⁶⁷ and between brother and sister in the case of Yama and Yamī⁶⁸ in the beginning of creation. But according to V.M. Apte these references need not be accepted as historical events. They can be satisfactorily explained on a mythological or astronomical basis.⁶⁹ P.V. Kane is also of opinion that there are no references of incest in the Vedic literature.⁷⁰ V.M. Apte admits that there are some references in the *Rgveda* which refer to love-making in secret⁷¹ and giving birth to children in secret.⁷² But from the marriage hymn⁷³ in *maṇḍala* X of the same work it is clear that by the time this *maṇḍala* was compiled the institution of marriage was well established in the Vedic society.

Some scholars on the basis of references in the *Rgveda*⁷⁴, the *Atharvaveda*,⁷⁵ the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*⁷⁶ and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁷⁷ are of opinion that there are definite indications of incest. But the *Atharvaveda*,⁷⁸ the *Aithareya Brāhmaṇa*⁷⁹ and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁸⁰ in unambiguous words, condemn incest. Therefore, we think, on the basis of these references it does not seem proper to infer that incest existed in early Vedic society.

In the *Ādiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* it is stated that in the country of Uttarakuru women were licentious. They left one man and cohabited with some other man but Śvetakeru, the son of Uddālaka, stopped this practice and prescribed that if a wife is not devoted to her husband both of them would commit sin.⁸¹ According to P.V. Kane Uttarakuru is an imaginary country and we cannot prove the existence of licentiousness on the basis of this reference.

The *Mahābhārata* also refers to the immoral conduct of the woman of Vāhlīka and

Madra.⁸² On the basis of the above references S.C. Sarkar thinks that there must have been a period when promiscuous sexual intercourses existed in Indian society.⁸³ But K.M. Kapadia thinks that these descriptions in the *Mahābhārata* were most probably the product of the imagination of the writers of these stories who wished to describe the condition of a society when rules about marriage had not been framed.⁸⁴

Evolution of forms of marriage

The *Rgveda* does not mention the forms of marriage but from the description of marriages it can be surmised that the following forms of marriages were in vogue in the early Vedic times :

1. *Āsura*: In which the bridegroom gave some money to the father of the bride.⁸⁵
2. *Prājāpatya*: In which the husband and wife were never separated⁸⁶ and both of them were jointly responsible for the performance of the duties of a householder.⁸⁷
3. *Svayamvara*: In which the bride herself selected her lifepartner.
4. *Rākṣasa*: From the story of Vimada it can be surmised that such marriages also took place in the early Vedic times.
5. *Gāndharva*: Love marriage in which the bride and the bridegroom themselves decided to marry each other.
6. *Contractual marriages*: In this form of marriage if the terms of the contract were not fulfilled by either the bride or the bridegroom the marriage was considered annulled.

The early *Gr̥hyasūtras* mention only one form of marriage but they have given no name to it. *Mānave gr̥hyasūtra*, which is a late work

mentions two forms viz., *Brāhma* and *Śaulka*. The earliest work which mentions all the eight forms of marriages is the *Āśvalāyana gr̥hyasūtra* but in this work this section seems to be an interpolation. Most of the law-givers have mentioned the following eight forms of marriages.⁸⁸

1. *Brāhma* : In this form of marriage the father of the girl gave his daughter with some ornaments to a youngman who was of good conduct and was well-versed in four Vedas. The mention of ornaments makes us infer that some sort of dowry was given in this form of marriage. This form of marriage did not aim at only happiness in this world. It implied the desire of both the husband and the wife for salvation after death. In this form of marriage the father of the girl gave his daughter to the bridegroom without getting a sum of money or cow in exchange so this form of marriage was considered the best.

2. *Daiva* : In this form of marriage the father of the father gave his daughter with some ornaments to a priest who himself acted as a priest in the marriage sacrament. We may regard the ornaments as a form of dowry in this form of marriage as well. This form is called divine because the bridegroom himself acted as a priest in a sacrifice with some special objective such as begetting a son (*Putreṣṭi*).

3. *Ārṣa* : In this form of marriage the father of the girl accepted a cow and an ox or a pair of cows and oxen from the bridegroom and gave his daughter to him with the cow and the ox. According to Kullūka, the father did not sell his daughter to the bridegroom by accepting the cow and the ox. The bridegroom presented these to the bride's father to show his gratefulness to him as he could become a householder only by getting married with his daughter and the father gave the cow and the ox to his daughter so that the husband and

wife might start life as agriculturists with the help of the cow and the ox.

4. *Prājāpatya* : In this form the father gave his daughter to the bridegroom so that the two might enter the stage of a householder and have children. The aim was that they might not separate throughout their lives and both jointly discharge their duties as householders.

The above four forms of marriages were considered approved marriages. It was the father of the bride who arranged the marriage in all these four cases. It is why the lawgivers have called these four forms of marriages as *dharma* (legal).

The following four forms of marriages were not considered good (*adharmya*) by the society because the father of the girl had no say in arranging these four forms of marriages. But the lawgivers mentioned them in the law-books because all the eight forms were in vogue.

5. *Āsura* : In this form of marriage the bridegroom gave a sum of money to the bride and her parents. This means that he paid some money and got the bride in exchange for that money. It may be regarded as the sale of the girl. Some scholars are of opinion that the practice of marrying a girl after giving some money to her parents was in vogue in Assyria. It was why this form of marriage was called *Āsura*.

6. *Gāndharva* : The bride and the bridegroom, of their own accord, married because they loved each other. The father or the other relatives of the bride did not play any important role in arranging the marriage. The marriage of Śakuntalā with Duṣyanta is a well-known example of the *Gāndharva* form of marriage.

7. *Rākṣasa* : In this form of marriage the relatives of the bridegroom killed the parents of the bride and abducted the girl against her wishes in a weeping and crying condition and later married her. Probably this form of

marriage was in vogue in some non-Aryan tribe known as *Rākṣasa*. Had the law-givers not recognised this form of marriage the children of such marriages and their mother could not get social security. It was probably to give them social security that the lawgivers declared it as a form of marriage. Vasiṣṭha calls *Rākṣasa* form of marriage *Kṣātra*. On this basis Jolly was of opinion that *Brāhma* form of marriage was in vogue among the *brāhmaṇas*, *Rākṣasa* form among the *kṣatriyas* and *Āsura* form among the *vaiśyas*.⁸⁹ But there seems to be no firm basis for holding such a view.

8. *Paisāca* : The bridegroom, in this form of marriage stealthily outraged the modesty of a girl who was sleeping, was drunk or was mad. *Pisāca* was also most probably a non-Aryan tribe in which this form of marriage was in vogue. This form of marriage was also recognised by the Hindu lawgivers with the same objectives with which they recognised the *Rākṣasa* form of marriage. Thus the husband of the bride or the father of the children born of such marriages was made responsible for the maintenance of the mother and the proper bringing up of the children.

The classification of these eight forms of marriages into two groups *dharma* and *adharmya* affected the law of inheritance. For example according to Yājñavalkya the *strīdhana* of a woman who was married by an approved form of marriage (*dharma*) should be inherited by her husband if she has no child. In case she was married by an *adharmya* form of marriage the *strīdhana* should be inherited by her father.⁹⁰ According to Kauṭilya in the *dharma* form of marriage in special circumstances the husband could spend the *strīdhana* but in the case of *adharmya* form of marriage the husband should return the sum of money borrowed by him from the *strīdhana* of his wife with interest.⁹¹

According to Manu children born of *dharma* forms of marriages are virtuous,

praiseworthy and learned while those born of *adharmya* forms of marriages are cruel, liars, and not likely to observe the rules of *dharma*.⁹²

Even in the *śrāddha* ritual the *dharma* wife has been given special treatment. The husband himself gave rice *piṇḍa* for her.⁹³

From the above discussion of the eight forms of marriages it is clear that those forms of marriages in which the bride and the bridegroom married each other with the consent of their parents without any consideration of wealth or property were considered good (*dharma*) and those in which marriages took place for money or by force against the wishes of the parents of the bride and the bridegroom were called *adharmyas*. In the case of *adharmya* marriages the lawgivers deprived the wife of certain rights of which she was entitled if she had been married by a *dharma* form of marriage.

Inter-caste marriage

In the Vedic period we have some instances of *kṣatriya* girls marrying *brāhmaṇa* youngmen but there is no instance where a *brāhmaṇa* girl married a *kṣatriya* youngman.⁹⁴ This means, in this period society approved of only *anuloma* (bridegroom of a higher caste than that of the bride) marriages and not *pratiloma* (bridegroom of a lower caste than that of the bride). But marriage alliance with a *sūdra* girl was generally avoided.

In the *Sūtra*-period majority of *brāhmaṇas* married within their own caste but *anuloma* marriages were common even in this period. Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha have permitted *anuloma* marriages⁹⁵ but majority of people preferred to marry in their own castes. The authors of the *Sūtras* have laid down some expiatory rites if a person belonging to any of the three high castes cohabits with a *sūdra* woman.⁹⁶ According to Manu if a person belonging to any of the three high castes

married a *śūdra* girl he was looked down upon in society.⁹⁷ Similar views have been expressed by Yājñavalkya.

Marriage with the prohibited relatives

This includes two kinds of marriages one those within seven generations on the father's side and five on the mother's side and the other in the same *gotra*. From Baudhāyana we know that in South India youngmen married their mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter. Gautama permits marriage alliances in the eighth generation on the father's side in the fifth generation on the mother's side. Vasiṣṭha permits marriage alliance in the seventh generation on the father's side and in the fifth generation on the mother's side. Manu prohibits marriage alliance on the mother's side only upto three generations. Thus law with regard to *Sapinda* marriages was changing even upto the days of Manu.

So far as marriages in the same *gotra* are concerned Baudhāyana considers it a grave sin, but Manu does not consider it even an ordinary sin. Later *Smṛti*-writers have prescribed expiatory rites for performing marriages in the same *gotra* and the commentators of *dharmaśāstras* who flourished from the tenth to the twelfth centuries A.D. prescribe that a family in which marriage within the same *gotra* was celebrated should be boycotted by the society.

Even in the *Sūtra* period *gotra* was not a family group. So the law-givers combined *gotra* with *pravara*. *Pravara* was related to the branch of knowledge which one studied. In the period when sacrifices formed a living tie *pravara* had its importance but in the period of the *Smṛtis* it had no significance. The restriction on the basis of *gotra* was followed rigidly upto the 4th century A.D. The *brāhmaṇas* later combined the *pravara* restriction with that of

the *gotra* to establish their supremacy asserting that the *vaiśyas* and *kṣatriyas* have no *pravaras* of their own. They should observe the *pravaras* of their *brāhmaṇa* teachers.

Polygamy : Although monogamy was the ideal form of marriage in the Vedic times from the *R̥gveda* it appears that the rulers had more than one wife. Of the two wives of a ruler one is called *mahiṣī*⁹⁸ while the other is called *parivṛkti*.⁹⁹ The *Atharvaveda*¹⁰⁰ mentions a charm by which a wife might get rid of her co-wife. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* mentions three queens viz., *mahiṣī*, *vāvātā* (most beloved queen) and *parivṛkti* (the discarded queen). But the practice of polygamy was confined to a few aristocratic families.

According to Āpastamba a husband who has a wife who has given birth to a son and who is eligible to perform rituals (i.e. who belongs to the caste of the husband) should not marry any other woman. Kauṭilya permits a man to remarry only if his first wife does not give birth to any child for eight years, whose children die prematurely for ten years, and who gives birth only to daughters for twelve years. This shows that a man was allowed to have a second wife only if his first wife did not give birth to a son in the first twelve years of her married life.

Polyandry : There are only a few examples of polyandry in ancient Indian history. Draupadī had five husbands but her father declared the custom to be irreligious and against the tradition of the Aryans. This shows that having more than one husband for a woman was against *brāhmaṇic* tradition. We know that in the family of the Pāṇḍavas the brother of the husband of a widow could have sexual intercourse with her. This clearly makes us conclude that Pāṇḍavas belonged to some non-Aryan tribe in which such sexual intercourse was not forbidden.

Levirate (niyoga) : If a person died without a son his widow was allowed to bear a son to the younger brother or any *sapiṇḍa* male relative of her husband. This regulation was actuated with the sole purpose of begetting a son for the son-less widow. She could have only one son by *niyoga*. After the son was born the man and the widow had to behave towards each other like a father and a daughter-in-law.¹⁰¹ However this custom was not approved by the writers of the *Smṛtis*. Manu calls it beastly behavior and says that it is nowhere prescribed in the *dharmaśāstras*.¹⁰²

Widow remarriage

From a simile in the *Rgveda* it appears that after the death of her husband the widow could marry her husband's younger brother.¹⁰³ Āpastamba also mentions such a sexual relationship between the widow and her husband's younger brother.¹⁰⁴ Kauṭilya permits a woman to remarry after waiting for one year if her husband has not returned for a long time from a foreign country, has become an ascetic or is dead. He permits her to marry her husband's younger brother. Manu does not approve of the sexual intercourse of the elder brother's widow with his younger brother but such marriages did take place even in later times.

Widow remarriages were common in the period of the *Sūtras*. But Baudhāyana, Gautama and Manu did not give the same status to a widow's son as to the son born from her first husband, because they were generally opposed to widow-remarriages.

The custom of Sati

There is no evidence in the Vedic literature that the custom existed in the Vedic times. From the account of Strabo we know that this custom was in vogue in some tribe in the fourth century B.C. ¹⁰⁵ The authors of the *Sūtras* and

the *Smṛtis* lay down that a widow should lead a life similar to that of an ascetic. Only the *Viṣṇusmṛti*¹⁰⁶ and the *Bṛhaspati-smṛti*¹⁰⁷ consider being *satī* as an ideal course for a widow but do not say that it was obligatory for her.

Divorce

In Indian marriage the husband and wife were tied in a bond which was unbreakable because their relations did not come to an end in this world. Both of them wished to have salvation after death. But in special circumstances Kauṭilya and the lawgivers permit a husband to have another wife. Manu permits even woman to remarry if she had no sexual intercourse with the man to whom she was married before he died.

Kauṭilya permits divorce where both the husband and the wife agree to it but only in *adharmya* marriages not in *dharma* marriages because the *dharma* marriage was a sacrament in which divorce was not permissible.¹⁰⁸

Manu permits the husband to divorce his wife in the following circumstances :

- (1) If the wife hates the husband he can divorce her after one year.
- (2) If she does not give birth to a son he can divorce her after eight years.
- (3) If her children die prematurely he can divorce her after 10 years.
- (4) If she gives birth only to daughters he can divorce her after eleven years.

But in all these cases the husband had to support the wife even after he divorced her. The wife was not given the status of a married wife but the marriage alliance was not annulled. It was not a divorce in the modern sense of the word.

In modern times the circumstances are such that divorce may be permitted by the government but only when the husband and

the wife are unable to lead a happy married life on account of differences which cannot be reconciled. The aim of marriage is not simply to have children but worthy children who may become useful citizens of the country. If the husband and wife are not on congenial terms the children are not likely to be worthy citizens of the country. The happiness of the married life depends on the ability of the husband and the wife to adjust themselves to the needs of the time. Each must respect the feelings and independence of the other. Where such an adjustment is impossible divorce is the only course open to them but it should be resorted to only in exceptional circumstances not on flimsy grounds.

References

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2. Ibid., IX, 25.
3. Āśv. Gr. Sū. I, 6 ff. Baudh. II 9. 16. 10. Āp. II. 9. 24, 9.
4. Manu. IX, 45.
5. Rv. V. 3. 2, 28. 3.
6. Ait. Brā. XXXII. 1.
7. Śat. Brā. V. 2.1.10, Ait. Ar. I, 2.4.
8. Āp. Dh. Sū. II. 6.11.12.
9. Jaimini. VI 1. 17.
10. Manu. IX, 28.
11. Manu. IX, 93.
12. Mbh. Anu. 44. 14.
13. Mbh. Sabh., LXIV. 14 Vana. V. 15.
14. Āp. Gr. Sū. I. 5.2. and III, 20.
15. Baudh. Dh. Sū. IV. 1. 12.
16. Manu. IV, 244.
17. Yaj. I, 54-55.
18. Smṛtichandrikā, I.p. 59.
19. Manu. IX, 203.
20. Yāj. II, 141-142.
21. Rv. I, 117.
22. Āp. Gr. Sū. III, 7.8 Śāṅkh. Gr. Sū. I, 17. 5, Gobh. Gr. Sū. II, 3.15.
23. Baudh. Dh. Sū. IV. 1.1; Gaut. Dh. Sū. XVIII 20-23.
24. Manu. IX.
25. Vas. Dh. Sū. I 38, Viṣṇu, Dh. Su. XXIV 11, Kāmasūtra, III 1.2.
26. Śat. Brā I. 2.5 16, Āśv. Gr. Sū. I. 5.3. Śāṅkh. Gr. Sū. I. 5.6.
27. Bhāradvāja Gr. Sū. I. 11,
28. Mānava Gr. Sū. I. 7. 6-7.
29. Gaut. Dh. Sū. IV. 1. Vas. Dh. Sū. VIII. 1, Mānava Gr. Sū. I.7.8.
30. Kāmasūtra II. 1.2.
31. Mānava Gr. Sū. I. 7.1; Manu. III 11, Yāj. I.53.
32. Nirukta, III 4.
33. Rv. II, 17.7.
34. Hiranya. Gr. Sū. I. 192, Gobh. Gr. Sū. III. 4.4, Āp. Dh. Sū. II. 5.11.15. The *gotra* of a family is said to be named after the ṛṣi ancestor who founded the family in immemorial past. *Pravara* denoted the series of ancestors of the persons who had in former times invoked *Agni*.
35. Gaut. Dh. Sū. IV; Vas. Dh. Sū. VIII, I. Mānava Gr. Sū. I. 78.
36. Gobh. Gr. Sū. III. 45; Āp. Dh. Sū. II 5.11.16 Manu. III. 5.
37. Prabhu, P.H., Hindu Social Organization, pp. 156-157.
38. Manu. IX. 45-46.
39. Manu. IV. 21.
40. Rv. X, 85.36, 38.
41. Rv. X, 85.46.
42. Av. XIV. 20.
43. Kausika-sūtra LXXVI. 15-16.
44. Hiraṇyakeśin Gr. Sū. I. 13, 15-17.
45. Śāṅkh. Gr. Sū. I. 13, 15-17.
46. Āp. Gr. Sū. III, 7.8 Śāṅkh. Gr. Sū. I, 9-15. Gobh. Gr. Sū. II, 3.15.
47. Āśv. Gr. Sū. I. 7.8; Pāras. Gr. Sū. I. 6.2, I. 7.4.
48. Āśv. Gr. Sū. I. 8.22, Pāras. Gr. Sū. I. 8.19.
49. Rv. X, 85.36.
50. Rv. I, 36.14, VI 52. 5, X, 128.1. Cf. Av. XII. 1. 54.
51. Manu. IX. 96.
52. Ibid., IX. 101.
53. Ibid., VIII. 299.
54. Baudh. Dh. Sū. IV. I.19-22.
55. Yāj. XI. 52.
56. Kauṭilya. III. 2.24.
57. Yāj. II. 49.
58. Yāj. II. 123.
59. Manu. IX. 81.
60. Manu. IX. 82.

61. Yāj. I. 74.
62. Manu. IX. 47.
63. Nārada XII. 97.
64. Āp. Dh. Sū. II. 6.14 .16, Manu. IX. 46.
65. Manu. IX. 176.
66. Yāj. I. 72.
67. Rv. X, 61.5-7.
68. Rv. X. 10.
69. Vedic Age, p. 394.
70. History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II Part-I Chap. 9, p. 427.
71. Rv. I, 134.3, VIII, 17.7.
72. Ibid., II. 29.1.
73. Ibid., X. 85. 42-46.
74. Ibid., X. 61.7.
75. Av. XIV. 2.33.
76. Ait. Brā. III. 33.
77. Śat. Brā. I. 7.4.1.
78. Av. V. 20. 128.2.
79. Ait. Brā. III. 33.
80. Śat. Brā. I. 7.4.2-3.
81. Mbh. Ādi P. CXIII (Poona Ed).
82. Ibid., Karṇa P. XXVII. 36, 85.
83. Sarkar, S.C. Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India, pp. 142-143.
84. Kapadia, K.M. Hindu Kinship, P. 53.
85. Rv. I. 109.2.
86. Rv. X. 85. 42.
87. Ibid., X. 85.27.
88. Manu. III 27.37; Yāj. I 58-61.
89. Jolly, Outlines of an History of the Hindu Law, P. 74.
90. Yāj. II. 145.
91. Kauṭ. III. 2. 15-18.
92. Manu. II. 36-37.
93. Kane, P.V., History of Dharma-śāstra, Vol. IV, p. 523 etc.
94. Rv. V. 61. Śat. Brā. IV. 1.5, XIII 2.9.8.
95. Baudh. Dh. Sū. I. 8.16.2-5.
Vas. Dh. Sū. I. 24-25.
96. Baudh. Dh. Sū. IV 1.5, Āp. Dh. Sū. I. 26.7.
97. Manu. III. 13-17.
98. Rv. V. 2.2, 37.3.
99. Ibid., X. 102.11.
100. Av. I.4.
101. Manu. IX. 60. Yāj. I. 68; Nārada. XII 80-81.
102. Manu. IX. 66-68.
103. Rv. X. 18.8.
104. Āp. Dh. Sū. II. 10.2-3.
105. Strabo, XV. 62; Diodorus, XVII, 91; XIX. 33.
106. Viṣṇu. XXV. 14.
107. Brhaspati. XXIV. 11.
108. Kauṭilya, III. 3.

QUESTIONS

1. Why was marriage considered an obligatory ritual in ancient India?
2. State the three objectives of marriage mentioned by Manu in order of preference.
3. Mention the desirable qualities in a bridegroom referred to in the *Smṛtis* of Manu and Yājñavalkya.
4. Discuss the factors which made the law givers of the post vedic period prescribe a lower age for the marriage of a girl.
5. Describe critically the desirable qualities in a bride according to the authors of the *Grhyasūtras*.
6. Examine the validity of the rule that the bride and bridegroom should not be of the same *gotra* or *pravara*.
7. Discuss why there was no scope for divorce in the Hindu marriage?
8. Describe critically the circumstances in which Kauṭilya and some law givers permit a woman to remarry.
9. Describe briefly the eight forms of marriages referred to in the *Dharmaśāstras*. Also state which four were regarded as approved (*dharmya*) and which four as unapproved (*adharma*) marriages, giving reasons for this classification into two groups.
10. Mention the circumstances in which levirate (*niyoga*) was permitted and state the reason why the authors of the *Smṛtis* did not approve of this custom.
11. Discuss to what extent the custom of *Sati* was prevalent in ancient India.
12. Bring out the significance of the marriage sacrament (*vivāha saṁskāra*) for the institution of Hindu marriage.

Appendix I

Samskāras in the Chālukya Royal Families in the 12th Century A.D.

The *Mānasollāsa*, an encyclopaedic work composed by Someśeva, a Chālukya king of the 12th century, treats of one hundred different topics connected with the royal household and the royal court. We take up here its chapter entitled *Putrabhoga* (enjoyment of a son) which shows that till then the Hindu rulers considered the performance of *Samskāras* necessary for achieving perfection and success in life.

According to early *Smṛti* writers the *Samskāras* were performed to remove certain impurities pertaining to heredity.¹ Later, however, they were assigned negative as well as positive functions. They removed blemishes due to *Pūrvakarma* and generated fresh qualities in the newborn child², thus unfolding his latent capacities for development and marking the outward signs of the inner change which fitted human beings for corporate life.³

There is a great divergence of views among the writers of *Dharmaśāstras* as to the number of *Samskāras*. Gautama mentions forty sacraments⁴, but most *gṛhyasūtras* and *smritis* do not enumerate so many. In most of the digests the principal *Samskāras* are said to be sixteen.⁵ In the *Mānasollāsa* we find a reference to thirteen sacraments.⁶ In the majority of them performance of *homa* (oblations into fire) was necessary. The number of oblations, the articles of offering and the *mantras* to be used in each *Samskāra* could, however, differ according to the *gṛhyasūtras* followed.⁷ In the medieval period,

the performance of *Samskāras*, like other auspicious rites, was accompanied by the worship of Gaṇapati, recitation of auspicious mantras (*puṇyāhavācana*), the worship of mother goddesses and *Nandīśrāddha*⁸, and their performance took place only at certain specified times. Feeding of Brāhmaṇas, learned in the Vedas, was also a usual feature.⁹

The first *Samskāra*, *Garbhādhāna*, is connected with a child's conception. It is called *Caturthīkarma* in the *gṛhyasūtras* because the rite was performed on the fourth day after marriage as the girls were married at an advanced age.¹⁰ The author of the *Mānasollāsa* gives no detailed account of this *Samskāra*. He merely mentions days suitable for conception,¹¹ showing thereby that by the twelfth century, the ceremony had lost something of its old sacramental character. If a father wished to have a son, he performed the second *Samskāra* called *Pūmsavana*, because it was believed to bring about the birth of a male child. It was performed in the third month after conception. The pregnant mother was given a porridge made of barley and *māṣa* pulse mixed with clarified butter to eat.¹² In ancient times the shoot and the fruit of *Nyagrodha* tree were pounded by a girl who had not attained puberty. The juice was inserted into the nostril of the pregnant mother.¹³ This sacrament seems to have had, obviously, several elements—religious, symbolical and medical.

Simantonnayana, which literally means parting of the hair of a woman was performed in the fourth, sixth or eighth month after conception according to the *gṛhyasūtras*.¹⁴ The wife sat on a bull's hide and performed *homa*. The husband parted her hair by combing them upwards thrice with a porcupine quill, bunch of unripe fruits, and *darbha* grass. He tied a garland round her neck and gave her boiled rice mixed with *Mudga* and *ghee* to eat. The lute players then sang songs in praise of *Soma* and the elders blessed the mother so that she might give birth to brave sons.¹⁵

In Someśvara's time, the ceremony was also called *Aṣṭamaṅgala* because eight auspicious things were collected on this occasion. The pregnant mother wore a garland of *Udumbara* fruit round her neck, and, as in the past, her hair was parted by the husband with a porcupine quill.¹⁶ The Brāhmaṇas recited hymns from the *Sāmaveda* and the musicians played a tune called *Somarāga*¹⁷ upon five kinds of musical instruments—probably, a trumpet, a *Kāhala*, a conchshell, a tabor and a pair of *Kāṁsyatāla* large sums money in charity and clothes were given liberally to learned Brāhmaṇas.¹⁸ This rite was mainly of a festive character.

When a son was born the *Jātakarma* ceremony was performed. After the *homa* the father touched the son in the presence of invited guests and fed him with honey and clarified butter in which gold had been rubbed with a spoon made of gold.¹⁹ The father repeated certain words praying for the son's long life and prosperity. The child was then put to the breast of the mother.²⁰ A new custom that had come into vogue, was that of performing a *śrāddha* for the prosperity of the child (*ābhyudayika*) in which gold coins were given to Brāhmaṇas.²¹

The *gṛhyasūtras* prescribe the tenth or twelfth day after birth for *Nāmakaraṇa*.²² This ceremony is also referred to by Bāṇa in the

Kādambarī. He lays down that the name of a male child should contain an even number of syllables.²³ The *Mānasollāsa*, however, lays down that the ceremony for a royal child should be performed twelve days after his birth and he should be given a name ending in such words as *Simha*, *Malla*, *Bāhu*, *Pāla*, *Varma*, *Parākrama*, *Sena*, *Chandra*, *Divyasatva*, *Kesari*, *Ratha* and *Anika*.²⁴ Someśvara says nothing about other castes as his work was mainly for the use of royal families.

At the *Annaprāśana* ceremony the child was given cooked food to eat in the sixth month after birth. The *gṛhyasūtras* lay down what food should be given to a child²⁵, but Someśvara does not specify it. Incidentally, we learn that in the twelfth century children wore necklaces in which there were amulets containing verses for the protection of children from evil spirits, nails of lions, corals, shells and beautiful small conchshells.²⁶ The children also wore bangles made of an alloy of five metals viz., gold, silver, copper, tin and lead, and ornaments made of gold such as ear-rings, girdles round their waists and a head-ornament which resembled the leaves of an *Aśvattha* tree.²⁸

In the *Baudhāyana Gṛhya Śeṣa Sūtra* it is laid down that the lobes of the ears of a child should be pierced in the seventh or eighth month after birth.²⁹ But in the time of Someśvara the ceremony of *Karṇavedha* was performed when the child was one or two years old.³⁰ According to many writers on *Dharmaśāstras*, the ceremony of the first cutting of the hair on a child's head (*Chaula*) was performed in the third year after birth.³¹ Someśvara says that it could be performed any time, after two years had elapsed since the birth of the child, according to the custom in vogue in a particular family.³²

From Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* we learn that the children learnt alphabet and arithmetic after *Caula* ceremony and started the study of the Vedas after the *Upanayana* ceremony.³³

This practice is also mentioned in the *Uttararāmacharita*.³⁴ The *Upanayana* which literally means taking the child to the teacher was one of the most important sacraments. The Brahmana, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya boys were initiated when they were in the eighth, eleventh and twelfth years of their lives respectively.³⁵ The garments were made of hemp, flax and deer-skin according to the caste in which the student was born.³⁶ The student kept a wooden staff and had a girdle of grass round his waist.³⁷ That is why Someśvara calls the rite *Mauñji Nibandhana* (tying the girdle of *Muñja* grass).³⁸

The early *Dharmasāstras* do not mention *Vidyārambha* saṁskāra although the meaning of *Gāyatrī mantra* was explained soon after the *Upanayana* ceremony. Someśvara says that the rite should be performed two or three days after *Upanayana*. He then gives a list of subjects to be studied by a Kṣatriya prince. Vedic studies were considered essential for all the three high castes. Other subjects such as logic, religion, literature and grammar enabled the prince to enjoy the company of learned persons. He was expected to be physically strong, and skilful in the use of weapons such as a sword, a mace, a wheel, a spear, a dagger, and a bow and arrow. He was generally an expert in walking at a quick pace, and in riding horses, elephants or chariots. All these skills enabled him to discharge his duties as a ruler efficiently.³⁹

In the early *Smṛtis* we find a ceremony called *godāna* in which the student's head was shaved and the hair on the other parts of his body were removed.⁴⁰ This rite is mentioned in the *Uttararāmacharita*⁴¹ as well as the *Mānasollāsa*⁴² but fell into disuse later on, for it is not described in medieval digests. This ceremony was performed after the student had finished his Vedic studies. The student generally offered a pair of cows as *Dakṣiṇā* to his teacher.⁴³ Then followed the sacrament of ceremonial bath (*Samāvartana*) before the

student returned home from the teacher's residence. At this sacrament the teacher gave his parting advice to the student⁴⁴ and the student put on new clothes, shoes, ornaments and an umbrella—things the use of which was not permitted to him in his student career. The teachers were honoured by the rulers with the gift of villages, cities, clothes, gold and land.⁴⁵

The grandest of Saṁskāras was, as now, the *Vivāha* or marriage. According to the *Dharmasāstras*, this *Saṁskāra* enabled a man to perform sacrifices to the gods and procreate a son.⁴⁶ Girls chosen were expected to be virtuous, beautiful, fair-complexioned and born in respectable families.⁴⁷ A beautiful pavilion was constructed for the marriage ceremony. In it, pillars were covered with beautiful pieces of cloth and the floor was smeared with cow-dung. To decorate it, beautiful flower garlands were hung across the gates. On an altar in this pavilion, the family gods were worshipped, auspicious hymns from the Vedas were recited, and *Nandiśrāddha* was performed for the successful completion of this auspicious rite. The bridegroom put on a white robe and a ring, and was welcomed by the bride's father with a mixture of curds and honey.⁴⁸

Two heaps of rice grains were made on the altar, one in the east and the other in the west, and a white curtain was drawn north to south between them. The bridegroom stood facing the east and the bride facing the west.⁴⁹ Both of them had some rice grains and cumin seeds etc. in their hands.⁵⁰ When the auspicious moment arrived, the curtain was removed, the couple looked at the face of each other and sprinkled rice grains over the head of each other.⁵¹ This custom of having a curtain and sprinkling rice grains is not mentioned in the *grhyasutras*. But it is known not only to Someśvara, but also to writers like Haribhadra and Siddharṣi.⁵²

The father of the bride next placed the bride's right hand on the palm of the

bridegroom and offered her to him by pouring a little water into the palm. The person of the bride and bridegroom was then wound with five pieces of cotton thread. The couple shook their bodies so as to let the thread fall on the ground. This thread was coloured with wet saffron and made into two amulet threads which were tied round the wrists of the left hand of the bride and the right hand of the bridegroom. A Brāhmaṇa priest offered oblations into fire. The bride then held the bridegroom by the little finger and went round the fire thrice. In doing so, they touched the seven heaps of rice grains with their feet.⁵³ With the *agniparikramā*, the sacrament was practically over. The ceremonies which followed were more of a social character. After going round the fire the bride occupied a seat on the left of the bridegroom and his father presented the couple with beautiful clothes, jewels, ornaments, elephants, horses, buffaloes, cows, servants and money. The Brahmanas were given clothes, ornaments and gold in charity. Sweet music was played and conchshells were blown. Auspicious hymns from the Vedas were recited, and songs of victory were sung by heralds. All the guests were entertained with dinner and betel leaves. Drinks were served to ladies also, and cows were given grass to eat.⁵⁴

The festivities continued for four days. On the fourth day the bride and bridegroom decked themselves in their best clothes and ornaments. At night the bridegroom sat on a royal elephant which was decorated with gold bells, vermilion marks and flower garlands. The bride sat on a well-decorated she-elephant, and was accompanied by courtesans of good reputation. Thousands of torchbearers led the procession and the musicians played on five kinds of musical instruments. The procession passed through the streets of the city. Well placed women of the city showed their respect to the couple, perhaps by means of presents and obeisance. On their return to the royal

palace, the prince bowed down before his father.⁵⁵

In ancient India, the king was the ideal of the people. That is why the Ṣaṁskāras occupied so important a place in the royal families. The performance of Ṣaṁskāras was considered essential for the proper development of the personality of the prince. Indians believed that the Ṣaṁskāras not only preserved ancient Indian culture but also helped the child to grow into a useful member of the community. The respectability of a person was judged in society by the amount of care and attention he gave to the performance of these social and religious rites. The Chālukya kings wished to set an example to their people; so they performed all the sacraments as laid down in the *gr̥hyasūtras* with local variations in some Ṣaṁskārās e.g. marriage. Such a practice, as is well known, was allowed by the earliest writers on *Dharmasāstras*.

References

1. एवमेनः शमं याति वीजगर्भसमुद्भवम्
Yājñavalkya Śmṛti I, 13. cf. *Manusmṛti* II. 27-21.
2. योग्यता च सर्वत्र द्वि प्रकारा दोषापनयनेन गुणान्तरोपजनेन च भवति
Tantravārtika p. 1115 on Jaimini III. 89.
3. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmasāstra* Vol. II Part I p. 192.
4. According to *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (VIII 14-24) the forty Ṣaṁskārās are :
1. Garbhādhāna, 2. Puṁsavana, 3. Simantonayana, 4. Jātakarma, 5. Nāmakaraṇa, 6. Annaprāśana, 7. Caula, 8. Upanayana, 9-12. The four Vratas of the Vedas, 13. Snāna, 14. Vivāha, 15-19. Five daily Mahāyajñas, 20-26. Seven Pākayajñas, 27-33. Seven Haviryajñas, 34-40. Seven Soma Sacrifices.
5. 1. Garbhādhāna, 2. Puṁsavana, 3. Simantonayana, 4. Viṣṇubali, 5. Jātakarma, 6. Nāmakaraṇa, 7. Niṣkramaṇa, 8. Annaprāśana, 9. Caula, 10. Upanayana, 11-14. Four Vratas of the Vedas, 15. Samāvartana and 16. Vivāha.
6. The Mānasollāsa omits Viṣṇubali, Niskramaṇa

and four Vratas of the Vedas but adds Karṇavedha, Vidyārambha and Godāna.

7. *Āsvalāyana Grhya Sūtra* I. 3-4.
8. *Gobhila Smṛti* I. 13.
9. *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra* II. 6. 15. 9.
10. *Sāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtra* I. 18-19, *Pāraskara Grhya Sūtra* I. II. and *Gobhila Grhya Sūtra* II. 5.
11. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1246-47.
12. *Ibid* III. 1250-52.
13. *Āpastamba Grhya Sūtra* XIV. 10.
14. *Āsvalāyana Grhya Sūtra* I. 14. 1-9. *Gobhila Grhya Sūtra* II. 7. 2.
15. *Āsvalāyana Grhya Sūtra* I. 14. 1-9.
16. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1254-58.
The eight lucky things were either a lion, a bull, an elephant, a water-jar, a fan, a flag, a trumpet and a lamp or a Brāhmaṇa, a cow, fire, gold, ghee, the sun, water and a king.
Gode and Karve. *Sanskrit English Dictionary* p. 283 Poona 1957. cf. मृगराजो वृषो नागः कलशः व्यजनं तथा
वैजयन्ती तथा भेरी दीप इत्यष्ट मङ्गलम् ।
Or
लोकेऽस्मिन्मङ्गलान्यष्टौ ब्राह्मणो गौर्हुताशनः
हिरण्यं सर्पिरादित्य आपो राजा तथाष्टमः ।
17. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1256-57.
अवरोहे स गन्धारः सोमरागस्तु पादवः ।
This definition of Somarāga is quoted by G. K. Shrigondekar in his introduction to the *Mānasollāsa*. p. 19.
18. *Ibid* p. 21.
19. According to *Āyurveda*, honey and clarified butter respectively keep mucus and gall undisturbed, and clarified butter and gold help in developing intelligence.
20. तस्मान्कुमारं जातं घृतं वै वाग्रे प्रतिलेहयन्ति स्तनं वा अनुधापयन्ति ।
Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upniṣad I. 5. 2.
21. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1259-60.
22. *Baudhāyana Grhya Sūtra* II. 1. 23.
23. *Āsvalāyana Grhya Sūtra* I. 1. 4-10.
24. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1264-65.
25. The *Āsvalāyana Grhya Sūtra* I. 16. 2-5 prescribes goat's flesh for prosperity, that of a partridge for spiritual effulgence, cooked rice with ghee for lustre and food mixed with curds,

honey and clarified butter for all these qualities.
cf. *Pāraskara Grhya Sūtra* I. 19. 7-13.

26. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1271.
27. *Ibid*. III. 1272.
28. *Ibid*. III. 1274.
29. *Baudhāyana Grhya Śeṣa Sūtra* I. 12.
30. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1278.
31. *Baudhāyana Grhya Sūtra* II. 4, *Pāraskara Grhya Sūtra* II. 1.
32. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1280.
33. वृत्तं चोत्तं कर्मा लिपिं संख्यानं चोपयुञ्जात । वृत्तोपनयनस्त्रयी-
मान्वीक्षिकीं च शिष्टेभ्यो, वार्ता मध्यस्थेभ्यो दण्डनीतिं
वक्तृप्रवक्तृभ्यः ।
Arthasāstra I. 5.
34. *Uttararāmacarita* Act II.
cf. *Kādambarī* para 71.
35. *Āsvalāyana Grhya Sūtra* I. 19. 1-6.
36. *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra* I. 1. 2. 39, I. 1. 3. 1-2.
37. *Āsvalāyana Grhya Sūtra* I. 19. 11-13, I. 20. 1.
ज्याराजन्वस्य मौञ्जी वायो मिश्रा । आवीसूत्रं वैश्यस्य ।
सैरीतामली वेत्यके ।
Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra I. 1. 2. 34-37.
38. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1283.
39. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1286-1290.
40. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* I. 36, *Manu Smṛti* II. 65.
41. *Uttararāmacarita* Act I.
42. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1305.
43. *Āsvalāyana Grhya Sūtra* I. 18. 1-9.
44. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* VII. 11. 1-4.
45. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1304-5.
46. *Rgveda* X. 85. 36, V. 3. 2., 28. 3.
Satapatha Brāhmaṇa V. 2. 1. 10.
47. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1306.
48. *Ibid*. 1309-1313.
49. *Ibid*. 1313-14.
50. पुत्रं प्राचीमुखं कृत्वा तण्डुलोपरि वर्तनम् ।
पश्चिमाशामुखीं कन्यां पुञ्जस्योपरिवर्तिनीम् ।
उभाम्प्यां कस्योर्दत्त्वा तण्डुलान् जीरकादिकान् ।
Mānasollāsa III. 1314-15.
51. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1316-17.
52. Sharma, Dasharatha. *Early Chauhan Dynasties* p. 257.
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Appendix 2

Mercantile Community in the Early Medieval Period

In this paper an attempt has been made to present, in brief, a picture of the life and activities of the mercantile community in India in the early medieval period. For a study of conditions in northern and western India our main sources are the works of Jain writers like Haribhadra Sūri (C. AD. 800), Dhanapāla (10th century) and Jineśvara Sūri (C. AD 1050) and for those in the Deccan we have utilized works of Somadeva Sūri who flourished in the tenth century A.D. The views expressed by Medhātithi, Lakṣmīdhara and Bhoja Paramāra enable us to make a comparative study of this topic. The accounts of Yuanchwang, Itsing and Alberuni supplement the information culled from the above sources.

Following the earlier Smṛiti tradition and the law givers of this period Somadeva lays down that a *vaiśya* should earn his living by agriculture and trade, extend hospitality to guests, provide free food to the poor, build watersheds, lay gardens and practise charity and liberality in his life.¹ But from Yuan Chwang we know that cultivation of land had largely passed into the hands of the *sūdras* in the seventh century A.D. and trade was the chief calling of the *vaiśyas*.² We, however, know from the contemporary literature and epigraphic sources that trade and commerce were not the monopolies of the *vaiśyas* alone in the early medieval period. Atri calls those *brāhmaṇas* who earned their living by trade *vaiśya-brāhmaṇas* and those who dealt in prohibited articles such as resin, salt, milk,

clarified butter, honey, meat and colours *sūdra brāhmaṇas* because the Brahmanical law-givers did not permit *vaiśyas* to deal in these articles.³ From the *Śṛṅgāramañjarikathā* we know that a certain *brāhmaṇa*, named Mādhava returned from *Simhaladvīpa* after doing good business.⁴ Some of the *ksatriyas* gave up fighting under the influence of Jainism and pursued the vocations of the *vaiśyas*. They are known to have become members of the Osavāla, Śrīmāla, Bagheravāla and Khaṇḍelavāla castes of the *vaiśyas*.⁵ The instance of a *kṣatriya* merchant is furnished by an inscription of V.S. 893.⁶ Among the *sūdras* we find mention of persons who dealt in horses, betel leaves, brasswares, earthen pots, fish, flower garlands, and stone utensils. The above survey makes it clear that in this period the mercantile community comprised of the members of all the four castes.

In trade there were some restrictions on the members of different castes. The *brāhmaṇas* were not allowed to sell salt, resin, meat, milk, honey and intoxicating liquors.⁷ They could deal in corn, grass and wood.⁸ They were generally not permitted to live by usury⁹ but in times of distress they earned their living by money lending.¹⁰ They could also use their capital for trade in clothes and betelnuts¹¹ but it is suggested that they should leave the actual management of the business to *vaiśyas*.¹² Sale of horses by *brāhmaṇas* was forbidden by Manu but the Pehoa inscription of the ninth century records that Vāmuka, the son of Bhatta

Viruka, was one of the horse-dealers in the town of Prithūdaka.¹³

In the days of Lakṣmīdhara the *sūdras* had freedom to sell all kinds of goods. Pārāśara permits the *sūdras* to sell salt, honey, oil, black grains, ghee and milk¹⁴ while the *vaiśyas* were forbidden to carry on transactions in some specified articles like salt, wine, meat, curds, clarified butter, milk, lac, hides, indigo, poison, swords, arrows, water and idols.¹⁵ Lakṣmīdhara here differs from Manu and Medhātithi because they allowed *vaiśyas* to trade in most of these articles.¹⁶

These merchants were known as *baniās* and *śresthins*. They dealt in different articles such as sugar, jaggeṛy, madder, thread, cotton, textiles, coconut, butter, sesame oil, salt, grain etc.¹⁷ The traders had their shops in the markets of big cities.¹⁸ Somadeva mentions two kinds of markets—those maintained by private merchants (*penṭhāsthāna*) and those organised by the State (*piṇṭhā*). Both kinds of markets had proper facilities for the merchants and protection was granted to merchants. Whatever was stolen by the thieves from a mart organised by the state was restored to the merchants by the king from his own treasury.¹⁹ According to Māgha many merchants accompanied a contingent of royal army when it marched from one place to another to supply the necessary articles to the members of a contingent.²⁰

The merchants were expected to import useful goods from other states into the kingdom in which they lived.²¹ According to Medhātithi a *vaiśya* should know the states where large supplies of *vṛīhi* are available, the time when barley is profuse, the custom of the states, the nature of the people, the advantages and disadvantage relating to the different states.²² The *Śṛṅgāramaṇjarīkathā* represents a merchant's son as being well-up in all arts and sciences like the methods of handling

horses, care of elephants, art of business, the secrets of gambling, the science of harlotry etc.²³ From the contemporary literature we also know that traders of one part of India visited other parts.²⁴ An inscription from Ahar (Udaipur) dated A.D. 953 mentions merchants from Karnata, Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa, and Ṭakka coming to the place and agreeing to pay a levy on the articles of sale.²⁵

The merchants who participated in the interstate trade generally travelled in groups. Viśvarūpa explains *Naigama* as a group of traders of different castes who travel together for the purposes of carrying out trade with other countries.²⁶ From the *Bhavisyatkathā* we learn that the big merchants before proceeding on their caravan journey used to proclaim their intention to other merchants in the city and invite them to join them.²⁷ The condition of the roads was not satisfactory.²⁸ The absence of a strong central power led to the growth of feudal anarchy.²⁹ *Upamitibhavaprapaṇchakathā* describes the dangers and difficulties of merchants when they went from one place to another in connection with trade.³⁰

From the description of the *Śṛṅgāramaṇjarīkathā* and *Tilakamaṇjarī* it seems that some rich merchants went for trade to foreign countries like Ceylon and East Indies.³¹

Some traders of south India were called *nānādeśīs*. They went by landroutes and searoutes to six foreign continents and sold horses, elephants, precious stones, scents and medicines to merchants in these continents.³² These merchants made endowments in Burma³³ and Ceylon. These trade guilds and corporations of merchants continued to function efficiently upto the fifteenth century and protected themselves from the oppression of the royal officers.

We find many references to frequent voyages of Indian merchants to the Indonesian islands in the story books of the period.³⁴

During the period the Indian merchants gradually lost to the Muslims a considerable part of not only the foreign trade but also the inland trade incidental to it.³⁵ The Arabs were the foremost maritime power during the period. By the middle of the ninth century they had established themselves as the master partner in this trade. However, from the tenth century they had to yield a part of the monopoly to the ports of Sumatra, Java and Malaya. From the twelfth century they had to face a strong rival in the Chinese who eventually succeeded in establishing their commercial hegemony right upto the Malabar ports.³⁶ The Indian merchants, forced by the competition of the Arabs and the Chinese, concentrated on coastal trade with the countries of the West.

Merchants and traders were organised into guilds. The Gwalior Inscription of A.D. 877 refers to the corporation of moneylenders (Śreṣṭhis) and traders (Sārthavāhas).³⁷ An inscription found at Ahar (Bulandshahr U.P.) probably of the 9th century A.D. mentions a guild of gold dealers.³⁸

These traders made some permanent endowments for charitable purposes.³⁹ From the Shergarh inscription it is known that these merchants jointly made a daily grant of one *karṣa* of ghee for the purpose of smearing the feet of *Bhattaraka* Naganaka, from the income of the custom house in A.D. 1017. These three merchants constituted the town committee which was in charge of the collection of market taxes of the custom house, which were usually collected in kind. Belgam inscription of A.D. 1204.⁴⁰ mentions a *Samgha* of merchants and Nigundi inscription a corporation of 505 traders⁴¹ who made endowments for religious purposes. In the Vevoor inscription of A.D. 1077, it is stated that the traders of śivapura invested a sum of money at 25% rate of interest. The income from the endowment was spent on making offerings into fire.⁴²

The Jaina literature and inscriptions of the period also reflect the general prosperity of the mercantile class. Many of the Jaina merchants made charitable endowments for the construction of temples, establishment of Jain images, alms houses and reading rooms and laying out of gardens and repairs of old religious buildings. Some of them made fixed deposits for the recurring expenses of temples etc. and for the worship of Gommatadeva.⁴³

According to Alberuni there was no difference in the social status of the *śūdras* and *vaiśyas*,⁴⁴ but other contemporary evidence does not lend support to his views. The works on architecture⁴⁵ give the *vaiśyas* a distinct place in the urban society, which is distinctly above that of a *śūdra*. Itsing states that it was customary in India to regard traders as more honourable than farmers because in agriculture many insects were killed.⁴⁶ Lakṣmīdhara in *Kṛtyakalpataru* permits the study of the Vedas to the *vaiśyas*.⁴⁷ As stated above the *vaiśyas* were not permitted to trade in certain prohibited articles while the *śūdras* could deal in all the commodities. The merchants were influential in the royal courts. Some of them were appointed as officers in local administration and the merchant guilds played an important part in the town administration. They contributed liberally to the charitable and literary activities of the period. They also acted as trustees of the temples.⁴⁸

In the *Samarāṅgaṇa sūtradhāra* there is a specific mention of houses of merchants in a city.⁴⁹ Cities like Dhārā had a number of lakes, pleasure tanks and gardens like *Viravilā-soddyāna*. It had a mechanical fountain house (*Yantra-dhārā-grha*) which fascinated the minds of the citizens. One could hear the notes of music at night in all the corners.⁵⁰ The men of the city who mostly belonged to the mercantile community led an easy-going and

sophisticated life, basking in luxury. They are described as skilful in all transactions.⁵¹

These people used some furniture such as chairs, bed sheets and seats made of metal, stone and wood.⁵²

Generally Jaina merohants put on three clothes one like a *dhotī* second like a jacket and the third like a *dupaṭṭā*.⁵³ Men also wore *pugrīs*⁵⁴ on their heads. Women wore *sarīs*, *cholis*, *ghāghrās* and *pahiraṇa*.⁵⁵ They also wore *kūrpāsaka* in winter.⁵⁶ The *Kamvyūcholi*, which only partly covered the breasts, seems to have been the fashion of the day.⁵⁷ They also put on woollen petticoats in winter.⁵⁸ Wealthy women wore rich apparel.⁵⁹ China silk was very populer with rich merchants.⁶⁰ Rich women put on various kinds of ear ornaments such as *dantapatra*,⁶¹ *kuṇḍala*,⁶² *eravanapāśa*,⁶³ *Karṇapūra*,⁶⁴ *tadaṅka*,⁶⁵ and *kamvyādi*.⁶⁶ Necklaces were also of many kinds such as *jalakaṇṭhī*⁶⁷ (netted necklace), the plain necklace.⁶⁸ *shāvalī*⁶⁹ (Single string necklace) the *Bon-jāla*⁷⁰ (golden net) and the *chañchala hāra*⁷¹ whose pendant touches the *nābhi* *Valaya*, *Kaṅkaṇa*, *Keyūra*,⁷² *chandaliain*⁷³ *rithās*⁷⁴ and gold bangles⁷⁴ were worn on arms and hands. Rings studded with precious stones were worn on fingers.⁷⁵ *Padmarāga mañijhūrmika*⁷⁶ was a foot ornament and *māṇikyavalaya*⁷⁷ a thigh's ornament.

Betel leaves were chewed for raddening the lips and the teeth.⁷⁸ Scented oils and perfumes were used by both men and woman.⁷⁹

Most of the merchants and traders in India were vegetarian. Boiled rice and rice cooked in milk were very popular food preparations. Among the new preparations of wheat flour are mentioned *kasāra*, *sāuhālīs*, *pāhalikās*, *polikās* or *maṇḍles*, *sesvikāse* and *patrikās*.⁸⁰ *Vidalapāka* was prepared with the pulse of gram and *vaṛakas* and *ghārikas* were prepared with *māṣa* flour. *Kaṭakarna* was prepared with pea. *Pūrikas* and *veṣṭikas* were prepared with gram flour.⁸¹

Harisena's *Kathākośa* also refers to various food preparations such as *ghārikā*, *khajjaka*, *pūpapatrikā* and *pūra*.⁸² Among sweets *Brhatkathākosa* mentions *ghṛtapūraka* and *Bhaviṣyatkathā laḍḍukas*, *kṣīrakhādyā*, *kasāra* and *suhālī*.⁸³ Many kinds of sweets such as *kṣīraprakāra*, *kṣīravata*, and *kaīrayaṣṭikā* were prepared with milk.⁸⁴ Both men and women were fond of chewing betel leaves, with a piece of camphor.⁸⁵

Listening to good poetry, and stories, instrumental and vocal music, seeing dramatic performances and fights of elephants, cocks, quails, rams, buffaloes and pigeons and horse races were the common amusements of the rich. Gambling, chess, playing with birds and painting of pictures were some of the indoor amusements. Some love pastimes were also popular during the period.

Of the outdoor games mention may be made of playing in water in the summer season or picnicing in other seasons in lawns or on the sandy bank of a river or in the fields.⁸⁶

In the *Ṣaṣṭhānaka prakaraṇa* Jineśvara Sūri explains how a Jaina Śrāvaka should behave with a courtesan when visiting her.⁸⁷ Somedeva Sūri too permits their company for amusement now and then.⁸⁸ This leads us to conclude that the visit of a Jaina merchant to a courtesan was not considered objectionable in the Hindu society of early medieval period.

Some traders and moneylenders were very honest in this period. Jineśvara Sūri in the *Ṣaṣṭhānakaprakaraṇa* states that a merchant should be honest and should not measure or weigh less than promised. There should be no difference between the sample and the articles supplied. He should not give on credit with a view to have more profit.⁸⁹ In the *Prabhāvakacharita* there is the story of a moneylender who was much worried when his house was burnt in fire because all his account of money-lending was written on the walls of

his house and he was afraid that the debtors would doubt his honesty in the absence of the written account.⁹⁰ This is an ideal picture of mercantile community but all the traders could not have been honest as their main object was making money. According to Somadeva the merchants were dangerous to the interests of the people whom they robbed in their very presence by resorting to false weights and balances.⁹¹ In the *Bhaviṣyatkathā* a merchant advises his son to acquire wealth in various ways even by deceiving people.⁹² From the list of trades prohibited in the *Dharmabindu* it appears that there were some traders in Rajasthan who traded even in liquors and slave girls because some rich people kept slave girls for immoral purposes.⁹³

This, in brief, is the picture of the mercantile community in India in the early medieval period mainly on the basis of contemporary Jaina literature and inscriptions of the period.

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26. On Yājñavalkya Smṛiti II, 192 cf. Tilakamañjarī, p. 117.
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Appendix 3

Social Conditions in Rajasthan and Western India in the Early Medieval Period

In this paper an attempt has been made to present, in brief, a picture of the social life of the people of Rajasthan and Western India in the early medieval period. Our main sources are the works of Jaina writers like Haribhadra Sūri (C. A. D. 705-775), Uddyotana Sūri (C. A. D. 778), Siddharṣi Sūri (C. A. D. 905), Dhanapāla (10th century), Hariṣeṇa (C. A. D. 1000), Jineśvara Suri (C. A. D. 1050), and Hemachandra Sūri (Beginning of the 12th century). The information culled from the works of these Jain scholars has been supplemented by the information available in the inscriptions of Rajasthan and Western India of the early medieval period.

Caste System and Professions

The Brāhmaṇas—Some Jain scholars like Haribhadra Sūri in his *Dhūrtākhyāna* have presented a good satire on some of the brahmanical practices which could not be explained rationally but brāhmaṇas in Rajasthan as in other parts of India, were the respected caste in society. They enjoyed certain privileges such as exemption from taxation and capital punishment but from the inscription of Somasimhadeva, a Paramāra king ruling in the region of Mount Abu, it appears before A.D. 1230 the brāhmaṇas had been made liable to taxation in Rajasthan.¹

In the royal grants the brāhmaṇa donees distinguish themselves by the mention of their *gotra*, *pravara* and *sākhā*² but further sub-

divisions among them also seem to have begun during the period. In the inscriptions of this period are found mention of Dadhya or Dahima, Puṣkara, Nāgara, Dikṣita Śrīmālī, Rāyakavāla subcastes of brāhmaṇas. The ṇagas who originally came from Persia also now formed a subcaste of brāhmaṇas.⁴ Śrīmālīs might have come into prominence on account of Śrimala or Bhinmal being a great cultural and religious centre and the same may perhaps be said of the Nāgara brāhmaṇas from Nagara. This shows that some of these sub-castes were territorial in origin.

During this period many brāhmaṇas from Ahichchhatra.⁵ Kānyakubja⁶ and Ānandapura⁷ migrated to Rajasthan. Some brāhmaṇa families migrated from Ahichchhatra⁸, Hastinapur⁹ and Badavi (Karnataka)¹⁰ and seem to have settled in Malwa under the Paramaras. The Abotis who are mentioned only in the inscriptions of Rajasthan were usually temple servants. They originally belonged to Dvārāvātī.¹¹ This shows that the brāhmaṇas were not averse to migration from one place to another within the country.

Generally brāhmaṇas during this period acted as priests.¹² Some of them probably became rulers. The Paramāras might have originally been brāhmaṇas of Vasiṣṭha gotra as Halāyudha, the court poet of Vākpati Muṇja, has used the word *brahma-kṣatra* for his patron. The Pratihāras of Mandor were descendants of a brāhmaṇa named Harichand. Similarly the Chāhamānas were descendants

of Sāmanta who was a brāhmaṇa of Ahichchhatra. Many brāhmaṇas were appointed ministers in Rajasthan and Gujarat. The Chāhamāna kings Someśvara and Prithvirāja III¹³, Chālukya kings Mūlarāja I, Chāmuṇḍarāja and Bhīma II all had brāhmaṇa ministers on a hereditary basis.¹⁴ From the inscriptions and literature of this period it appears that some brāhmaṇas were successful merchants¹⁵ while others cultivated land.¹⁶

Brāhmaṇas tried to protect the culture of India by laying stress on ceremonial purity and the purity of birth and blood than by liberalizing the tenets of Hinduism. The result was that the *Jāti* element predominated but the connection between caste and occupation was by no means unalterable during this period as is clear by the various professions adopted by brāhmaṇas. Some of them were rulers and ministers, others had adopted agriculture and trade the professions of vaiśyas and must have accumulated plenty of wealth.

The Kṣatriyas: Kṣatriyas were generally rulers but there were many non-Kṣatriya rulers during this period. According to Kumāril members of all the four castes were rulers so all of them should be called kings.¹⁷ In Rajasthan there were many Rajput clans who, though usually regarded as kṣatriyas, had the blood of many races and people in their veins. As we have stated above the progenitors of the, Paramāras, the Chāhamānas and the Pratihāras of Mandor were probably Brāhmaṇas. The Guhilas of Mewar and Chātsu were also originally brāhmaṇas.¹⁸

The only thing common to these classes seems to be that their leaders either were rulers themselves or descendants of rulers. The kṣatriyas began to use the *gotras* of their *Purohitas*. They intermarried and interdined and thus came to form one caste in due course. They did not exclude even foreigners like the

Hūṇas and Gūjaras. The Pratihāras of Rajor were probably Gūjars because they had been doorkeepers of the emperors of Kannauj.¹⁹ Both the Hūṇas and the Gūjaras were regarded as Rajputs in the early medieval period.

In some parts of Rajasthan jats are classed as *śūdras* but some of them probably became Rajputs as they have the same *gotras* as the Rajputs.²⁰ Hūṇas are mentioned as one of the 36 Rajput classes.²¹ Thus in the case of kṣatriyas the *Varṇa* conception seems to have asserted more than that of *Jāti*.

Jineśvara Sūri places the independent rulers in the uppermost (*uttamottama*) class and the feudatories in the upper (*uttama*) class.²²

Kṣatriyas who were not rulers served as feudatories and soldiers. We have also instances of agriculturists²³ and merchants²⁴ from among the kṣatriyas in Rajasthan during this period. Some kṣatriyas became members of the Osavāla, Srīmāla, Baghelavāla and Khaṇḍelavāla castes of the vaiśyas. We have some epigraphic support for the kṣatriya origin of these sub-castes of vaiśyas. The Jalor stone inscription of Sāmantasimha states that his brothers and father were Sonis i.e. Osvalos but his great-grand-father was a Thākura.²⁵ According to K. C. Jain all these subcastes of the vaiśyas originated in Rajasthan in the 8th century A.D.²⁶

Vaiśyas: In the inscriptions we find mention of many sub-castes of vaiśyas such as Prāgvāṭas²⁷ or Parvālas²⁸, Laras²⁹, Vemakas³⁰, Vabakanchuka³¹, Nāgara³² and Khaṇḍelavāla.³³ Some of these castes were territorial for example Khandelavālas Bagheravālas and Poravālas were from Khandela, Baghera, and Prāgvata respectively in Rajasthan. Some of these sub-castes had kṣatriyas as their progenitors. This means that the doors of vaiśya caste were open to all those who took up the profession of trade.

Jaina books generally describe the *vaiśyas* as traders, moneylenders and financiers. Jineśvara Sūri assigns the merchants and the moneylenders the middle (*madhyama*) class and the farmers the lower middle (*vimadhyama*) class.³⁴ But it seems that in villages some *vaiśyas* continued the profession of cattle rearing.³⁵

Many *vaiśyas* were ministers in states in Rajasthan. Vāstarpāla was a *vaiśya* and so were Yaśovira, the Chief Counsellor of Udayasimha of Jalor, and the Balādhipa Yaśodeva who served Katukadeva of Nadol. The Bhavisyatkatha records the distant voyages.³⁶ Some merchants amassed wealth by adopting unscrupulous ways such as purchasing gold from simple villages by paying them the price equal to that of iron.³⁷

The Śūdras: The *Kathākośaprakaraṇa* of Jineśvara Sūri mentions goldsmiths, potters, blacksmiths and washermen and other craftsmen and artisans as forming the degraded (*adhama*) class of society.³⁸ In the Jambudīpa the eighteen guilds are divided into two groups one consisting of touchables and the other of untouchables.³⁹ Besides, the craftsmen such as the goldsmiths, architects, carpenters, engravers, oilmen, potters, garland makers, sugarboilers, and chariotmakers, the agriculturists also formed part of the śūdra caste.

The economic condition of these śūdras seems to have improved during the early medieval period as agriculture, cattle rearing and handicrafts were in their hands. Several chariot makers living at Sanderaka gave a piece of land for the Kalyāṇika festival in Rajasthan.⁴⁰ Some oilmillers were rich enough to erect a temple in Rajasthan.⁴¹ Sometimes the śūdras could rise to a very high position, for example Sajjana, a potter, was made governor of Chittor by Kumārapāla Chaulukya.⁴²

Jineśvara Sūri calls the untouchables the most degraded class (*adhamādhama*). They included the jugglers, basket makers, shield makers, sailors, fishermen, hunters, weavers, fullers, shoemakers, dombs, chaṇḍālas and bodhatans. The *Upamitibhavaprapanchakathā* states that Matangas and Dombs followed callings entailing cruelty.⁴³ Some chaṇḍālas were fowlers and were proficient in the use of bows and arrows.⁴⁴ Others collected grass and fuel or acted as runners carrying messages, and huntsmen.⁴⁵ Even the Jaina writer Hemachandra requires that the Chaṇḍālas and Dombs should make sounds of sticks so that the men of higher castes may be aware of their presence and avoid the pollution.⁴⁶ The Bhillas, Pulindas, and Śābaras, lived in the Vindhya hills and forests. They were also considered untouchable.

The Kayasthas: In the *Brihatkathākośa* (A.D. 931-932) of Hariṣeṇa the word *kāyastha* is used for a writer and he was in charge of reading and interpreting the king's written orders.⁴⁷ But in the *Udayasundarikathā* of Sodhdhala the *kāyasthas* are assigned a kṣatriya origin. It means that by the eleventh century they had become a full-fledged caste. They were also divided into sub-castes such as Māthurs⁴⁸, Nemakas⁴⁹, Naigamas⁵⁰, Gauḍas⁵¹ and Kaṭarias.⁵² Some of these subcastes were territorial. For example the Gauḍas came from Bengal. Gauḍa *kāyasthas* were employed as writers even in Rajasthan.⁵³ *Kāyasthas* were associated with general administration. Some of the Paramāra grants were drafted by *kāyasthas*.⁵⁴ Bhuvanapāla, the founder of a Māthura family of *kāyasthas* was the minister of Paramāra ruler Bhoja.⁵⁵ Some *kāyasthas* were in the habit of changing the meaning of the orders of the rulers by making some slight alterations in them.⁵⁶

From the above survey it is evident that assimilation of foreigners in the Hindu social

organisation was possible even in this period and that the caste system was not so rigid as it became later. Caste restrictions were generally confined to commensality and connubiality. There was ample scope for adopting any profession one liked except that the *sūdras* could not ordinarily adopt the professions of the *brāhmaṇas* and the *kṣatriyas*. But even their status in society had improved as a result of improvement in their economic condition.

Marriage and the Position of Women

In this period birth of a daughter was a cause of sorrow to the parents in Rajasthan. Siddharṣe Sūri declares that 'the birth of a daughter causes grief. She increases anxiety and reduces *dharma*. In poverty she causes the greatest distress. It is only when she is given to a bridegroom with a good character and riches and also suitable in other ways that one feels satisfied'.⁵⁷ From the *Bṛhatkathākośa*⁵⁸ of Hariṣeṇa (10th century) and the *Upamitibhavaprapaṇchakathā*⁵⁹ of Siddharṣi Sūri (10th century) it is evident that a girl's marriage was the parents' concern and put them to great anxiety. Generally it was forbidden to marry female relations both of the direct descending line and of direct ascending line, but such marriages did take place in western India as is clear from the *Upamitibhavaprapaṇchakathā*.⁶⁰

Princesses in Rajasthan "could be pawns in the political games played on the chess-board of dynastic ambitions and desire for glory". Jalhanā, the daughter of Arjorāja of Sakambhari, could hardly have been 18 years old when she was married to Kumārapāla Chaulukya of Gujarat, who was nearly 57 years old at the time of her marriage.⁶¹

Dowry system in the sense of something promised was perhaps unknown but from the *Samaraichchakahā* it is clear that the bride

was fully decorated with costly costumes and ornaments before marriage and carried all of them to her husband's house after marriage.⁶²

The *Upamitibhavaprapaṇchakathā* records many instances of love marriages recognised by the girls' parents.⁶³ From the literature of this period it is evident that *svayamvaras* were common among the *kṣatriya* royal families.⁶⁴

Anuloma marriages were also not unknown. Rājaśekhara, a brahmana poet, married a Chāhamāna princess Avantisundarī. The Jain Bhandaris of Marwar regard themselves as the descendants of Lakṣmaṇa of Nadol and one of his vaisya queens.⁶⁵ The Rajput Pratihara of Mandor are the descendants of Harichanda and his *kṣatriya* wife, Bhadra.

According to Siddharṣi Sūri the husband was the wife's god. She was inferior to him.⁶⁶ In some rich families even beautiful wives did not receive the proper attention of their husbands with dire consequences. This fact is borne out by the story of the beautiful wife of a rich merchant, who did not get the proper attention of her husband and elopes with a prince.⁶⁷

Polygamy was quite common specially in the rich families. We know that Harichanda, the founder of the Pratihara line of Mandor, married two wives, one a *brāhmaṇa* and the other a *kṣatriya*.⁶⁸ The existence of this practice is supported by the story of a rich merchant Śālibhadra, who had 32 wives.⁶⁹ There are many cases of polygamy among the rulers of Rajasthan. Arjorāja had two queens and Prithviraja III a number of queens. From the *Upamitibhavaprapaṇchakathā* we know that polygamy was a source of heart burning.⁷⁰

Widows: From the words like *bālaraṇḍās* and *bālavidhāvās* in the *Upamitibhavaprapaṇchakathā* it is clear that even a child widow kept the vow of celibacy.⁷¹ They were not allowed to remarry. According to Siddharṣi

Sūri young widows and wives of people in other parts of the country could be seduced easily.⁷² There are many examples of *sati* from Rajasthan which show that this custom was popular among the Rajputs.⁷³

Courtesans: From the literature of this period it is evident that courtesans were accomplished in many arts and they occupied an honourable position in Indian society.⁷⁴

It was a common practice to present young girls to temples.⁷⁵ Jolladeva the ruler of Jalor ordered the courtesans to join the processions of all the temples. He even proclaimed that all those who tried to interfere with this time honoured custom would be punished.⁷⁶

Haribhadra Sūri raised his powerful voice against it but the rulers of early medieval India continued to extend their patronage to the practice. Even Kumārapāla, who had banished theft and adultery from his dominions did not take any steps to remove this evil practice.⁷⁷

General Attitude towards women

The *Upamitibhavaprapañchakathā* is full of many cynical remarks against women.⁷⁸ According to Siddharṣi Sūri women are said to be fickle as the wind, deceitful in their ways and an impediment in the road to spiritual progress. But as a mother, a woman occupied a position higher than that of the father because while father could be abandoned under some circumstances, a mother had to be maintained at all times, whatever her defects might be.⁷⁹

Standard of Living

The society during this period was divided into two classes. The upper class consisted of kings, feudal chiefs, ministers, state officers, big merchants and prosperous brāhmaṇas. The lower class consisted of agriculturists, craftsmen, and poor brāhmaṇas.

From the story books written by Jain scholars during this period we can have a vivid picture of the kind of life the upper classes led. They lived in multistoreyed buildings in which the first storey was used for keeping precious articles, the second for storing provisions, the third for cooking food, the fourth for meeting guests and serving food to them, the fifth for bathing and playing in water. They had a number of horses and elephants and could purchase the costliest articles of dress. Their food consisted of many varieties of fruits, sweets, fragrant rice, milk and curd preparations with sugar and saffron. They enjoyed music concerts and dramatic performances. They were polygamous and many of their wives did not receive proper attention. They enjoyed the company of courtesans. Even rich Jain merchants had no hesitation in having sexual intercourse with prostitutes. They spent large sums in charity to temples and religious endowments.⁸⁰

From these story books we also have a glimpse of the life of the poor people. The cost of living was low as is evident from the Kolhapur plates of Gandarādityadva dated A.D. 1126. It is stated there that two *navartanas* of land were sufficient for 12 brāhmaṇas to provide rich food consisting of superior quality of rice, ghee, with four vegetables and betel leaves;⁸¹ but in the story books we often read about the hardships which a poor man or woman had to face. The *Triṣaṣṭśolākāpuruṣacharita* relates the story of the miserable lot of a woman afflicted with poverty.⁸² The *Brhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa has a story about the miserably unhappy poor man who lived in a separate locality in the city of Ujjayini.⁸³ The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* records a tradition that in his desire to establish learned men in his capital king Bhoja ordered the weavers and fishermen to be removed from the localities where houses were to be built

for the scholars.⁸⁴ The same book has some stories about poor brāhmaṇas whose only means of subsistence was begging.⁸⁵ There is also the story of a brahmana who had no food, no clothes and is harassed by his creditors.⁸⁶

This, in brief is the picture of social conditions in Rajasthan and Western India in the early medieval India.

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Chapter 14

System of Education in Brahmanical Society

Part Two

SECTION - II

[Educational System in Ancient India]

Chapter 14

System of Education in Brahmanical Society

Ṛgvedic Period (C. 1500 B.C. to C. 1000 B.C.)

Aims and Ideals

In the early Vedic period education was considered a source of light and power to the individual. An individual who was properly educated could follow the righteous path in his life. By developing his physical, mental, intellectual and spiritual faculties he could lead a happy life in this world and hope to get eternal bliss in the life after death.¹ The real aim of education was to enable the individual to know the Ultimate Reality and attain salvation. As a student he tried his utmost to mould his character that he may become a useful member of the society and attain salvation in the end.

Significance of educational *samskāras*

In the Ṛgveda the *Upanayana samskāra* is not mentioned. This sacrament was considered so important that only after this sacrament an individual was called *dvija* (twice born) otherwise he was considered a *śūdra*. In the Ṛgveda a student who studied the Vedic lore was called a *vidyārthī*.² In the *Taittirīy Samhitā* it is stated that an individual can repay the debt to the sages only by the study of Vedic literature.³ An individual was permitted to study Vedic literature only after the *Upanayana* sacrament. The student's education began with the teaching of *Gāyatrī mantra*. In this *mantra* the student prayed to

God that He might direct his intelligence towards the righteous path in his life. In this stage of life the student aimed at character-building and this sacrament made him realize that he had to follow all the rules prescribed by his teacher if he wanted to be a successful householder in his second stage of life and attain salvation in the end.

Education of Women

In the Ṛgveda there are many hymns composed by learned women such as *Viśvavārā*, *Sikatā*, *Nivāvarī*, *Ghoṣā*, *Lopāmudrā* and *Apālā*. This makes us conclude that the education of girls was not neglected during this period. Girls most probably learnt weaving, dying, embroidery and basket making at the residence of their parents with the study of Vedic literature.

System of Education

In the beginning most probably the parents imparted education to their children. Later the children were sent to some learned teachers where they were taught Vedic hymns and saga of heroic deeds of ancestors. From a hymn of the Ṛgveda it is clear that education was imparted orally and the students learnt their lessons by repeating them again and again.⁴ From another hymn of the same work we know that discussion played an important part in the system of education in ancient India.⁵ But due emphasis was also laid on the aim that students grasped the meaning of the

hymns which they learnt by heart. They were probably also taught astronomy as the early Aryans had developed a calendar based on the movements of the Sun and the Moon.

Probably occupational training was also given at the residence of the parents.

The Later Vedic Period (1000 B.C. to 600 B.C.)

Aims and Ideals of Education

In the *Upaniṣads* much emphasis is laid on acquiring knowledge of the Ultimate Reality. The chief aim of education in this period became to acquire the knowledge of *Brahman*. This branch of knowledge is called *adhyātma vidyā* or *parā vidyā* in the *Upaniṣads*. The aim of education was now not confined to acquisition of knowledge of the Vedic lore. A student was expected to develop his physical, intellectual and moral qualities.

The convocation address delivered by the teacher to a student when he took leave of him after finishing his education throws considerable light on the aims and ideals of education during this period.⁶ The teacher says, 'O pupil, speak the truth, follow the *dharma*, do not neglect the study of Vedic literature and preach the principles discussed there-in to other people. Be careful about giving birth to worthy children. Do not neglect the activities which help you in speaking the truth, in acting according to your *dharma*, in maintaining yourself in good health and which bring you fame in this world. Do not neglect doing your duty towards mother, father, teacher and guests. Follow only good actions of mine. Do not follow other actions of mine. If you have any doubts about your *dharma* please conduct yourself in accordance with the actions of those *brāhmaṇas* who are well-versed in Vedic literature, are righteous and are of contemplative character.

The above convocation address makes it clear that an educated person was expected to show respect to his elders, follow truth in all his activities and conduct himself according to the actions of the learned persons who follow *dharma*. This education aimed at the welfare and progress of the family and the society as a whole. In this address we should specially note one instruction of the teacher in which he asks the pupil to follow him only in his good actions and not to follow him in other actions of his. This shows that the teacher fully realized that all human beings are likely to have deviated from the path of righteousness in some actions of theirs. The aim of Vedic system of education was the development of physical, mental and intellectual faculties of the child so that he might be a successful householder in his future life. Thus he could make his own progress and contribute to the progress of the society. It also enabled him to protect the cultural heritage and pass it on to the future generations.

Significance of educational *saṁskāras*

The *Atharvaveda* gives some prayers in which the teacher prayed to God that his pupil might be intelligent, might be able to memorize Vedic lore and might give him success in acquiring true knowledge.⁷ The teacher also prayed for the proper physical development of his pupil.⁸ For keeping him healthy he prayed to God to provide him with a suitable lodging.⁹ The student also prayed for the cooperation of senior students in the family of the teacher for without their cooperation he could not receive proper education. The teacher also prays that the new pupil might be as intelligent and prosperous in future as other students of his had been in the past.¹⁰

He expected the pupil to follow all the rules which other students had followed and were following then.

When the pupil joined the family of the teacher he was provided with a staff¹¹ and a girdle.¹² From some *mantras* it appears that when the student began his educational career after the *Upanayana* sacrament he offered his body to gods and wished them to revive him endowed with intelligence, scholarship, discipline, and lustre.¹³

From the above description in the *Atharvaveda* it is evident that the pupils were adolescent when they joined the teachers family. From their dress and their wish to have worthy children in future¹⁴ also it seems that they went to the teacher for getting education of secondary standard. Most probably the primary education was imparted by the parents at their homes before the children were sent to join the teacher's family. At the time of *Samāvartana* sacrament the pupil expressed his esteem for Vedic lore and prayed to God to give him lustre, fame, long life, power, animals, wealth and children.¹⁵ He also prayed that he might not have hatred for others or practise untruth in life and he might be able to increase his power.¹⁶ At that time he also prayed that his married life might be happy and prosperous.¹⁷

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions all the chief characteristics of the *Upanayana* sacrament. It states that when the pupil prayed to the teacher that he might be accepted as a pupil the teacher accepted his request. The teacher dedicated the pupil to some gods. He told the pupil his duties such as bringing fuel for sacrifice, sipping water, and begging food for the teacher. He also told him about his dress made of deer skin and the girdle.¹⁸ The student was expected to practise truth in all his activities and to follow his *dharma* as a student. He was expected to extend hospitality

to guests and behave with all people politely.¹⁹ This scheme of life imparted such a training to a student as would make him a good householder in his future life. For example when children of aristocratic families had to beg food for their teachers a sense of humility was developed in them. The main purpose of the *Upanayana* sacrament was to make the pupil conscious of his vows which he was expected to observe during his student career.

Education of Women. Upto C. 700 B. C. girls had their *Upanayana* sacrament. After this sacrament they most probably studied Vedic literature at their homes. We have references to many learned women such as Sulabhā, Vāḍavā, Prāthiteyī, Maitreyī and Gārgī who took an active part in the propagation of Vedic learning. The householders also expressed their gratitude towards these learned ladies.²⁰ Lady teachers were called *upādhyāyā*. They generally taught girl students. In this period we had two kinds of girl students those who got married immediately after finishing their education (*sadyodvāhā*) and those who remained unmarried throughout their lives and devoted their lives to acquisition of the knowledge of Brahma (*Brahmavādinī*). Parents in this period fully realized that girls could not lead a happy married life without acquiring proper education.²¹ Besides Vedic literature girls were also imparted education in some fine arts such as music and dancing.²² In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* it is stated that Maitreyī²³ and Gārgī Vacaknavī²⁴ took part in philosophical discussions with their husband Yājñavalkya. This shows that some women were also imparted the highest spiritual knowledge.

System of Education

In this period the government did not make any arrangement for the education of children. The learned scholars, mostly brāhmaṇas,

imparted education to their pupils at their residences. Students did not pay any fees. They lived as members of the teacher's family and helped the teacher in his domestic work. The student swept the floors of the teacher, brought fuel for sacrifice, and looked after his cows. These teachers were famous for their ideal character and depth of learning. Some scholars were non-brāhmaṇas. For example Janaka was a kṣatriya but many brāhmaṇa scholars visited him for clarification of their doubts.

The students requested the teacher to pardon them whenever there was a lapse on their part and the teacher did so. When there was an invasion by some foreign ruler on the āśrama of the teacher the students defended it²⁵ fearlessly. There were also some non-brāhmaṇa students as there is a ritual in the *Kāṭhaka Samhitā* for the benefit of these students and rulers like Janaka who were kṣatriyas but were well-versed in Vedic lore.

The main subjects which were taught to the students were the *Vedic Samhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āryaṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*. Students might be able to grasp their correct interpretation was the main aim of the teachers. So they also taught grammar, (*vyākaraṇa*), prosody (*chanda*) and philosophy (*darśana*). From the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* we know that Mathematics also formed a part of the syllabus of studies during this period. The *Upaniṣads* also mention logic *vākovākya*, moral science (*ekāyana*), military science (*sainika vijñāna*), science of snakes (*sarpavidyā*) and astrology (*daivavidyā*) as subjects of study.

The teachers taught the students orally. The *Upaniṣads* mention three steps in the system of education which every student was expected to follow. The first step was listening to the teacher's discourse attentively (*Śravaṇa*). The second step was meditating on the discourse

(*manana*). The third step was acting upon it in his life (*nididhyāsana*). It is why at the time of *Samāvartana* sacrament the teacher reminded his pupils how they had to act as householders. The teacher expected that all his students by their study and teaching of Vedic literature would preserve the cultural heritage, by having worthy children they would preserve the human race and by doing their duty according to their *varṇa* they would contribute to the all round progress of the society.

Historical Period First half (c. 600 B.C. to C. 500 A.D.)

The Aims of Education in Brahmanical System

The *Kalpasūtras* lay emphasis on the duty of the house-holder to repay the three debts which he owed to gods, sages and ancestors and according to them education should be such as would enable the pupils to repay these three debts when they became householders.

In the *Smṛtis* the main aim of education is described as imparting knowledge which would enable an individual to make his material and spiritual progress. Education also aimed at making the individual a useful member of the society by imparting education befitting the particular occupation which he adopted as a householder.

According to the *Mahābhārata* education should enable a man to follow his *dharma* in right earnest.²⁶ The aim was to develop him as an ideal human being endowed with moral and spiritual qualities.

From the accounts of foreign travellers and inscriptions of this period it appears that there were three main aims of education in this period viz., character-building, development of the personality and preservation of the ancient cultural heritage. Ancient Indian education laid

emphasis on the performance of duties. Thus it developed the qualities of self-reliance and discrimination to adopt the path of righteousness and discard the tendency which led them towards vicious activities in life. Thus it contributed to the progress of the society as a whole with the progress of the individual.

Aims of Education in Non-brahmanical Systems

The Buddhist monasteries, in the beginning, were centres where the monks studied the scriptures and meditated on their meaning. In the 4th century B. C. some thought was given to the kind of education a new disciple (*Saddhivihārika*) needed. It was called *nissaya paddhati* (system of training). A disciple who was learned had to live as a trainee for five years and one who was not learned had to remain as a trainee throughout his life. The aim of education was mainly to make the disciple an ideal monk. For this purpose the disciple was taught the main principles of Buddhism and the rules of conduct laid down by the Buddha for monks. The chief aim of the Buddhist education was to develop in the monks the Buddhist point of view so that they might be able to refute the arguments of the exponents of other sects.

From the *Jātakas* we know that the rulers sent their sons to distant places with the aim that they might not feel proud of their birth in an aristocratic family, be able to bear all kinds of difficulties which a common man faced in his life and be acquainted with worldly wisdom which might help them in dealing with all kind, of persons in their lives after they had finished their educational career.

The Jainas divided the society into two categories viz., the householders and the monks. From the rules which the Jaina teachers have laid down for the house-holders and the

monks we can have some idea of the aims of their education.

Every householder was expected to observe five minor vows (*Aṇuvratas*) namely non-violence, truth, non-stealing, celibacy, and not to collect articles which were not required for immediate use. They were also expected to observe three other vows viz., *digvrata*, *deśavrata* and *anartha-daṇḍavrata*. The *digvrata* prohibited the householder to go to a place which was more distant than the prescribed limit. The *deśavrata* did not permit a householder to live in a distant land after the prescribed time limit had elapsed. The *anartha-daṇḍavrata* prescribed punishment to those who collected articles more than those they required for their immediate use. There were four other vows which a Jaina householder was expected to observe in his life. They are called *Śikṣāvratas*. Of the four *Śikṣāvratas* the first, the *Sāmayikavrata* required every householder to meditate for some time in an isolated place. The *Poṣadhovavāsavrata* required him not to take food on four days in a month. The *Bhogopabhoga-parimāṇavrata* required him to be moderate in taking his daily food. The *Atithisaṁvibhāgavrata* required him to feed all learned and virtuous guests before taking food.

The above vows show that every Jaina house-holder was expected to lead a moral and disciplined life. This makes us conclude that most probably in Jaina educational institutions such education was imparted to students as would enable them to lead a moral and disciplined life in future.

The Jaina monks renounced all worldly things. A monk could keep with him only a begging-bowl and a fan made of feathers of a peacock. He spent most of his time in meditation and helped all human beings in relieving their sufferings. He was an ideal for the householders. He was expected to lead a better moral and more disciplined life than

that of a house-holder. His training must have been more rigorous than that of the householders.

On the basis of the aims of lives of the Jaina householders and monks we can form some idea of the aims of their educational system.

The Significance of Educational Sacraments

Systematised primary education had its birth in this period. The first sacrament was called *Vidyārambha*. It was performed when the child was five years of age. After the worship of gods the child was taught alphabet. According to Kauṭilya the child was also taught writing and counting. Children were taught how to pronounce words correctly and elementary rules of grammar. Probably in the beginning they practised writing on clay or sand and later on bark of birch tree (*bhojapatra*) with iron needles.

The second sacrament *Upanayana* had greater significance for a child. After this sacrament the children of the three upper castes, a brāhmaṇa at the age of eight, a kṣatriya at the age of eleven, and a vaiśya at the age of twelve started the study of Vedic literature. The student put on an upper garment made of the skin of a deer, goat or cattle according to his caste and a lower garment, a staff and a girdle. He put on the sacred thread after this sacrament. Thus the secondary education began when the brāhmaṇa child was eight years old, kṣatriya eleven years old and vaiśya twelve years old.

The *Kalpasūtras* and the *Smṛtis* describe in detail the rules which the students were expected to follow. The most important duties of a student were looking after the sacrificial fire, begging food for the teacher and himself, praying to God both in the morning and in the evening, study of Vedic literature and serving the teacher with devotion. He had to wear

simple clothes, eat simple food and observe the vow of celibacy as a student.

Manu calls the *Upanayana* sacrament the spiritual birth (*brahmajanya*)²⁷ of the child in which the *Gāyatrī mantra* was considered the mother and the teacher the father. It was why the child was called *dvija* (twice born) only after this sacrament.

When the *Manusmṛti* was compiled in its present form the children of all the three higher varṇas had *Upanayana* sacrament but from the *Milindapañha* (C. 1st century A.D.) we know that the vaiśyas and sūdras were not imparted education in Vedic literature. Their syllabii included science of agriculture, of marketing and of cattle-rearing. Probably some kṣatriya children were taught Vedic literature even in this period. It makes us conclude that majority of kṣatriyas and all the vaiśyas did not have their *Upanayana* sacrament in the early centuries of Christian era.

The significance of the *Upanayana* sacraments lies in the fact that after this sacrament the student had to observe many vows of which the main objective was character-building. He had to observe the vow of celibacy. He lived as a member of the teacher's family at the teacher's residence so he was called *antevāsī*. Begging food from the householders was an essential duty of all the pupils including those who were born in aristocratic families, as it developed a sense of humility in them. They led a simple and puritan life but acquired the highest knowledge, *adhyātma vidyā* or *parā vidyā*.

Every academic session began in the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa when a ritual called *Upākarma* was performed. After the students had continued their studies for four and a half, five and a half or six months either in the month of *Pauṣa* or *Māgha* the academic session came to an end. At that time another ritual was performed which was called

Utsarga. After the end of the academic session there was a long holiday. According to the *Dharmasūtras* the students should be taught the *Vedas* in the bright fortnight and the *Vedāṅgas* in the dark fortnight of every month. On the fourteenth and fifteenth days of every fortnight and the last day of every season there was no teaching or study by the students. These rituals created a feeling of sanctity in the minds of the students and they started their academic session with a new vigour.

The *samāvartana* sacrament took place after the student had finished his educational career. After this sacrament a student was called *snātaka* and he was freed from the vows which he had to observe as a student at the residence of his teacher. Before he was called *snātaka* he had to take a ceremonial bath as a token of his having finished his educational career. He entered the stage of a householder but his education did not end at that time. He had to continue his study of Vedic literature even as a householder.

Education of Women

The *Upanayana* sacrament was not performed in the case of girls from C. 600 B.C. Thus they were deprived of studying Vedic literature. They had their *Upanayana* sacrament when their marriage sacrament was performed at the age of about 12 years. In their case the *Upanayana* sacrament became a formality. It ceased to have any connection with their education. Girls of aristocratic families were imparted some instruction in fine arts such as music, dance and painting²⁸ but some of them even in this period continued to study *mīmāṃsā* philosophy.²⁹

The Buddhist ladies were imparted sufficient literary education. This fact is borne out by the inclusion of poems of 32 Buddhist nuns (*therīs*) in the *Therīgāthā*. Even some Jaina ladies like Jayantī remained unmarried

for acquiring true knowledge of the principles of Jainism.

System of Education

The student, even in this period, continued to be a member of the teacher's family. The teacher was fully responsible for the moral, mental, intellectual and physical development of the child. The teacher made arrangements for the lodging and food of his students. The government did not interfere in the activities of a *gurukula* (teacher's family). The students helped the teacher in the activities of the *gurukula*. They did not pay any fee to him.³⁰ Senior and brilliant students were employed even in teaching work. Teachers who charged fees for teaching were looked down upon in society, Uśanasa calls them *ṛttika*.³¹ Such a teacher was not invited to a *srāddha* (funeral feast).³² Those who taught Vedic literature without charging any fees were called *āchāryas*³³ and those who charged fees to maintain themselves were called *upādhyāyas*.³⁴ After the student had finished his education he gave to his teacher a piece of land, gold, cows, mares, umbrellas, shoes, corn, vegetables or cloth as *dakṣiṇā* (honorarium paid to the preceptor).³⁵

Kauṭilya mentions the following seven steps in learning Vedic lore :

1. Paying attention to the words of the teacher (*suśrūṣā*).
2. Listening the words carefully (*śravaṇam*).
3. Understanding the words (*grahaṇam*).
4. Learning them by heart (*dhāraṇam*).
5. Discussing the meaning of the words (*ūhāpoha*).
6. Understanding the full implication of the words (*vijñāna*).
7. Understanding the implied sense of the words (*tatvābhiniveśa*).

These steps make it clear that due emphasis was laid in teaching on this aim of education that students grasped the full meaning of words and did not simply cram them. Students who did not pay full attention were asked by the teacher to leave the *gurukula*. Patañjali calls such students *khaṭvārūḍha*³⁶ i.e. those who remained lying in their cots. Probably some students often changed their teacher. Patañjali calls such students *tīrtha-kāka*. Probably some students became pupils Dakṣa in selecting girls that they might get good girls in marriage. Patañjali calls such students *kumārī-dakṣa*. Those who joined a teacher's family with a view to having food are called *bhikṣā-mānava* and those who joined the Pāṇini's family for boiled rice are called *odana-Pāṇinīya*. Similarly who pursued education for getting clarified butter are called *ghṛta-rāḍhīyāḥ* and those who joined for getting blankets are called *kambala-charayāṇi*.³⁷ A teacher to whom students came from one hundred *yajanas* is called *Yojanaśatika*.³⁸ These examples given in the *Mahābhāṣya* throw a flood of light on the lives of students and teachers in the second century B.C.

Ordinarily every student finished his education after twelve years but some of the students continued their education for 24 years and some others devoted their whole life to the study of Vedic literature. From the *Gr̥hyasūtras* of the *R̥gveda* we know that in their daily routine brāhmaṇa students devoted more time to the repetition of hymns than kṣatriya or vaiśya students. The kṣatriya students spent rest of their time in learning military science and administrative knowledge. Probably the vaiśya students acquired some knowledge of trade and commerce.

Technical Education

We have some idea of the system of technical education in the Gupta period from

the *Nāradaśmṛti*. It states that the child after obtaining the permission of his parents went to the house of an expert craftsman. He lived at the residence of the craftsman for a stipulated time and learnt the craft. The craftsman treated the apprentice as his own son. Whatever articles were prepared by the apprentice were considered the property of the craftsman. If an apprentice did not complete his apprenticeship he was punished by the ruler. When the apprentice finished his education he gave some money as a present (*dakṣiṇā*) to the craftsman.

System of Education in Buddhist Society

From the *Lalitavistara* we know that the Primary schools were called *Lipiśālā* and teachers of primary schools were called *Dāraśālācārya*. They taught writing and counting both to boys and girls. All education was oral and students learnt their lessons by heart by repeating them again and again.

The scholars who were well-versed in the *Dhammapiṭaka* were called *Suttantaka* and those in the *Vinayapiṭaka* were called *Matikadhara*. Stories were told to illustrate the principles of Buddhism. The *Abhidhammapiṭaka* is a collection of such stories.

The *Mahāvagga*³⁹ mentions two kinds of teachers viz., *upādhyāyas* and *ācāryas*. *Upādhyāyas* were those who had been monks for ten or more than ten years and *ācāryas* were those who had been monks for six or more than six years. The *upādhyāyas* taught the monks while the *ācāryas* supervised their conduct.

The monks studied the sacred works, preached the principles of Buddhism, and discussed them with other monks. They also examined other monks whether they had grasped the full meaning of the principles taught to them.⁴⁰ The monks were lodged in

different monasteries according to the branch of learning they were pursuing.⁴¹

In the monasteries the monks themselves cultivated corn in the fields attached to them and tended the cows from whom they got milk, curds, clarified butter and butter. Thus they had good training in agriculture and dairy farming as well.

They lived in strict discipline and even the royal princes entered the monastery after removing their shoes and keeping aside their umbrellas. In this period in some schools students paid fees to their teachers and the teachers treated them as their eldest sons.⁴² The princes had to take the same food which was served to poor students for example they were served cooked rice mixed with pulse. In the special feasts the students were served some special articles of food such as sugarcane, jaggery, curds and milk.

Subjects of Study

From the *Manusmṛiti* we know that in this period besides Vedic literature majority of students studied *smṛtis*⁴³, *itihāsa* (history) and *Purāṇas*.⁴⁴ Some other students studied religious books of heterodox sects⁴⁵, economics⁴⁶, logic (*ānvikṣikī*) and politics (*daṇḍanīti*).⁴⁷ From the *Milindapañha* we know that brāhmaṇa students also studied prosody, grammar, astronomy and *nirukta* (science of derivation of words). From Kauṭilya⁴⁸ we know that the greatest emphasis was laid on the study of the three Vedas, economics, logic and politics. The study of *itihāsa* included the study of *Purāṇas*, stories and examples which explained the basic principles of Hindu religion.⁴⁹

According to the *Milindapañha* the kṣatriyas were trained in riding horses and elephants, driving chariots, using bows and arrows, swords, and art of warfare. Knowledge

of documents and coins was also imparted to them.

According to Manu⁵⁰ vaiśya students should acquire knowledge of precious stones, pearls, corals, metals, clothes, scents, spices, sowing of seeds, kinds of soils, weights and measures, loss in transporting marketable articles, cattle-rearing, wages of labourers and languages and geography of other countries.

From the *Divyāvadāna*⁵¹ (Fourth century A.D.) we know that the vaiśya students were taught sciences of agriculture, marketing and cattle-rearing. They also achieved knowledge of arithmetic, numismatics, debts, endowments, sciences of precious stones and horses and elephants.

Centres of Education

The university of Takṣaśilā was a famous centre of medical education in the sixth century B.C. Jivaka, the royal physician of Bimbisāra, continued his education at this university for seven years. He had to identify all the plants growing within a radius of one *yojana* around the seat of this university before the degree of a physician was awarded to him. In the contemporary Indian medical literature we have a detailed account how medicines were prepared from these plants and to what extent the science of surgery was developed.⁵² Education in military science, astronomy and music was also imparted in this university. Students from all parts of India came to study in the various faculties of this university.

From the *Jātakas* we know that in the first two centuries of the Christian era the university of Takṣaśilā continued to be a great centre of education. According to Appolonias of Tyana (A.D. 43-44) students from Greece also came to have their education in this university. In this period the three Vedas and 18 crafts were taught at this university. According to A.S.

Altekar the 18 crafts referred to in the *Jātakas* were the following :

1. Music (*vādyā*)
2. Singing (*gīta*)
3. Dancing (*nṛtya*)
4. Painting (*citrakalā*)
5. Astronomy (*Naṣatra-karma*)
6. Economics (*arthaśāstra*)
7. Architecture (*vāstukalā*)
8. Sculpture (*takṣaṇa*)
9. Agriculture (*vārtā*)
10. Cattle-rearing (*paśupālana*)
11. Trade (*vyāpāra*)
12. Medicine (*āyurveda*)
13. Driving elephants and horses (*gajāśvaparichālana*)
14. Law and administration (*vidhi, śāsana*)
15. Art of warfare and archery (*yuddhakalā* and *dhanurveda*)
16. Magic (*indrajāla*)
17. Amusement (*krīḍā*) and
18. Knowledge of jewels (*maṇirāga-karajñāna*)

From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we know that many scholars well versed in the principles of the various branches of Vedic learning such as those of *Taittiriya*, *Kāṭhaka* and *Mānava* schools were residents of Ayodhyā and there were a number of *āśramas* to the south of the Vindhya. These *āśramas* were centres of Vedic learning in the Deccan and the South India where Vedic culture had not fully penetrated.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions many *āśramas* where students from distant parts of India came to study. Ordinarily in these *āśramas* there used to be the following eight departments :

1. Department which arranged for sacrifices (*Agnisthāna*).
2. Department of Vedic studies (*Brahma-sthāna*).
3. Department of Political Science,

Economics and Agriculture (*Viṣṇusthāna*).

4. Military Science Department (*Mahendra-sthāna*).
5. Department of Astronomy (*Vaivasvatasthāna*).
6. Department of Botany (*Soma-sthāna*).
7. Department of Transport (*Garuḍa-sthāna*).
8. Department of Military Organization (*Kārttikeya-sthāna*).

One such *āśrama* was located in Naimiṣa forest. The Chancellor of this *āśrama* was Śaunaka. Ten thousand students were enrolled in this *āśrama*. Śaunaka arranged a sacrifice which continued for twelve years in which many scholars participated.

A second *āśrama* was located on the banks of the *Mālinī*, a tributary of the Sarayu. Sage Kaṇva was the Head of this *āśrama*.

A third *āśrama* of this type was located at Prayāga. Sage Bhāradvāja was the Head of this *āśrama*.

Many citizens from neighbouring towns flocked to these *āśramas*, when scholars from various parts of India assembled in conferences where spiritual and philosophical topics were discussed by these scholars.

From the *Jātakas* we know that Vārāṇasī was also a great centre of learning. There were many teachers there who had graduated from Takṣaśilā.⁵³ In each of the colleges at Vārāṇasī there were about 500 students.⁵⁴ Many rich brāhmaṇas sent their sons to Vārāṇasī to be educated there.⁵⁵ It was also a famous place where music was taught.⁵⁶

Historical Period Second Half (C. 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.)

Aims of Education

From the *Subhāṣitaratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* we know the aims of education during this period.

According to this work education enables a student to distinguish between good and evil because it develops his intelligence. It develops his moral sense. He develops a feeling of sympathy towards others and deals with them in a rational manner. It enables him to develop all his innate qualities. Thus he is able to make his individual progress and becomes a useful member of the society.

Brāhmaṇa students studied Vedic literature, grammar, logic and medicine. Emphasis was laid on character-building. By getting this kind of education they could advance morally and spiritually.

Kṣatriya students besides learning sciences useful in administration and warfare, studied Sanskrit literature. Some of the rulers of this period for example Harṣa, Mahendravarman and Yaśovarman were themselves great poets.

Vaiśya students besides getting education in subjects useful for trade and commerce laid emphasis on character-building. Probably vaiśyas and śūdras both were not imparted education in Vedic literature during this period.

Significance of Educational Sacraments

The law givers of the post-Gupta period give a detailed account of the *Vidyārambha* sacrament. This sacrament was performed when the child was about five years of age. After this sacrament the child was taught alphabet, words and arithmetic.⁵⁷

In this period (after c. 800 A.D.) only brāhmaṇas had the *Upanayana* sacrament. So only they had the privilege of studying the Vedic literature.⁵⁸ The kṣatriyas and the vaiśyas were deprived of it. According to Yuan Chwang⁵⁹ brāhmaṇa students continued their education upto the age of 30 years. Some of them devoted all their time to study and teaching even after they had finished regular

education. Medhātithi mentions two kinds of students viz. the *naiṣṭhika* and the *upakurvāṇa*. The *naiṣṭhika* students remained unmarried throughout their lives and dedicated their lives to the study of Vedic literature while the *upakurvāṇa* students married after finishing their education.⁶⁰ But according to the *Nāradiya Purāṇa*⁶¹ and the *Āditya Purāṇa*⁶² being a student throughout one's life is not permissible in the Kali age. This leads us to the conclusion that majority of students became house-holders after finishing their education in this period.

Education of Women

In the dictionaries compiled during this period there is no mention of lady teachers. Medhātithi states that ladies were not taught Sanskrit in his time.⁶³ But according to Rājaśekhara some princesses, girls of aristocratic families and prostitutes were well-versed in Sanskrit.⁶⁴ He has mentioned the names of five famous poetesses Śilabhāṭṭārikā, Vikalanitambā, Vijayāṅkā, Prabhudevī and Subhadrā. From the *Upamitibhavaprapaṇcāka* we know that many princesses were well-versed in painting, music and poetry.⁶⁵

System of Education in Brahmanical Society

We do not have any details about the system of Primary education. Probably the village teachers taught children reading, writing and arithmetic.

The *Matsya Purāṇa*⁶⁶ permits teachers to charge some fees from the students but the traditional view of not charging fees is mentioned by the *Varāha Purāṇa*⁶⁷ and Medhātithi.⁶⁸ This means that some teachers began to charge fees during this period.

According to the *Smṛtichandrikā*⁶⁹ a brāhmaṇa student should be taught preferably by a brāhmaṇa teacher. Only in an emergency

he can be taught by a kṣatriya or a vaiśya teacher but according to the *Pālakāpya Saṁhita*⁷⁰ a brāhmaṇa teacher can teach children of all the three high castes, a kṣatriya teacher those of kṣatriya and vaiśya castes and a vaiśya teacher those of his own caste. This means that there were some kṣatriya and vaiśya teachers as well during this period.

During this period literary and cultural education was generally imparted through the medium of Sanskrit so the masses were deprived of it. Brāhmaṇa students studied the *Vedas*, *Purāṇas*, *Dharmaśāstras*, six systems of philosophy, logic, grammar and *kāvyas*. The greatest emphasis was on the teaching of the last three subjects.⁷¹ From the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* we know that some students were taught dramaturgy, painting, astrology, sciences of poultry-farming, of horses, of elephants, politics, astronomy, mathematics, grammar and *Brahmavidyā*.⁷²

From the *Mānasollāsa* we know that kṣatriya students were taught military science in addition to Vedic learning. They also studied logic, *Dharmaśāstras*, grammar and fine arts.⁷³

From *Medhātithi* we know that vaiśya students were taught some subjects which might be useful to them in trade such as knowledge of precious stones, pearls, corals, iron, bronze, cloth, scents, where these articles could be sold at maximum price and in which period of the year.⁷⁴

The best and the most popular medium of education of the common people were the asosembles organized by the village people in which a brāhmaṇa scholar related didactic stories from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, and other religious works. Even the śūdras were permitted to listen to these didactic stories.

The greatest defect of the system of education of this period was that the scholars

were not prepared to accept any ideas which were contrary to those expressed in the ancient religious works. Indians preserved their cultural heritage but did not accept new ideas based on reason. They did not adopt the regional languages for the purpose of education which could be the medium of education for the masses.

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70. Quoted *Samśkāra Prakāśa*, 513.
71. Itsing, Record p. 170.
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QUESTIONS

1. What light does the *R̥gveda* throw on the system of education in the *R̥gvedic* period?
2. Discuss the significances of the *Upanayana Samśkāra* in the *Brahmacarya āśrama*.
3. On the basis of the convocation address of the teacher in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad state what the teacher expected of his student when he entered the stage of a house holder.
4. Give a brief review of the education of women in the later Vedic Periods.
5. Describe critically the methods adopted and subjects of student the system of education in the later Vedic Period.
6. Discuss the chief aims of education and describe an academic session in a Gurukula as gleaned from the *Kalpasūtras* and the *Smṛtis* of the Pre-Gupta period.
7. In what respects the education of Brāhmaṇa children differed from that of the children the three other castes?
8. Describe critically the system of Brāhmanical education as gleaned from the *Sūtra* literature.
9. Why were women deprived of studying the vedic literature in the Pre-Gupta period.
10. Describe the system of education as gleaned from the Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* and the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali.
11. Mention the subjects of study for the students of three upper castes in the Pre-Gupta and Gupta period.
12. Discuss the chief aims of education in the Early Medieval Period.
13. Describe critically the subjects which the students of the upper three castes were taught in the Early Medieval Period.

Chapter 15

System of Education in the Buddhist Monasteries

In the beginning the monasteries were institutions where necessary spiritual training was imparted to Buddhist monks but in this period (450 A.D.-1200 A.D.) the field of activity of the monasteries was much widened. They became centres of learning. In the Buddhist system of education much emphasis was laid on the teaching of logic and Nyāya philosophy so that the students might be able to refute the arguments of the followers of other sects. For example in a work named the *Saptadaśa-bhūmiśāstra* (c. 400 A.D.) in the 15th Volume seven chapters are devoted to the art of debating. The Buddhist monks were taught not only their own scriptures but the principles and philosophies of other sects as well so that they might be able to successfully refute their arguments. But all the monks were expected to follow the discipline of the monastery in which they lived. In this period besides the monks (*Saddhivihārikas*) there were two other categories of students namely *mānavas* and *brahmacārins*. *Mānavas* were those children who wanted to become monks after getting necessary educational training for a fixed period. *Brahmacārins* were taught secular literature as they wished to remain lay-followers of Buddhism all their lives.

From the account of Yuan Chwang we know that Indian teachers encouraged their pupils to acquire knowledge. In all the Buddhist monasteries much emphasis was laid on character-building. In short, we can say that the four chief aims of Buddhist education were the following :

1. Intellectual development of the child so as to enable him to distinguish good from evil.
2. To awaken and develop a sense of discipline in him.
3. To educate him in a democratic way of living.
4. To teach him the basic principles of Buddhist religion and philosophy.

In the monasteries the chief monk was the Head of the institution. He was elected by all the members of the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. At the time of election all the members took into consideration his age, scholarship and character. Two councils managed all the affairs of a monastery. One took decision in all academic matters and the other looked after the material needs of the monasteries.

Students of all castes joined these Buddhist centres of learning. Some of them came from Central Asia, China and Tibet. From Itsing we knew that some senior students taught some junior students in these monasteries.

Of the three categories of students the expenses of *Śaddhivihārikas* were borne by the monastery while the *mānavas* and the *brahmacārins* had to pay their own expenses. Every day the *Saddhivihārika* asked his teacher about his welfare, bowed before him, studied the scriptures and took his meals only when he was permitted to do so by the *upādhyāya*.¹

According to Yuan Chwang the children were at first taught a Primer named the

Dvādaśādhyāyī. At the age of seven they were taught five subjects :-

(1) grammar (2) arts and crafts (3) medicine (4) logic and (5) Science of Self.²

According to Itsing most of the text-books were written in aphoristic (*sūtra*) style or in poetry to enable the students to memorise them with ease. According to him the name of the Primer was the *Siddharāstu*.³ After they had attained the age of 8 years they were

taught grammar, logic and the *Abhidharmakośa*. The monks were taught the *Suttapiṭaka*, the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* and the works on *Vinaya*.⁴

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QUESTIONS

1. What was the main aim of Buddhist education in the beginning and what method was followed to achieve this aim?
2. What light do the *Jātakas* throw on the aims of education in the period when they were compiled.
3. What was the aim of the *Śikṣavratas* which the Jainas expected a householder to act upon?
4. Describe the system of education in the Buddhist society.
5. On what basis can we say that the Buddhist ladies were imparted sufficient education?

Chapter 16

Centres of Education

Nālandā

The university of Nālandā in Magadha had become a great centre of Education in the Gupta period. The students of this university were famous for their high standard of morality and learning. The expenditure of about 100 teachers and 1000 students was met by the income derived from the revenues of more than 100 villages which were given to this university by donors in charity. It was so famous for learning and morality that students from China, Tibet, and South East Asia came to get admitted to this university. Admission to this university was so difficult that out of about 10 students who applied for admission only two or three were admitted. The students devoted all their time to the study of books or discussion. The time set apart for studies was eight hours every day and it appeared too short to finish the work which the students wished to do. There were strict rules for the maintenance of discipline. Those students who did not observe the rules of discipline were punished severely. According to Itsing the number of students at the time of his visit was about 3000 and that of teachers was about 1500. Of these teachers about 100 delivered their lectures daily. From the Tibetan historians we know that there were three libraries in the university namely *Ratnasāgara*, *Ratnodadhi* and *Ratnarañjaka*. The first Chancellor of this university was Dharmapāla who was a native of Kāñcī. Śilabhadra became Chancellor after him. He was probably a resident of Assam. There were 8 colleges in the university. The subjects of study included besides the principles of 18 branches of

Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism, the four Vedas, six Vedāṅgas, Purāṇas, Nyāya philosophy, Mīmāṃsā philosophy, Sāṅkhya philosophy, Dharmaśāstras, archery, music, economics, dramaturgy, painting, astrology, astronomy, grammar, mathematics, *Ātmavidyā*, logic, and medicine. Thus the subjects of study were both worldly and other-worldly. Architecturally it was one of the best monasteries in the seventh century A.D.

Valabhī

Another important centre of learning in this period was Valabhī in Kathiawur. There were 100 monasteries in this university. About 6,000 monks of Hinayāna sect of Buddhism were educated in this monastery. Probably principles of Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism were also taught here. Two famous scholars of this university were Sthiramati and Guṇamati. According to Itsing scholars from all parts of India assembled both at Nālandā and Valabhī and decided all controversial issues by exchange of views.¹

Vikramaśīla

The Pāla ruler Dharmapāla founded the university of Vikramaśīla. The main subjects of study in this university were grammar, logic, *Brahmavidyā*, *Tantra-vidyā* (the science by which an individual hoped to get supernatural powers), rituals, and philosophy. The scholars here also made copies of the canonical works of Buddhism. Many works of Buddhism were translated into Tibetan language by the

scholars of this university. Śrījñāna Dīpaṅkara, who had received his education at the university of Odantapuri later became the Chancellor of the university of Vikramaśīla. From Vikramaśīla he went to Tibet. He translated many Buddhist works into Tibetan language. He died in Tibet in 1053 A.D. The scholars of this university maintained close contacts with Tibet upto the thirteenth century A.D.

Odantapuri

The college of Odantapuri was in existence even before the Pala rulers began to rule but in their times it became a university. As we have stated above Śrījñāna Dīpaṅkara was educated in this university before he became the Chancellor of the university of Vikramaśīla.

Jagaddala

The Pala ruler Rāmapāla (1064-1120) founded a new capital named Ramāvati. He founded a new university at Jagaddala near his new capital. It became a centre of Buddhist learning in the eleventh century. It continued the traditions of the universities of Nālandā and Vikramaśīla for some time but the Muslim invaders completely destroyed it 150 years after its foundation. After the Muslim invasion many scholars of Odantapuri and Jagaddala went to Tibet. Their names are mentioned with great pride in the Tibetan encyclopaedia of Buddhism. Some of the works of these scholars are in Sanskrit while others are in Tibetan language.

From the account of Al Beruni we know that many centres of Education were destroyed as a result of the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni and ancient Indian learning remained confined to those areas which were not occupied by the Muslims.²

Kashmir

The rulers of Kashmir were also great patrons of learning. In the ninth century A.D. Avantivarman appointed a scholar to teach grammar in a Vaiṣṇava temple which he had himself built. In the tenth century A.D. Yaśaskara built a monastery for the students coming from Uttara Pradesh. The monasteries of Kashmir became so famous for being centres of learning that even students from Gauḍa (Bengal) came to study here. According to Kṣemendra some of these students did not pay heed to their studies. They indulged in gambling, were loose in character and were irritated at small matters.³

Madhya Pradesh

From an inscription dated 1155 A. D. we know that Queen mother Alhaṇadevī built a monastery and a spacious building for the spread of education in Madhya Pradesh region.⁴

The Deccan

From an inscription of the Deccan we know that a brāhmaṇa in the time of Vikramāditya VI gave a piece of land in charity. He appointed 104 *mahājanas* as its trustees. A part of the income from this endowment was to be spent on the maintenance of a teacher who taught grammar and Mīmāṃsā philosophy.⁵ Similarly the queen of Vikramāditya VI gave a village as a trust. The income from the trust was to be spent on the maintenance of the commentators on the *Dharmaśāstras*, a reciter of the *Purāṇas* and the teachers of the *R̥gveda* and the *Yajurveda*.⁶ Vikramāditya VI himself built an assembly hall for the teaching of Pūrya-mīmāṃsā philosophy.⁷ In the Kākatīya kingdom in 1207 A. D. a Śaiva teacher donated a piece of land for building a college⁸ with a Śaiva temple. In this college three teachers taught the *R̥gveda*,

the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda*, five teachers taught logic, Sanskrit literature and principles of traditional religion.⁹

South India

Rajendra Cola I mentions in one of his inscriptions a college in the Siddheśvara temple at Kāñcī.¹⁰ From another inscription we know that an individual donated some gold coins as an endowment, income from which was to be spent on the recitation of the *Sāmaveda* on a fixed day. We have many other inscriptions from the Cola kingdom which mention donations for the spread of ancient learning in the 10th to 12th centuries A.D.¹¹

Some notable features of ancient Indian Education

The pupil lived as a member of the teacher's family. The teacher could, therefore, pay individual attention to his physical, intellectual and spiritual development. The pupil lived a simple and disciplined moral life. The students had full intellectual freedom. Thus they could build their character which became a great asset when they led their lives as householders. They were fully successful as individual members of the society and contributed to the harmonious progress of the society as a whole.

The educational institutions were located far from the din and noise of the cities in secluded *āśramas* where the teachers led an ideal life and senior students taught the junior students. Thus the junior students also imbibed the ideals of their teachers and senior students.

The technical education was imparted in the families of craftsmen. The government punished both the craftsmen and the apprentice if any one of them failed to do his duty.

Some of these features can be adopted by Indian educational institutions by making necessary modifications to suit the changed social and economic conditions.

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6. Ibid., XV. 350
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8. Annual Report, South Indian Epigraphy, 1917, p. 94.
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QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief account of the University of Takṣaśilā.
2. On the basis of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* mention some *āśramas* which generally had eight departments. Also discuss their importance as centres of Vedic learning.
3. Give a brief account of the University of Nālandā.
4. Discuss how Valabhī was a centre of Buddhist learning in the seventh century A.D.
5. Describe critically the contribution of the University of *Vikramaśīla* to the spread of Buddhist learning to Tibet.
6. Describe the contribution of the Universities of Odantapuri and Jagaddala under the Pala rulers as centres of Buddhist learning.
7. "Under the patron age of the rulers of Kashmir the Monasteries there became famous as centres of learning." Elaborate the above statement.
8. Describe what steps were taken by Vikramāditya VI, his queen in the Chalukya Kingdom and a Śaiva teacher in the Kākatiya kingdom for the spread of vedic learning.
9. On the basis of inscriptions state what steps were taken in South India for the spread of ancient learning towards the end of the Early Medieval Period.
10. Briefly describe some notable features of ancient Indian education.

Chapter 11

Agriculture, Fisheries, Irrigation, Forestry, Gardening and Animal Husbandry

Part Two

SECTION - III

[Economic Organization]

Chapter 17

Agriculture, Famines, Irrigation, Forestry, Gardening and Animal Husbandry

Agriculture (Before C. 600 B.C.)

The earliest evidence of agriculture in India has been found at Mehrgarh. At a level dated to 5000 B.C. cultivated varieties of wheat and barley have been discovered but below this level there is a great deposit which has not been excavated. It is why the archaeologists think that cultivation in this region started about 7000 B. C. In Rajasthan also agriculture started either about 7000 B. C. or 8000 B.C. At Koldihwa (U.P.) in the valley of the Belan river cultivated rice is dated to about C. 6000 or 8000 B.C. The above evidence shows that agriculture began in India in the New Stone Age. In Baluchistan also it began about C. 7000 B.C. From Baluchistan the process of agriculture spread to parts of the Indus Valley and later to the valley of the Sarasvati. In the Harappan culture regions it seems that rice was cultivated in Gujarat and probably also in Rajasthan. In this culture the farmers most probably sowed wheat and barley in spring by when the soil was irrigated with flood water. These two crops were reaped in March or April. Probably cotton and sesame were sown before the floods and reaped in autumn. These two crops were most probably cultivated in fields which were protected by dams so that flood water might not enter these fields. From the ganaries found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro it is clear that there was surplus production of cereals which were consumed by the urban population. This was

one of the important factors which resulted in the urbanization of this culture.

The Harappan people cultivated rice, in the last phase of this culture, at Lothal and Rangpur. Remains of wheat, rice, lentils, *Phaseolus mungo* (*Mudga*) and *Phaseolus radiatus* (*Māṣa*) were discovered at Sonagaon and those of pearl millet at Rangpur.

In the last phases of the New Stone Age the residents of South India cultivated *Dolichos biflorus* (*kulattha*), *Phaseolus radiatus* (*māṣa*) and finger millet (*rāgi*) at Tekkalkota and Hallur.

Scholars are of opinion that the main occupation of the R̥gvedic Aryans was cattle-rearing. Agriculture was not so important for them. In the later-Vedic period agriculture became more important. But it seems that towards the end of the R̥gvedic period all the agricultural processes were known to the Aryans. In the first and the tenth *maṇḍalas* of the R̥gveda clearing of forests,¹ ploughing of fields,² sowing of seeds,³ reaping of corn,⁴ separating corn from the chaff⁵ are mentioned.

In the later-Vedic literature we have enough evidence to show that agriculture was well developed in this period. The *Atharvaveda* mentions ploughing of fields by six or twelve oxen.⁶ It also mentions the use of manure in agriculture.⁷ From the *Yajurveda* we know that barley was sown in winter and reaped in summer and rice was sown in the rainy season and reaped in autumn.⁸ It also mentions that two crops were cultivated every year.⁹ The

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions all the processes of agriculture viz. ploughing of fields, sowing of seeds, reaping of crops and separating corn from chaff by thrashing.¹⁰ From the literature of this period we also know that the non-Aryans (*Vrātyas*) did not cultivate land.¹¹

The *R̥gveda* mentions two words namely *Yava* (barley) and *dhānya*. Most of the scholars think that *dhānya* in the *R̥gveda* means cereals but even now in Hindi the word *dhāna* is used in the sense of unhusked rice. In the *Atharvaveda* mention is made of barley, *vrihi* rice, sesame, *Phaseolus radiatus* (*māṣa*), sugercane and a wild variety of rice known as *śyāmāka*. Wheat is mentioned in all the *samhitās* except the *R̥gveda*.¹² The *Yajurveda* mentions five varieties of rice namely *mahāvrihi*, *kṛṣṇavrihi*, *śuklavrihi*, *āśudhānya* and *hāyana*. The *mahāvrihi* variety was considered the best of all these. *Āśudhānya* ripened in a very short period and *hāyana* (red in colour) took full one year to ripen.¹³ It also mentions some wild varieties of rice namely *priyaṅgu*, *aṇu*, *śyāmāka*, *nīvāra* and *āmba* or *nāmba*.¹⁴

Of the pulses the *Yajurveda* mentions *Phaseolus radiatus* (*māṣa*), *Phaseolus mungo* (*mudga*) and lentils.¹⁵ Of the oil seeds the literature of this period mentions sesamum and mustard.¹⁶

Famines and Irrigation (C. 1500 B.C. to 600 B.C.)

Famines : The *Atharvaveda* mentions a foreteller of weather¹⁷ and gives spells by which the evil effect of drought, floods and lightning could be counteracted.¹⁸ These spells show that these mishaps threatened agriculture and famine conditions did take place even in the later Vedic period.

The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*¹⁹ states that when crops were destroyed by locusts

Cākrāyaṇa had to leave the place of his residence with his wife and eat *kulmāṣa*²⁰ (preparation of *māsa* beans with *guḍa* and oil). This shows that in times of famines people suffered a lot.

Irrigation : From the *R̥gveda* we know that fields were irrigated with water drawn from wells²¹ and water for irrigation flowed through channels.²² The *Atharvaveda* states that canals were dug for irrigation.²³

Animal Husbandry (C. 1500 B.C. to C. 600 B.C.)

The main occupation of the *R̥gvedic* Aryans was cattle-rearing. For this reason cows and bullocks were very important for them. The cow was called *aghnyā* (an animal which was not to be killed) and bullocks were used for ploughing fields. Milk of cows was a part of their daily diet.²⁴ The daughter in the family milked cows hence she was called *duhitṛ*. The meat of barren cows was eaten. In the *Atharvaveda* it is stated that one who killed a cow should be awarded capital punishment.²⁵

Horses were very useful in wars.²⁶ They were yoked to chariots and carts. They were also used for riding and races. Probably their meat was also used as food.²⁷ Asses, mules and dogs were also yoked to chariots and used for carrying heavy loads from one place to another.²⁸ Camels were used for carrying loads and were also yoked to carts.²⁹ Sheep were reared for wool and meat.³⁰ Kings kept elephants for riding and fighting in wars.³¹

Agriculture (C. 600 B.C. to C. 300 A.D.)

From the *Sūtra* literature it is clear that agriculture had become very important during this period. The farmers performed a special sacrifice *Navasasyeṣṭi* to celebrate the ripening of the crop. A student who had finished his Vedic studies is asked to eat only

wild corn. This shows that there was still sufficient land which was not cultivated.³²

The three occupations of the *vaiśyas* mentioned by Kauṭilya were cattle-rearing, agriculture, and trade.³³ In the time of Manu agriculture was the most important occupation of the *vaiśyas* and cattle-rearing next in importance.³⁴

The headman of the village was called *grāmabhojaka*, *grāmika* or *grāmaṇi*. He collected land-revenue on behalf of the village land-lord and himself used a part of it. The *Jātakas* throw considerable light on the duties and powers of the *grāmabhojaka*. The village land-lord generally lived in the town and not in the village.³⁵

The rulers generally donated villages to *brāhmaṇas* as well as to some other individuals.³⁶ The *grāmabhojaka* probably carried on the village administration on behalf of these donees. It seems that he had very extensive powers and the village assemblies had no power left with them after the establishment of Mauryan imperialism. The *grāmabhojaka* was not a representative of the people but an officer appointed by the king in this period.³⁷ Agriculture was so important that the king himself ploughed the field when seed was sown for a fresh crop in a village.³⁸

From the *Sūtra* literature and the early Jain and Buddhist works we know that many varieties of rice, pulses and oil seeds were grown in this period.³⁹ The earliest reference to gram is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁴⁰ The *Charaka-saṁhitā* mentions 15 varieties of good rice⁴¹, and the *Suśruta-saṁhitā* two varieties of wheat namely *modhūlikā* and *nandimukhī*.⁴²

Famines and Irrigation

(c. 600 B.C. to 300 A.D.)

In the *Mahāvagga* people in a famine are described as eating the flesh of those animals

of which Indians generally eat such as elephants, horses, dogs and snakes.⁴³ In a famine people invited selected monks for meals. They did not invite all the monks of a *Samgha*.⁴⁴ But according to Diodorus⁴⁵ there was no scarcity of cereals and pulses in India. This makes us conclude that there might have been famines in this period but even during famines many people did not die for want of food.

We have references to famines in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,⁴⁶ the *Mahābhārata*⁴⁷ and the *Jātakas* but most of these accounts of famines seem to be imaginary. The causes of famines mentioned in the *Jātakas* are locusts, birds and animals.⁴⁸ From the *Jātakas* it is clear that the ruler considered himself responsible for the sufferings of the people in a famine.⁴⁹ From the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya we know that the ruler did not collect land revenue from the farmers when there was a famine.⁵⁰

Irrigation : (c. 600 B.C. to 300 A.D.)

From the early Buddhist works we know that in the time of the Buddha canals were dug for Irrigation.⁵¹ From the *Jātakas*⁵² we know that people constructed canals and tanks on a cooperative basis. But from the *Mahābhārata*⁵³ and the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵⁴ it appears that the state also considered construction of tanks and canals for irrigation its duty. The *Dharmasūtras*⁵⁵ lay down that the rulers and people should get tanks and canals constructed for irrigation. Kauṭilya⁵⁶ states that a good administration is one in which the farmers do not wholly depend on rain water for irrigation. Severe punishment is prescribed by him for those who cause damage to tanks.⁵⁷ Similar injunctions are laid by Manu.⁵⁸

From the inscriptions of this period it is clear that people got wells and tanks constructed for irrigation and the state gave financial help to them for such works.⁵⁹ In the

Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman it is clearly stated that Puṣyagupta, the governor of Chadragupta got constructed the Sudarśana lake to provide irrigational facility to the people of this region and when the dam of this lake was damaged Rudradāman got it repaired at his own expense.⁶⁰ From the *Gāthāsaptasatī* it appears that the Persian wheel was used for the first time during this period.⁶¹

Forests and Gardens (c. 600 B.C. to C. 300 A.D.)

The Buddha⁶² and Mahāvīra⁶³ advised people to protect plants. Kauṭilya⁶⁴ lays down that people should not cause harm to trees and severe punishment is prescribed by him for those who set fire to forests⁶⁵ Aśoka⁶⁶ also issued orders that people should not burn forests. Manu⁶⁷ prescribes very severe punishment for those who cut green trees. It is considered a great sin in the *Mahābhārata*.⁶⁸ There are many references to protection of forests in the *Rāmāyana*.⁶⁹ The Buddha and his disciples stayed in forests for attainment of spiritual bliss⁷⁰ while some rulers and aristocrats went to forests for enjoyment with the members of their families.

Keeping in view their economic value Kauṭilya mentions three categories of forests viz. hunting forests, forests from which people got various articles for their use and forests of elephants.⁷¹ From the second category of forests were collected skins of animals, bones, bile, nails, teeth, horns, hoofs and tails and timber for making forts, carts, and chariots.⁷² According to Kauṭilya a forest which had a river in it was of great strategic importance. It could protect a ruler from the attack of an enemy.⁷³ Kauṭilya has also described the duties of forest officers.⁷⁴ But the tribal people depended on forest produce for their livelihood so it was not easy for the state to protect all the forests.⁷⁵

Animal Husbandry (600 B.C. to 300 A.D.)

From the *Gr̥hyasūtras* we know that many hymns were recited in which people prayed to Rudra to make them rich in cows. Kings gave a large number of cows in charity. Many rites were performed when the cows went for grazing to the forest and when they returned to the cow-sheds. Cows were considered so sacred that if they did not get fodder one day students did not study on that day. But even in this period guests were served beef.⁷⁶

From the *Arthasāstra*⁷⁷ of Kauṭilya, the *Manusmṛti*,⁷⁸ the *Mahābhārata*⁷⁹ and the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁸⁰ we know that even in this period animal husbandry was as important for Indians as agriculture.⁸¹

From the early Buddhist literature we know that the villagers paid salary to cow-keepers who took them to the pastures for grazing.⁸² Sometimes they paid one tenth of milk, curds and clarified butter to the cow-keeper in lieu of his salary.⁸³

Some of the owners of animals had as many as 27,000 milch cows. They engaged many slaves and servants for looking after these cows.⁸⁴ They had to send their cows to the forest so that these cows might not damage the crops in the village fields. These servants had to protect the cows from thieves. According to Kauṭilya a person stealing animals should be awarded capital punishment.⁸⁵

According to Megasthenes keeping horses and elephants was the monopoly of rulers. This fact is corroborated by the accounts in the *Mahāvagga*,⁸⁶ the *Milindapañha*⁸⁷ and the *Mahābhārata*.⁸⁸ The elephants were used for hunting, ploughing fields and riding.⁸⁹

Popularity of the principle of non-violence

On account of the teachings of Mahāvīra and the Buddha the principle of non-violence became very popular. According to Kauṭilya

the king should protect all the animals and birds in the forests meant for spiritual advancement of the people.⁹⁰ The *Mahābhārata*⁹¹ condemns the slaughter of animals and Aśoka⁹² also tried to prohibit the unnecessary killing of animals and birds.

Keeping in view the economic importance of animals Kauṭilya has given detailed rules for the protection of animals. The milch cows were milked twice a day in the rainy season and autumn and only once in the summer and winter seasons. All the cow-keepers who did not observe this rule were severely punished.⁹³ If an animal was wounded the government punished the person who caused the injury⁹⁴ and that person had to pay compensation to the master of the animal.⁹⁵

Many Indians had full faith in the principle of non-violence and believed that all the animals and birds were a part of divine creation hence they deserved sympathy by them. For these two reasons rituals were performed for the protection of cows, elephants, bulls, horses and elephants.⁹⁶

Agriculture (c. 300 A.D. to 600 A.D.)

Probably in the Gupta period cultivable land had become scarce. It is why Nārada lays down that if the owner of a cultivable land had gone out of the village for a long time it could be cultivated by some other person but the latter should return the field to the owner after getting the expenses he had incurred on cultivating that field.⁹⁷ In this period some persons applied to the government for the grant of fallow land for cultivation for it must have been cheaper than cultivable land.⁹⁸ The government donated pieces of land in the forests to the brāhmaṇas for cultivation because it wanted to encourage development of agriculture.⁹⁹ Even the ascetics were expected to raise crops in their hermitages.¹⁰⁰ Severe punishment is prescribed by Bṛhaspati

for those who stole corn.¹⁰¹ Similarly those who stole agricultural implements or damaged the crops of others were severely punished.¹⁰² If a piece of land was donated the ruler clearly declared that no one was permitted to obstruct the cultivation of that piece of land given to the donee.¹⁰³

The majority of farmers in this period had small holdings which were cultivated by them with the help of members of their families but a few of them had large fields which were cultivated with the help of labourers or were cultivated by landless farmers on the condition that they would have a part of the produce from the owner of the piece of land. For such fields Nārada and Bṛhaspati have laid down rules about the payment of wages to the labourers who worked on these fields.¹⁰⁴

Varāhamihira has described the signs by which the farmers could know about the possibility of rainfall. In some regions of India three crops were cultivated in a year. The crops which were sown in summer ripened in Śrāvaṇa, those which were sown in autumn were reaped in spring and those which were sown in spring were reaped in Chaitra or Vaiśākha.¹⁰⁵

The author of the *Amarakośa* has divided the soils on the basis of those useful for cultivating wheat, rice, barley, sesame and rice.¹⁰⁶ It makes us conclude that in this period these were the major crops in Northern India.

The *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* mentions 44 varieties of rice.¹⁰⁷ *Kalama sālī*¹⁰⁸ variety was mainly grown in Bengal. In the works of this period we find mention of two varieties of barley namely *yava* and *aṇuyava*¹⁰⁹ and two varieties of wheat viz. *nandimukhī* and *madhūlikā*.¹¹⁰ Of the pulses grown mention is made of *Cajanus indicus* (*āḍhaki*), *Cicer arietinum* (*caṇaka*), *Delichos biflorus* (*kulaththa*), *Phaseolus radiatus* (*māṣa*), *Lens*

esculenta (*masūra*), *Phaseolus mungo* (*mudga*) and *Vignocatjang* (*rājamāṣa*).¹¹¹

From Br̥haspati we know that in some parts of India cooperative farming was practised.¹¹² According to Nārada¹¹³ and Br̥haspati¹¹⁴ the cultivable land belonging to an individual was distributed among his sons after his death so no individual was the owner of large farms.

Famines (c. 300 A.D. to 600 A.D.)

Varāhmihira has stated that famines were caused by excessive rainfall and floods in the rivers.¹¹⁵ It was excessive rainfall which caused damage to the embankment of Sudarśana lake which resulted in creating famine conditions in Saurashtra.¹¹⁶ Another cause of famines mentioned by Varāhmihira was drought.¹¹⁷ Crops were some times damaged by wild animals, rats, locusts and birds.¹¹⁸ According to Megasthenes the Maurya government gave some corn as wages to those hunters and fowlers who protected crops from animals and birds.¹¹⁹ Crops were also damaged by earthquakes, snowballs, animals, and epidemics.¹²⁰ Sometimes wars also created famine conditions as they caused great damage to agriculture.¹²¹

Irrigation (c. 300 A.D. to 600 A.D.)

Canals were built by government and private individuals for irrigation. According to Nārada if a canal was damaged any person could get it repaired with the permission of the owner of the canal.¹²² From the *Amarakośa*¹²³ we know that canals and tanks were constructed during the Gupta period for providing irrigational facility to the farmers. The government punished severely all those persons who caused damage to canals, tanks or wells as they were very important means of irrigation.¹²⁴

Forests and Gardens (c. 300 A.D. to 600 A.D.)

From the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta we know that there were many forest kingdoms.¹²⁵ From the Khoh Copper Plate inscription of Hastin we know that there were 18 forest kingdoms.¹²⁶ There were some forest kingdoms even in north-eastern India according to Varāhamihira.¹²⁷

According to Kālidāsa animal products were skins of animals,¹²⁸ musk,¹²⁹ resin,¹³⁰ and hair¹³¹ for making whisks. Elephants were brought for training from the forests of Kalinga.¹³² Kāmarupa¹³³ and Aṅga.¹³⁴ Elephants were important for fighting wars¹³⁵ and for ivory¹³⁶ which was used in making decorative pieces of furniture. Timber from forests was used for making ships¹³⁷ and for building houses.¹³⁸

Gardens were maintained near towns and cities for amusement of members of royal family. These gardens were irrigated with water brought through small channels from rivers.

The *Bṛhatsamhita* states how transplanting was necessary in the case of some fruit trees. It also mentions the season which is the best for transplantation.¹³⁹ It also describes how diseases of plants could be cured¹⁴⁰ and how some seeds should be moistened in milk and water before sowing.¹⁴¹

Animal Husbandry (300 A.D. to 600 A.D.)

We know from the *Mahābhārata* that Virāṭa, the ruler of Matsya, had a large number of animals.¹⁴² The important domestic animals were horses, buffaloes, cows, camels, goats, sheep, asses, dogs, pigs and cats.¹⁴³ Some of these animals were reared for ploughing, carrying loads, for food, their skins, ivory, horns and bones etc.¹⁴⁴

Nārada has given many rules for safeguarding the interests of cow-keepers and the owners of animals.¹⁴⁵ For having good quality cattle bulls were let loose.¹⁴⁶ The cow was considered sacred and cow slaughter was considered a great crime.¹⁴⁷ Those who stole cows were severely punished.¹⁴⁸ Even wild elephants were not killed because they were very important for wars.¹⁴⁹ Horses were imported from Iran, Arabia and Kāamboja¹⁵⁰ because they were required for cavalry. Mules,¹⁵¹ camels¹⁵² and bulls were used for carrying heavy loads.

For the protection of animals detailed rules are given in the *Manusmṛiti*.¹⁵³ Varāhmihira states that the animals were kept with great care in India but at the time of famines and epidemics many animals were killed.¹⁵⁴

Agriculture (c. 600 A.D. to C. 1200 A.D.)

Agriculture was an important occupation even during this period. According to Kāmandaka (First half of the eighth century A.D.) those who are well-versed in *vārtā* i.e. professions of cattle—rearing, agriculture and trade can never be economically poor.¹⁵⁵ Śukra has also included banking under *vārtā*. He has discussed in detail how fallow land should be cultivated and prescribes that the ruler should not collect land-revenue from a farmer who cultivates virgin soil as long as his profit is not double of what he invests in cultivating the land.¹⁵⁶ He recommends that the state should store in its granaries corn of the best quality fully dry, new, of bright colour, and which is good in smell and taste so that, if necessary, it may be used by people in the next three years when there is scarcity of corn.¹⁵⁷

The *Abhidhānaratnamālā* has classified soil under the following categories :—

fertile (*urvara*), barren (*iriṇa*), fallow (*khila*), desert (*maru*) and the most fertile one (*mṛtsā* or *mṛtsnā*). He also mentions

grassylands (*śāḍvala*), having reeds (*naḍvala*), black soil, yellow soil, that irrigated with rainwater, and that irrigated by river water.¹⁵⁸

Medhātithi (C. 825-900 A.D.) mentions 17 kinds of cereals.¹⁵⁹ The *Mānasollāsa* mentions 8 kinds of rices and seven kinds of beans.¹⁶⁰ The works of this period mention all the cereals pulses, sugarcane, fruit and vegetables used in the Gupta period.¹⁶¹ Medhātithi also states that a vaiśya should be well-versed in the science of agriculture. He should know which kind of soil is required for which crop and in which season the seeds of a particular cereal should be sown.¹⁶² This shows that the science of agriculture was well-developed in this period. This is also evident from the fact that two works on agriculture namely *Kṛṣiparāśara*¹⁶³ and *Vṛkṣyāyurveda*¹⁶⁴ were written in the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

Famines (c. 600 A.D. to 1200 A.D.)

The *Daśakumāracarita* refers to famines during this period.¹⁶⁵ Other works of this period such the *Bṛahannāradiya Purāṇa*,¹⁶⁶ the *Triṣaṣṭi-śālākāpuruṣacarita*,¹⁶⁷ the *Aparājita-prcchā*,¹⁶⁸ the *Lekhapaddhati*¹⁶⁹ and the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*¹⁷⁰ mention how people had to suffer very much during famines. They had to leave their places of residence and go to places where wheat and barley, the two staple food grains of northern India, were available. In Kashmir there were famines when the Vitastā river and the Mahāpadmā lake were flooded and the rice crops were completely destroyed.¹⁷¹

There were many factors which caused famines in this period. These were excessive rainfall,¹⁷² no rainfall (drought),¹⁷³ floods in the river,¹⁷⁴ greedy traders¹⁷⁵ and cruel rulers.¹⁷⁶ All these factors created scarcity of food grains. Another important factor was the growth of feudalism. This led to oppressive

taxation¹⁷⁷ by the feudal lords. The farmers could hardly their both ends meet even in ordinary conditions. They had no money to buy food grains when there was a famine and many of them died of starvation.

Irrigation (c. 600 A.D. to 1200 A.D.)

According to Kāmandaka people remain happy and prosperous in a country which does not depend only on rainwater for irrigation, has good crops and sufficient mines.¹⁷⁸ This shows that people attached great importance to irrigation for agriculture. When there was great damage to crops in Kashmir in the eighth century A.D. on account of floods in the Vitastā and the Mahāpadmā lake Lalitāditya (740-776 A.D.) used river water for irrigation with the help of wheels which lifted river water and poured it into the fields.¹⁷⁹ When there were again floods in the ninth century A.D. Suyya, the minister of Avantivarman (C. 855-883 A.D.) got constructed many dams and canals for irrigation.¹⁸⁰ This resulted in removing the ever present threat of famines in Kashmir and it became a prosperous region of the country. From an inscription¹⁸¹ dated 946 A.D. we know that leather buckets and Persian wheels were used for irrigation in this period.

In south India the Cola rulers got constructed many dams along the banks of the river Kāverī for providing water for irrigation to the farmers. Of these dams the most famous is the one below the island of Śrīraṅga which is 1080 feet long and 40 to 60 feet wide.

Forests and Gardens (c. 600 A.D. to 1200 A.D.)

From the *Mānasollāsa* we know that the Later Cālukya rulers had many gardens in which there were artificial hills.¹⁸² These gardens also had many shady bowers, artificial tanks, lakes and rivers.¹⁸⁴ In these gardens

one could find flower plants and fruit trees which blossomed and bore fruit in all the seasons of the year.¹⁸⁵

These rulers, with members of their families, went to forests for enjoyment. These forests had many trees which were laden with flowers and fruit in the spring season.¹⁸⁶ These forests did not have fierce animals'. They had all kinds of deer, peacocks, pigeons, small animals and birds which could cause no harm to the members of the royal family.¹⁸⁷

Animal Husbandry (c. 600 to C. 1200 A.D.)

Even in this period elephants were considered very important for war. According to Kāmandaka the success of a ruler in war greatly depended on his elephants.¹⁸⁸ Śūkra was of opinion that they were useful for carrying heavy loads from one place to another.¹⁸⁹ According to Kāmandaka a ruler should sanctify his horses and elephants by performing the *nirājanā*¹⁹⁰ ritual (kindling and waving lamps in front as a sign of worship). This shows the importance of horses and elephants in royal armies of the period.

From the description of Mahabairava temple in the *Yaśastilaka*¹⁹¹ and many references in the *Samaraicca kahā*¹⁹² it is clear that the kṣatriyas relished meat preparations but the majority of Indians in this period were supporters of non-violence. They, therefore, did not like slaughter of animals. Somadeva¹⁹³ and Amitagati,¹⁹⁴ both Jaina writers, were of opinion that slaughter of animals should not be undertaken even for the worship of gods, *śrāddhas*, feeding guests and for charms necessary for curing diseases. Some of the *Purāṇas* of this period lay down that even for sacrifices slaughter of animals is not necessary in the Kali age.¹⁹⁵ The authors of some of the *Smṛtis*¹⁹⁶ prescribe preparations of *māṣa* pulse in place of meat preparations. According to the Arab writers¹⁹⁷

most of the brāhmaṇas eschewed meat diet in this period. Kumārapāla,¹⁹⁸ the ruler of Gujarat, punished severely all those who ate meat preparations. Thus the principle of non-violence considerably helped the process of animal husbandry in this period.

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177. Rājatarāṅgiṇī, VII, 12.25.
178. See Chapter III of this book.
179. Kāmandaka, IV. 51-52.
180. Rājatarāṅgiṇī, IV. 161, 5. 69.
181. Ibid. V. 69-72, 80-121.
182. Epigraphia Indica, XIV. 182.
183. Mānas. V. 1. 3, Cf. Tilakamañjarī, 11. 10. 17. 193, 13. 21, 35. 6., 78. 18.
184. Mānas. V. 1, 100-104.
185. Mānas. V. 1 IV-99.
186. Ibid., IV. 15, 1444, Tilakamañjarī, 183. D.
187. Mānas. IV. 15., 33-36.
188. Kāmandaka, XIX. 62.
189. Śukra. I. 744.
190. Kāmandaka, IV. 66.
191. Yaśastilaka, p. 330.
192. Samaraiccakahā, pp. 210-213.
193. Yaśastilaka, p. 335.
194. Subhāṣita-sandoha, XX. 16.
195. Bhāgavata Pu., VII. 157.
196. Prajapati Smṛti, 152-53.
197. History of Medieval India, Part II p. 192.
198. Moharāja-parājaya IV. p. 93.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the evidence the development of agriculture in India from about 7000 B.C. to about 3000 B.C.
2. Describe the cultivation of barley, wheat and rice in the Vedic period.
3. Discuss the evidence of famines in the later Vedic Period.
4. Mention how the vedic Aryans domesticated animals for cultivation and transport.
5. Discuss the evidence for the development of agriculture during the period 600 B.C to 300 A.D.
6. Describe the evidences for cattle rearing from the early Buddhist literature and Kautilya.
7. On what basis can we say that agricultural land had become scarce in the Gupta period?
8. Mention the good quality varieties of rice grown in the Gupta period and the regions where these were cultivated.
9. Discuss the main causes of famines in the Gupta period and the Early Medieval Period.
10. What were the measures taken by the government for providing irrigational facilities to the farmers in the Gupta and Early Medieval Periods?
11. In how many categories has soil been classified in the Early Medieval Period?
12. How did the teachings of the Buddha and Mahavir help in restricting the slaughter of animals for food?

Chapter 18

The Land System

Ownership of Land

Scholars were not unanimous about the ownership of cultivable land in ancient India. Some were of opinion that the farmer, who cultivated a piece of land, was its owner. Others were of opinion that the cultivable land in a village belonged to the village as a whole. Some others thought that in India the ruler of the region over which he ruled was always considered the owner of all the cultivable land in his dominions. We shall examine all these views to form a correct idea about the ownership of land in India.

Schrader¹, Macdonell and Keilh², Bandyopadhyaya³ and U. N. Ghoshal⁴ thought that even as early as in the Vedic period the owner of a piece of land was the individual who cultivated it. We have enough evidence in support of this view. In the *R̥gveda* it is stated that fields were separated by strips⁵ and were measured.⁶ The same work refers to an owner of a piece of land and winning of a piece of land.⁷ *Apālā* refers to her father's field.⁸ From all these references it is clear that even in the early Vedic age the individual was considered the owner of a cultivable piece of land.

From the references to fields of land in the *Atharvaveda*⁹, the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā*¹⁰ and the *Chāndogyaopaniṣad*¹¹ it is clear that even in the later Vedic age the individual was considered the owner of a cultivable piece of land. For example it is stated in the *Taittirīya saṃhitā* that if an individual has a dispute about a field with his neighbour he should offer

oblations to Indra and Agni on eleven sherds. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*¹² does not permit an individual to sell his field. This also supports the view that the individual was considered the owner of a piece of land. The same work states that the ruler could give a piece of land to a priest as a gift with the consent of the people.¹³ This shows that every piece of land was considered the property of an individual.

In the early Buddhist literature we come across words like *Khettapati*, *Khettosamika* and *Vatthupati* which clearly show that every piece of land had an individual as its owner.¹⁴ There were boundaries to separate different fields.¹⁵ Even if an individual made some improvements in a field he was not considered the owner of that field.¹⁶ From the *Vinaya Piṭaka*¹⁷ it is clear that fields were sold and mortgaged in this period. From the early Buddhist literature¹⁸ we know that as an individual was considered the owner of movable property like a cow and an immovable property like a house so was he considered the owner of a cultivable piece of land. We know that *Anāthapiṇḍake*,¹⁹ *Āmrapālī* and *Jīvaka* donated pieces of land to the Buddhist Saṃgha. The *Jātakas* have many references which clearly show that individuals were considered owners of pieces of land.²⁰ From the *Milindapañha* it appears that one who originally cleared a forest and cultivated the land was considered the owner of that piece of land.²¹ The *Jātakas*²² and the *Rāmāyaṇa*²³ also support this view.

The early Jain literature was not written till the fifth century A.D. but it has many references which clearly show that the individual who cultivated a piece of land was considered its owner. In the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*²⁴ fields are mentioned along with animals, gold, and houses etc. as the property of an individual. In the same way in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*²⁵ fields are enumerated as part of one's property along with gold, carts, and furniture etc.

The *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*²⁶ lays down that the owner of a cultivable piece of land could get it cultivated by a cultivator after promising to give him a part of the produce from that piece of land.

Kautilya refers to law suits about the sale and mortgage of cultivable pieces of land.²⁷ He also refers to an individual trespassing with his animals a field which belonged to some other persons.²⁸ He refers to lawsuits about the boundaries of fields.²⁹ He also gives rules about the construction of a well or channel for irrigation in the field of some other person by some other individual³⁰ and prescribes punishment for an individual who forcibly occupies the field of some other individual.³¹ He says that if an individual cultivates a field of which he is not the owner the ruler should make the cultivator pay some money as rent to the owner of the plot when he comes back.³² All these references clearly show that in the Maurya period an individual was considered the owner of the piece of land which he cultivated.

Manu also lays down that one who cleared the forest and cultivated a piece of land becomes the owner of that piece of land.³³ According to Manu if a brāhmaṇa accepted a piece of land in a forest for cultivation he did not commit that much sin as one who accepted a cultivable piece of land.³⁴ This rule seems to have been formed by the law-givers

with a view to encouraging the development of agriculture in uncultivated areas.

There is also a reference to the gift of a field to some monks in a Nasik cave inscription.³⁵ This also shows individual ownership of land.

The lawgravers³⁶ clearly lay down that the government should make that person pay some compensation to the owner of a field on account of whose negligence the latter suffered the loss. This law also points to the individual ownership of cultivable fields.

Some scholars were of opinion that the ancient Indian law-givers did not distinguish between the individual who cultivated a piece of land and its owner if the two persons were different. This view seems to be erroneous as Yājñavalkya (100 to 300 A.D.) clearly distinguishes between possession (*bhoga*) and legal document conferring ownership rights (*āgama*). According to him both possession and legal documents of ownership are necessary for ownership of any property.³⁷

According to Nārada (100 A.D. to 400 A.D.) even if a property has been in the possession of an individual for one hundred years he cannot be regarded its owner without a legal document. He should be considered a thief.³⁸ From an example in the *Nāradaśmṛiti* it is clear that the concept of ownership was well-developed in the Gupta period. He says that if a person cultivates a field when its owner is not in the village if the owner of the field comes back when the crop has ripened the owner can have the crop and the field after paying to the person who cultivated his field in his absence, the amount of expenditure incurred by the latter in cultivating the field.³⁹

The lawgivers of this period also discuss the right of adverse possession. According to Bṛhaspati (300 A.D. to 500 A.D.) if a piece of land has been in possession of an individual for thirty years or more he becomes its

owner.⁴⁰ According to Nārada and Bṛhaspati the minimum period necessary for adverse possession is three generations.⁴¹

According to Gautama and Manu, the owner of a cultivable piece of land could use it as he liked. He could sell it, mortgage it and make a gift of it.⁴²

According to Śabarasvāmin, the commentator of the *Mīmāṃsāsūtra*, the ruler is entitled to have a part of the produce because he protects the crop. Each individual can have equal ownership rights on his piece of land just as a king.⁴³ But this statement of Śabara does not seem to be valid for the Gupta period. Many rulers in this period made gifts of pieces of land and villages and no body questioned their right to make gifts of pieces of land and villages. In the Vedic period making gifts of pieces of land was prohibited. Śabara seems to have supported that Vedic tradition. But in the Gupta period with the individual ownership of cultivable land the ruler was also considered the overlord of the land because he protected the earth.⁴⁴ He could make gifts of a piece of land or the whole cultivable land in a village with the consent of the village assembly.

According to the commentators of the *Smṛtis* of the early medieval period the owner of a property was the individual who could use it as he liked.⁴⁵ On this criterion there is no difficulty in considering the individual the owner of the land. But lawgivers of ancient India were not unanimous about the ownership of cultivable land. Some considered the individual the owner of land while others considered the ruler the owner of all the cultivable land within his dominion. The actual position seems to have been that the individual was the owner of the land but when the individual wished to sell or make a gift of a piece of land he had to take the permission of the ruler and the village elders because the

ruler was considered the overlord of all the cultivable land within his dominions.

According to Gautama⁴⁵ an individual could be owner of land in many ways — by succession, by division of ancestral property, by gift of another person and by the discovery of an unknown land. For ownership Manu⁴⁶ adds three other circumstances namely by conquest, by acquiring as interest on money lent from the borrower, and as remuneration for work done. Bṛhaspati⁴⁷ mentions two other circumstances how an individual could become the owner of a property namely acquired as a result of mortgage and received as dowry.

From the above it is clear that in the beginning the individual who cleared the forest and cultivated the field was considered its owner. Later legal document in support of ownership was considered necessary. The law-givers have discussed in detail how an individual could become the owner of a piece of land. If there was a difference of opinion about the interpretation of these rules about the ownership of a property the decision of the ruler was considered final. In the Maurya period the ruler had full control over cultivable land. Law-givers in the Gupta period, therefore, came to regard the ruler as the owner of all the cultivable land.

Royal Ownership of cultivable land

In the tribal stage the whole tribe was regarded as the owner of all the cultivable land. But in the *Rgveda*, as we have seen above individual ownership of fields is referred to. When there was a division of the rights of the community and the ruler some special privileges of the ruler were recognised so far as the ownership of cultivable land was concerned. He could make a gift of a piece of cultivable land to any one with the consent of the people.⁴⁸ This piece of land must have been the property of the community as a whole.

It could not have been the property of a single individual. The ruler was called the lord of earth (*bhūmipati*) or (*prthvīpati*) as he protected the land. In this way he was considered a partial owner of the land. According to Manu, the ruler is the overlord of the land so he is called the owner of the land.⁴⁹ According to Gautama the ruler is the owner of everything in his realm except the *brāhmaṇas*.⁵⁰ This means that he regarded the king the owner of all the land within his dominions. But it does not completely rule out the theory of individual ownership of the cultivable pieces of land. Just as an emperor rules over many rulers so the king is the overlord of all the individual owners of the cultivable pieces of land. Similar views have been expressed in the *Milindapañha*. According to this work the ruler is the owner of all the towns, ports and mines within his dominions.⁵¹

The scholars who consider the ruler the owner of the land quote one passage each of Kaṭilya and Bṛhaspati in support of their views. According to Kaṭilya's quotation the king had a right to take back the cultivable pieces of land of those persons who did not cultivate those pieces of land.⁵² This does not mean that Kaṭilya regarded the ruler the owner of all the cultivable pieces of land in his dominion. The above quotation refers to those royal pieces of land which were assigned to cultivators for cultivation. As such the ruler had full right to take back fields of those persons who did not fulfil the conditions of the assignment. The *Arthśāstra* mentions two kinds of cultivable lands. One category consisted of those which belonged to the king and the income from which is called *Sītā*⁵³ by Kaṭilya. The second category of land consisted of fields of which the individuals were the owners and they paid land revenue to the king. Land revenue collected from these

owners is called *bhāga*,⁵⁴ by Kaṭilya. The pieces of cultivable land which were to be forfeited by the government were those of which the state was the owner. They were parts of new colonies established by the government and not, those fields of which the individuals were the owners.⁵⁵

According to Bṛhaspati, in special circumstances, the ruler could transfer the piece of land belonging to an individual to another person. But he was of opinion that the ruler should not do it without there being some special circumstances for doing it.⁵⁶ A verse of Nārada makes the position quite clear. According to it the house and field of a householder are his means of livelihood. A ruler should not, therefore, deprive him of these two things.⁵⁷

Most of the authors of the *Smṛtis* have supported the theory of ownership of a ruler on land. According to Manu no individual can deprive a person of the piece of land given to him by the ruler. According to Kaṭilya if there is a dispute about a piece of land and the two parties or the village elders are unable to come to a settlement then the ruler should keep that piece of land with himself. If a person dies and has no rightful heir to the deceased person's property it belongs to the ruler.⁵⁸ If a piece of land is auctioned, according to Kaṭilya, the state should have a cess on the sale price of the piece of land. This rule also supports the theory of partial ownership of land by the kings. The revenue which the king collected from the owner of the piece of land was called *bhāga*. This also shows that the king was considered partly an owner of the land. When the king made a gift of a village the donee had the right to collect the land revenue from that village but if the donee failed to fulfil the terms of the gift-deed the king had the right to take back that village. This also supports the theory of partial ownership of land by the king.

We agree with the views of M.H. Gopal and A.N. Bose that the owner was the farmer who cultivated the field but if a particular piece of land belonged to the king he could transfer it to another cultivator if the farmer allottee failed to cultivate it.⁵⁹ In both the cases, cited above the ruler had the right to collect land revenue. It was called *bhāga* if the piece of land belonged to the king himself. Even in the case of individual ownership of the land the king was the partial owner of the land because he had the right to collect *bhāga*.

Scholars who hold the view that the king was the owner of the land give some other evidence in support of their theory. According to Manu the ruler gets a part of the deposits found under ground. Kātyāyana says that the king was the owner of the land otherwise how he could collect from the farmers one sixth of the produce. The above statements only support the theory of partial ownership of the king and not his full ownership of the piece of land which really belonged to the individual who could sell it, or make a gift of it and as such was its real owner.

The theory of the king being the full owner of the land was first propounded in the *Mahābhārata*.⁶⁰ Most of the authors of the *Smṛtis*⁶¹ supported this theory and from a verse quoted by *Bhaṭṭasvāmin*⁶² in his commentary of the *Arthasāstra* it appears that in the time of *Bhaṭṭasvāmin* the majority of lawgivers believed that the king was the full owner of all the land within his dominions.

Diodorus and Strabo on the authority of Megasthenes have stated that in India all the land belonged to the king and no other person could be the owner of land. According to K.A.N. Sastri.⁶³ Megasthenes made the above statement because in the Maurya period the state had full control over land. Fāhien⁶⁴ and Yuan Chwang⁶⁵ also state that all the land within a ruler's dominions belonged to him.

These Chinese travellers held this view because in China, in their times all land belonged to the king. They, by mistake, presumed that same was the position in India.

The ruler could, no doubt, take the piece of land which was under dispute or of which there was no rightful heir. He was the owner of all the deposits underground.⁶⁶ But that does not mean that he was the full owner of land. That simply proves that he was the overlord and for that reason he was the partial owner of the land. In conclusion we agree with the views of P.V. Kane that the farmer was the owner of cultivable land but the king had the right to collect a part of the produce. But the king was regarded as the owner of all the barren or uncultivated land in a village.⁶⁷

The authors of the *Mānasollāsa*⁶⁸ and the *Kṛtyakalpataṛu*⁶⁹ concur with the views of *Bhaṭṭasvāmin* *Kalhaṇa*⁷⁰ makes the position clear by giving an example. The ruler of Kashmir is the overlord of other rulers in India similarly the ruler is the overlord of all the farmers in his dominions.

The land-grants of the early medieval period make it clear that the king had many privileges in a village. The rulers transferred these privileges to the donee when they made a gift of any village. The land-grants of the Pāla⁷¹ and the Sena rulers⁷² make specific mention of these privileges namely the ruler's ownership rights over grass, pastures, trees of the village, tanks, salt etc. The king transferred his right of ownership over all these things to the donee when he donated that village. Similar mention of the transfer of the privileges of the rulers to the donees is made in the landgrants of Kalachuri,⁷³ Candella,⁷⁴ Pratihāra,⁷⁵ Gāhadavāla,⁷⁶ and Paramāra⁷⁷ rulers. From their landgrants it is clear that the rulers, at that time, were trying to increase their privileges.

In spite of this tendency on the part of the lawgivers to recognize the ruler as the full

owner of all the cultivable land in a village from the discussion of boundary disputes and sale, mortgage and gift of land in the *Smṛtis* of this period it is evident that the individual continued to be the owner of the piece of land. The *Agni Purāṇa*⁷⁸ and the *Kṛtyakalpataṛu*⁷⁹ also support the above view. Medhātithi also considers the individual the owner of the piece of land. A study of the contemporary literature⁸⁰ also supports the above view.

Communal ownership of cultivable land

In the region where Buddhism had its birth the village communities were considered the owners of all the cultivable land in the village.⁸¹ According to Strabo the families of a tribe in Panjab cultivated the land on a cooperative basis. When the crop was reaped the heads of all the families took a part of the produce necessary for the annual consumption of the members of their families. But the *Arthaśāstra* does not refer to communal ownership of cultivable land.

In the *Mahābhārata*⁸² it is stated that no individual was the owner of cultivable land in very ancient times in the Uttara Kuru country. The village community was the owner of all the cultivable land in the village. The *Dīghanikāya*⁸³ also gives a similar description of an imaginary society. From the *Kuṇāla Jātaka*⁸⁴ we know that the Śākya and the Koliya had communal fields. The owners of these communal fields were some royal families. They appointed some officers to supervise the work of those male and female slaves who worked on these communal fields.

According to R. G. Basak the village community was the owner of all the cultivable land in a village otherwise there was no need to take the permission of the representatives of the village community when a piece of land was to be given as a gift. But prior permission of the village elders and the ruler was

necessary even when a piece of land was to be sold or given as a gift in charity. In support of his view Basak also states that one sixth of the price of a piece of land was given to the village assembly when it was sold.⁸⁵ In case a piece of land was given as a gift one sixth of the price of the land was given to the king as his share. So Basak thought that the owner of the cultivable land was the village assembly.⁸⁶ R.C. Majumdar⁸⁷ and A.S. Altekar⁸⁸ support the theory of Basak. But as we have stated above all these rights of the ruler or the village assembly were there because they protected the land. They, in no way, prove that the individual was not the owner of the land which he cultivated.

The copper plate inscriptions of Bengal of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. show that if a person wished to make a gift of land in charity after purchasing it he had to seek permission of the administrative officer of the district (*viṣaya*) as well as that of the province. In addition, he had to obtain permission of the village elders. These inscriptions mention three kinds of land, viz., cultivable land (*kṣetra*), that set apart for constructing houses (*vāstu*) and fallow land (*khila*). From an inscription we know that one sixth of the sale price was charged by the government to ratify the sale deed and 5/6 of the price was given to the village assembly as it was the owner of that cultivable land. This clearly shows that the ruler was not the owner of all the cultivable land in a village.

Some scholars thought that in ancient Indian law-givers did not distinguish between ownership and the right of enjoyment. This view does not seem to be correct. The authors of the *Smṛtis* have used the word *svatva* for ownership and *bhoga* for enjoyment. The lawgivers were not unanimous about the period after which a person who was using a property could become the owner of that property.

According to Gautama⁸⁹ and Manu⁹⁰ the period required for adverse possession should be ten years since when a person had been using it. Yājñavalkya⁹¹ prescribes 20 years as the minimum period and Nārada⁹², Bṛhaspati⁹³ (300 A.D. to 500 A.D.), Viṣṇu⁹⁴ and Kātyāyana⁹⁵ 60 years for adverse possession. This means that as land became scarce the lawgivers increased the period of adverse possession.

The ownership rights of the feudal lords and villages (c. 500 A.D. to c. 1200 A.D.)

There are two chief characteristics of the landgrant charters of the fifth and sixth centuries. These charters conferred on the donees the privilege of collecting land revenue from the farmers. They also transferred some administrative rights to the donees. In Central and Western India the donees were also given the right to settle village disputes. The donees also became owners of village pastures, wells, tanks, trees and uncultivated land in the village.

These land-grants were made not only in favour of brāhmaṇas and charitable institutions but, according to Bṛhaspati, also to individuals to whom the ruler wished to reward for their services to the state. From the account of Yuan Chwang we know that the high officials of the state, ministers and magistrates were given pieces of land to meet their personal expenses. These donees are called *bhogika* or *bhogapatika* in the land-grants of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries A.D.

The donees in Gujarat and Maharashtra could also force the farmers to work for them without making any payment for the work done. They could punish the culprits residing in the area donated to them. They also supplied soldiers to the ruler. They could give their fields on lease to other individuals. They imposed many new oppressive taxes on the

farmers. Thus these feudal lords also became partial owners of cultivable land besides the farmers and the rulers.

These feudal lords had limited rights in the beginning. They could not donate land without the permission of the king.⁹⁶ But if the feudal lord was very powerful he could do so without obtaining the king's permission.⁹⁷ But after sometime they began to consider themselves as owners of all cultivable land in the village. If the feudal lord oppressed the farmers they could sell their pieces of land and go to other regions of the country.⁹⁸ But from some inscriptions of the period seventh to twelfth centuries A.D. it appears that some feudal lords also sold the villagers residing in those villages.⁹⁹ The practice was in vogue in Rajasthan, Orissa, and Assam but in other parts of country the farmers were free to go to any part of the country after selling their pieces of land.

Kinds of lands

Vedic literature mentions three kinds of lands viz. land for constructing house (*Vāstu*) agricultural land (*kṣetra*) and pastures. From two hymns of the *Rgveda* it is clear that the land on which houses were constructed was considered individual property. In both these hymns the owners of the houses pray for their protection and property.¹⁰⁰ In another hymn a gambler after losing everything takes refuge in the house of some other person.¹⁰¹ Even in the *Chāndogyaopaniṣad* the houses are described as private property.¹⁰²

It is stated in one of the hymns of the *Rgveda* that all the animals of the village were given to a cow-keeper for grazing.¹⁰³ This makes us conclude that all the villagers had the right of getting their cattle grazed in a common pasture and it was considered the property of the whole village.¹⁰⁴

The *Amarakośa* makes mention of 12 kinds of lands¹⁰⁵ namely :

1. fertile (*urvarā*).
2. barren (*ūśara*).
3. desert (*maru*).
4. fallow (*aprahata*).
5. grassyland (*śādvala*).
6. clime (*pañkila*).
7. moist lowlying land near a river (*kaccha*).
8. strewn with gravels (*śarkarā*).
9. sandy (*śarkarāvātī*).
10. irrigated by river water (*nadi-mātrka*) and
11. irrigated by rainwater (*devamātrka*).

This lexicon uses the word *Kṣetra*¹⁰⁶ for cultivable land.

According to Nārada (100 A. D. to 400 A.D.) land which has remained uncultivated for one year is called *ardhakhila*, while that which has remained uncultivated for three years is called *khila* and the land which has remained uncultivated for five years may be called *araṇya*.¹⁰⁷ Sometimes the term *aprahata* is used with *khila*. Probably *khila* means land which was previously cultivated and *aprahata* means land which has never been cultivated.¹⁰⁸

Keeping in view all the categories mentioned above Maity has, on the basis of economic considerations, classified lands into the following five categories :

1. Agricultural land.
2. Fallow land.
3. Land for construction of houses.
4. Pasture land and
5. Gardens and Forests.

Land Tenure

According to Āpastamba the owner of any cultivable piece of land can give it to some other person for cultivation on the condition that the latter will get a part of the produce as his wages.¹⁰⁹

According to Kauṭilya if a person cultivates a piece of land which belongs to some other persons the farmer should give proper rent to the owner of the piece of land.¹¹⁰

From an inscription we know that if an individual made some improvements in a field which belonged to some other person the owner could get his field back after five years after giving some compensation to the person who carried out the improvements in his field.¹¹¹

From the above references it is clear that during this period there was no middleman between the owner of the land and the government.

In the inscriptions of the Gupta period the following six terms have been used which throw light on the land tenure system :

1. *Nivīdharma*.¹¹²
2. *Akṣayanivīdharma*¹¹³, *Akṣaynīvi*.¹¹⁴
3. *Nivīdharmākṣaya*.¹¹⁵
4. *Apradādharma*.¹¹⁶
5. *Apradākṣayanīvi*¹¹⁷ *dharma* and
6. *Bhūmichidranāya*.¹¹⁸

Nivīdharma means that the land will remain without any change of hands but the person to whom it is given will have the right to use it. This meaning suits Damodarpur Copper Plate inscription dated 443-444 A.D.¹¹⁹ *Akṣayanivīdharma* implies the same meaning as *nivīdharma* but there is greater emphasis on its remaining in tact, *Nivīdharmākṣaya* means that the previous assignment is cancelled and the piece of land is given to some other person. This meaning fits in with that sense implied in the Dhandaih inscription of Kumaragupta I.¹²⁰ *Apradādharma* implies that the donee could use the piece of land himself but could not give it to any other person. *Apradākṣayanīvi* also means that the person could use it but could not give it to any other person. *Chidrabhūmi* means land which cannot be cultivated. This is clear from a

chapter in the *Arthaśāstra* with the title *Bhūmichidraavidhānam*.¹²¹

From the use of aforesaid terms in the inscriptions of the Gupta period it is evident that the practice of giving pieces of cultivable land or villages was in vogue in that period in northern India especially in the north-eastern India.

Land Survey

Proper records of the boundaries of fields and villages were maintained in the Gupta period. The boundaries were indicated by the river¹²² which flowed near a particular village¹²³ or naming the villages¹²⁴ which were located on the four sides of the village. Ditches¹²⁶ were dug to mark the boundary of two villages or pillars¹²⁵ were set-up. Some times chaff and charcoal¹²⁷ were deposited in pits dug to mark the boundary of a village.

A piece of land was indicated by mentioning the sizes of fields situated on the four sides of the field in question.¹²⁸ According to Br̥haspati (300 A.D. to 500 A.D.) the boundary of a field should be demarcated with the help of location of wells, tanks, big trees, gardens, temples, current of a river, bushes, or heaps of pieces of stones.

Measurement of Land

From the *Arthaśāstra* we know that the length of a *hasta* (fore-arm) was equal to 24 *angulas* or 18 inches and from the Gupta inscriptions we know that land was measured in *hastas*. The measure bigger than *hasta* was *dhanu* or *daṇḍa* of which the length varied from 100 *angulas* to 107 *angulas*.¹²⁹ i.e. about 6.5 feet. A measure bigger than *dhanu* was *naḍa*. According to D. C. Sircar a *naḍa* was equal to 6 *hostas*.¹³⁰ It tallies with the length of *naḍa* given by Kauṭilya and Nārada but it is possible that the length of *naḍa* might have

varied in different regions of the country.

In eastern India in the time of the Imperial Guptas some other measures such as *āḍhavāpa*, *droṇavāpa* and *kulya-vāpa* were in vogue.¹³¹ In Bengal another measure used was *pāṭaka*.¹³² One *pāṭaka* was equal to 40 *droṇavāpas*. We agree with the conclusion of S.K. Maity that the Imperial Guptas probably failed to enforce one standard measure in all parts of the empire.¹³³

Land-grants

In the *R̥gveda* we have no mention of grants of land because people did not wish that there should be division of land. In the *Śāiopatha Brāhmaṇa* it is clearly stated that land should not be given to any person as a gift. But Kauṭilya suggests that the ruler can give a piece of land to a *brahmaṇa*, officers of the state, queens, princes and persons who supply contingents of army to the ruler.¹³⁴

From an inscription in a Nasik cave and some other inscriptions at Karle we know that a field of land¹³⁵ and a village¹³⁶ were given in charity to gods and *brāhmaṇas* by Uṣavadāta. This means that the land revenue collected from the villages was spent on *brāhmaṇas* and ascetics. From Nasik inscription number 3¹³⁷ we know that when a ruler donated a village he along with its land-revenue transferred some other rights of his to the donee such as no royal officer would enter the village, no one would disturb the monks, would not dig salt from the village. The donee could use the land revenue from the village but could not sell it or transfer it to any other individual. From the land grants of the Gupta period we know that the ruler could punish the thieves etc. of a village given in charity.¹³⁸

From a large number of inscriptions of this period it is clear that a considerable part of the cultivable land in the empire was transferred to *brahmaṇas* and charitable

institutions which resulted in reducing the income from land revenue to the rulers.

Sale of land

According to Kauṭilya a person should sell the land meant for construction of houses only to his relatives. If no relative be interested in purchasing it then he should sell it to a neighbour. If no neighbour be interested in it he should sell it to a rich person.¹³⁹

The cultivable land was to be sold or mortgaged only to a person of the same category to which the owner of the piece of land belonged such as a land revenue payer or a brāhmaṇa who was its owner as a result of some donation.¹⁴⁰ The aim of this restriction seems to have been not to reduce the income of the state from this source.

In the Gupta period if a person wished to donate a piece of land he had to seek the permission of the local officer who permitted the applicant to do so after consulting the district record officer. The individual who wished to donate a piece of land after obtaining the permission had to pay the cost of the piece of land to the district officer. Then the sale was registered in the district office.¹⁴¹ Most of the pieces of land of which the sale was registered were for charitable purposes. We have no record mentioning the sale of a piece of land for secular purposes. In the early medieval period we have some cases where a piece of land was donated after purchasing it from its owner.¹⁴² This means permission for sale of land was ordinarily granted where it was for donating it for some charitable purpose.

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QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the view that even in the early vedic period, the owner of a piece of land was the individual who cultivated it.
2. Bring out the evidence which shows that in the 6th century B.C., the individual was the owner of the land.
3. Discuss the evidence from the *Dharmaśāstras* that in the Gupta period, the ruler was also considered partial owner of the land.
4. "In some regions of India there is evidence of communal ownership of land." Elaborate.
5. Discuss critically the effect of feudal ownership of land on the farmers from 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
6. Discuss the evidence that land-surveys were made in India during the Gupta period.
7. Critically discuss the fact that there were some cases of land-grants even before 500 A.D.
8. Discuss the rules for sale of land in the Maurya and Gupta periods.

Chapter 19

Revenue System

In the beginning of creation there was anarchy. To establish peace and order the people chose a brave man. He promised to protect them and they promised to pay him tribute and to remain loyal to him. Thus the king's right to collect taxes had its origin in the contract which the people had with the first king. The tax which the ruler collected from the people was his remuneration for protecting them. Both Gautama¹ and Nārada² have expressed this view about the king's right to collect taxes from the people.

In the Rgvedic period the leader of the tribe protected the people and defeated enemies of the tribe so the people paid him, of their own accord, offerings (*bali*). The leader was, therefore, called *balihrt*.³ Probably these offerings consisted of corn animals, etc. Later the people were compelled to pay tribute.⁴ From the *Atharvaveda* we know that *bali* also consisted of villages, parts of villages and horses.⁵ Probably in this period besides *kṣatriyas*, *brāhmaṇas* also depended for their livelihood on *bali* as no taxes were collected from them.⁶ In addition to *bali* the *Atharvaveda* also refers to *śulka*⁷ but there it is used in the sense of a general tax. In the restricted sense of octroi-duty it is used for the first time in the *Amarakośa*.⁸

From the *Dharmasūtras*⁹ we know that the ruler could collect only legal taxes from his people. He could receive 1/6 of the income of the people as his remuneration for protecting them.¹⁰ Gautama prescribes three rates of land revenue 1/6, 1/8 or 1/10 of the produce.

According to Haradatta, the commentator of *Gautama Dharma-sūtra*,¹¹ the proportion varied on the productivity of the soil.¹² From more fertile soil a higher proportion and from less fertile soil a less proportion of the produce was collected by the ruler.

From c. 300 B.C. to 300 A.D.

From the *Arthaśāstra* we know that an officer called *gopa* was in charge of 5 or 10 villages. He kept a detailed record of the cultivable land. *Samāhartā*, the Collector General sent some inspectors to assess how much tax should be collected from a farmer and what relief should be given to an individual farmer.¹³ This shows that land revenue was collected from individual farmers but there were some villages from which it was collected as a levy on the whole village. Kauṭilya calls such a levy *piṇḍakara*.¹⁴ According to Kauṭilya the ruler should collect as much revenue as the people can pay without any hardship. State should not impose a very high rate of tax which would not permit the people to save necessary funds for investing them in the production of the next crop.¹⁵ According to him the king should collect 1/6 of the produce.¹⁶ But he himself states that *gopa* should divide the cultivable land into three categories viz. upland (*sthala*), low land (*kedāra*), and other land.¹⁷ This makes us conclude that land revenue must have depended on the soil and crop grown. It could not have been a uniform rate of 1/6 of the produce in all cases. According to him the ruler should not collect any sum as

land revenue from a farmer who cultivates a virgin piece of land until the farmer's income is double of what he had invested in cultivating it.¹⁸ He lays down that when there is famine no land-revenue should be collected.¹⁹ According to him if a farmer did not depend on rain water for irrigation the ruler could collect upto 1/3 or 1/4 of the produce.²⁰ In the *Arthaśāstra* the word *bali* seems to have been used in the sense of an additional levy besides land revenue.²¹

Manu lays down that land revenue should be 1/6, 1/8 or 1/12 of the produce according to the fertility of the soil.²²

The question arises whether this proportion of land revenue was fixed at the gross produce of the farmer or his income after deducting the money invested by the farmer in cultivating his field. The *Mahābhārata*²³ lays down that land revenue should be fixed after calculating the income and expenditure of the farmer. According to Kullūka, the ruler should fix the amount of land revenue on the basis of the increase in the investment of the farmer.²⁴ This makes us conclude that this proportion of land revenue was fixed on the farmer's net income and not on his gross produce.

Land revenue was called *bhāga* because it was a part of the produce. We agree with U.N. Ghoshal's interpretation of the word *bhāga* which according to him means king's share of the produce. It was generally 1/6 of the produce but not always.²⁵ There is no doubt that it was the most important source of the income of the state. But the king collected many additional taxes from the people which were called *bali*. The term *bali* is mentioned in the Rummindei inscription of Aśoka and in the Jūnāgarh rock inscription dated 150 A.D. of Rudradāman. Rudradāman's aforesaid inscription also mentions three oppressive taxes namely *kara*, *viṣṭi* and *praṇaya*. According to Manu *kara*²⁶ was an additional

tax besides *bhāga*. The *Arthaśāstra* mentions *pratikara* which was also an additional tax.²⁷ *Viṣṭi* means forced labour. According to Arrian artisans and craftsmen had to do some forced labour for the state instead of paying a tax. According to Kauṭilya the king also used their services in state factories²⁸ and royal farms.²⁹ *Praṇaya* means an emergency tax. According to Kauṭilya when the state was in dire need of money it could collect *praṇaya* from the people but it could not be collected from the owners of land which had been given in charity. The rate of *praṇaya* could vary from 1/4 to 1/3. Kauṭilya lays down that the king should not collect more than 1/4 of the produce as *praṇaya*. Rudradāman did not collect any of the oppressive taxes mentioned above from his people.

Income from the State Farms

The state farms were under the supervision of a superintendent.³⁰ If the cultivators had their own bullocks and plough they got 1/2 of the produce but if the bullocks and ploughs were provided by the state they got 1/4 or 1/5 of the produce as their share.³¹ The Karle and Nasik inscriptions³² mention the names of individuals to whom pieces of land were given in charity. This shows that individual ownership of cultivable pieces of land was the rule. The Sātavāhana rulers like Gautamīputra collected only legal taxes from the people.³³ But the mention of oppressive taxes in Junagarh rock inscription makes us conclude that there must have been some rulers who collected oppressive taxes from the people. The *Arthaśāstra* clearly lays down that the king should not collect any illegal taxes from his people.³⁴ From the *Jātakas* we know that many tax collectors fearlessly robbed people of their wealth.³⁵

Animal tax : From the account of Megasthenes we know that animal keepers

paid a tax to the government. According to the authors of the *smṛtis* it should be 1/50 of the price of the animal. According to Kauṭilya the government should charge 1/2 of the price of hens and pigs, 1/6 of that of small animals, and 1/10 that of cows, asses and camels as animal tax.³⁶

Irrigation tax : According to M.H. Gopal, the government charged irrigation tax (*udaka-bhāga*) from the farmers.³⁷ A.N. Bose concurs³⁸ with the views of M.H. Gopal on the basis of a statement in the *Arthaśāstra* that the farmers who irrigate their fields with their hands will pay 1/5 of the produce as irrigation cess, those who carry water on their shoulders 1/4 of the produce, those who use Persian wheel 1/3 of the produce, and those who use water of rivers, lakes, tanks and wells 1/4 of the produce. But this statement occurs in the chapter³⁹ on government farms. So Lallanji Gopal⁴⁰ thinks that this does not refer to private fields. According to him no irrigation cess was charged from private farmers in this period and the practice of charging irrigation cess started only in the medieval period. According to Manu no person should sell his tank.⁴¹ From this statement of Manu, L. Gopal infers that the government did not construct tanks during this period and did not charge irrigation cess. The tanks were the property of individual owners. This view of L. Gopal finds support from a statement of Dio Chrysostom⁴² (C.A.D. 50-117) and inscriptions of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period.⁴³

Utsaṅga : Kauṭilya calls the presents which were offered to a ruler at the time of some royal function *utsaṅga*.⁴⁴ From the *Jātakas* we know that people paid one *kārṣāpaṇa* each on the birth day of the royal prince for his milk.⁴⁵ Similarly people brought presents at the time of king's coronation.⁴⁶

Kauṭilya uses the term *rāṣṭra* for revenue. He mentions *sitā*, *bhāga*, *bali*, *kara*, *piṇḍakara*

and *utsaṅga* under the heading. When the royal army passed through any region the residents of that region provided it with oil, rice, etc. It was called *senā-bhakta*. Some other fiscal terms met with during the period were :

- (1) *Aupāyanika*—presents.
- (2) *Pārśva*—Extra tax on additional income.
- (3) *Kauṣṭheyaka*—Tax on watery land.
- (4) *Pauhinaka*—Compensation paid for the damage done to the crops by animals.

Income from Fines and Forfeitures

It is stated in the *Mahābhārata*⁴⁷ that the aim of fines and forfeitures was to create fear in the minds of culprits and not to fill the treasury. But the state derived a large income from this source.

Landgrants : The state could grant pieces of land to brāhmaṇas and charitable institutions and did not collect land revenue from them. They were not required to pay even an emergency tax.⁴⁸ Some pieces of land were given to royal officers in lieu of their salary. They were also not required to pay any land revenue. But these officers could not sell or mortgage these pieces of land. They were not owners of these pieces of land and their successors could not enjoy their income.⁴⁹

Remissions in Land Revenue

The farmers had to pay no land revenue if the crop was badly damaged.⁵⁰ If a farmer raised production of corn by making improvements in a field he was given some remission.⁵¹ In some special circumstances also some remissions were allowed by the government. For example, in the case of Lumbinivana, it being the birth-place of the Buddha, Aśoka had reduced the rate of land revenue charged from the people of that area.

Increase in revenue in an emergency

According to Kauṭilya, in an emergency, the king could collect upto 1/4 or 1/3 of the produce as land revenue as *pranaya*.⁵²

Remission of land revenue in the case of brāhmaṇas

Vasiṣṭha and Manu were of opinion that the ruler should not collect land revenue from brāhmaṇa farmers because the brāhmaṇas pay the tax in the form of spiritual service to the state.

The above discussion shows that the revenue system during the period (c. 600 B.C. to c. 300 A.D.) was flawless but much depended on the personality of the ruler. Good rulers collected only legal taxes while others oppressed the people by collecting as much money as revenue as they wished. In the Maurya period the state controlled agriculture, industries and trade. This must have made the state collect more taxes than those in the earlier period.

Gupta Period (c. 300 A.D. to C. 600 A.D.)

The law-givers of the Gupta period fully realized that a ruler should collect only as much tax as the people could pay with ease so that they might be able to have enough savings for investing them in future production. Kāmandaka has compared the ruler to a gardener who irrigates the flower plants to get flowers from them and to a cow-keeper who looks after cows to get milk from them. Similarly according to him a ruler should protect the people and help them and collect taxes from them.⁵³ Similar views have been expressed by Kālidāsa. He says that a ruler collects taxes from the people for their welfare.⁵⁴ Kālidāsa calls 1/6 of the produce as the remuneration of the ruler for his services to the people.⁵⁵ One sixth of the virtue which a

state got as a result of the penance of ascetics was considered their share of tax to the state.⁵⁶ Similar views about taxation have been expressed by Nārada. He says 1/6 of the produce is the king's remuneration for his services to the people.⁵⁷

From the contemporary inscriptions also we know that ordinarily land revenue was fixed at 1/6 of the produce.⁵⁸ But according to Bṛhaspati, the king should collect land revenue in accordance with the production of a field. According to him, the king should collect 1/10 of the produce from fallow land, 1/8 from a field irrigated with rain-water and 1/6 from a field in which the crop is reaped in the spring season.⁵⁹

The most common revenue terms mentioned in the inscriptions of the Gupta period are *bhāga*, *bhoga* and *kara*. *Bhāga* was king's share in the produce. It covered all the rates i.e. 1/6, 1/4 or 1/3-whatever was collected by the ruler as land revenue. *Bhoga* consisted of presents given by the people to the ruler in the form of fruits, flowers, milk, fuel, etc. on various occasions.⁶⁰ Some times people arranged for the food of the army when it marched on a campaign of conquest. This levy was called *avalgaka*.⁶¹ The word *kara* has been interpreted in many senses by the commentators of the *Manusmṛti*.⁶² From their interpretations it seems to have been a levy which was collected at a fixed time of the year in addition to the king's fixed share in the produce. But in many Gupta inscriptions the word *kara* has been used in the sense of any tax. For example in some land-grants we come across phrases like *sarvakaraparihārai* or *sarvakarasameta*. In these phrases *kara* denotes all kinds of taxes.

Another fiscal term was *bali*. From the Gupta inscriptions it appears to have been some kind of religious cess because it is mentioned along with *charu* and *satra*. So it

can be interpreted as a religious tax paid to the ruler.

Two other fiscal terms mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions are *uparikara*⁶³ and *udraṅga*. According to Ghoshal, *udraṅga* was a cess collected from permanent farmers and *uparikara* was a cess collected from temporary peasants.⁶⁴ But the majority of scholars do not accept Ghoshal's interpretation of these two terms. Both D.C. Sircar⁶⁵ and S.K. Maity⁶⁶ think that *uparikara* means additional tax. According to S.K. Maity *udraṅga* might have been a police tax⁶⁷ as the word *draṅga* has been used in the sense of a police post in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.⁶⁸

In some inscriptions the word *hiraṇya* has been used. According to D.C. Sircar it was a tax which was paid in cash. Viṣṇu lays down that the ruler should take 1/50 of the price of an article as *hiraṇya*.

Vātabhūta was most probably a tax for the worship of gods of water and air.⁶⁹

Halikākara according to Ghoshal was a tax on plough.⁷⁰

Śulka : According to Ghoshal,⁷¹ it was a tax levied on traders. According to Maity⁷² it was a tax levied on the merchandise brought by merchants to cities and ports. Manu,⁷³ Nārada⁷⁴ and Yājñavalkya⁷⁵ prescribe rules for imposing heavy fines on traders who do not pay *śulka*. But Nārada⁷⁶ exempts brāhmaṇa traders from the payment of *śulka*. It was octroi duty according to the *Amarakośa*.⁷⁷

The government also derived a large sum of money from hoards. According to Nārada if a brāhmaṇa finds a hoard the king should give it to that brāhmaṇa but if an individual of any other caste finds a hoard he should hand it over to the ruler.⁷⁸

The words *klīpta* and *upaklīpta* have been used with *nidhi* and *upanidhi*.⁷⁹ This makes us conclude that *klīpta* and *upaklīpta* were used for the king's share in the hoard.⁸⁰

The state also derived a large sum of money from fines. Nārada and Brhaspati⁸¹ have laid down how much fine should be imposed for each crime on the criminals. The Gupta inscriptions support the above view.

From the above discussion it is evident that in the Gupta period farmers had to pay many other taxes in addition to land revenue. But from the account of Fa-hien and the law-books of the Gupta period it is clear that the tax burden was more in the Maurya period than that in the Gupta period. The inscriptions of the Gupta period do not mention some taxes such as *piṇḍakara* and *udakabhāga* which were imposed in the Maurya period but they mention some new taxes such as *uparikara*, *udraṅga* and *halikākara*. It seems that the tax burden was heavy in this period but not unbearable.⁸²

The Post-Gupta Period (c. 600 A.D. to c. 1200 A.D.)

The commentators of the law-books like the *Manusmṛti* and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* have interpreted the rules about taxation laid down in the law books to suit the changed conditions of the times. According to Lakṣmīdhara (c. 1100-1150 A.D.) the ruler should not impose oppressive taxes in the people. The ruler might impose some new taxes but should not increase the rate of old taxes. The government should impose taxes on articles of sale only once from the stage of production to the stage of sale.

According to these commentators the land-revenue should be 1/8 of the produce in ordinary times but might be increased upto 1/4 of the produce in an emergency.⁸³ According to Mitra Miśra the revenue should not exceed 1/6 of the produce. It may be 1/10 of the produce in the case of fallow land, 1/8 of the produce on rice and pulses, etc. and 1/6 of it in the case of wheat and barley.

No tax was levied on barren fields in which no crops could be raised during this period.⁸⁴

From the inscriptions of this period we know that the rate of land revenue on fallow land was less than that on fertile land.⁸⁵ This view finds support from the rates of land revenue specified in the *Lakṣapaddhati*. The land revenue charged on 1 *nd* meant for construction of houses (*vāstu*) was more than that on agricultural land.⁸⁶

The land grants of Gāhaḍavāla, Pāla, Gurjara Pratihāra, Paramāra, Cāulukya, Kalachuri and Candella rulers and the feudatories of the Gāhaḍavālas all make mention of *bhāga-bhoga-kara*. The donees were exempted from payment of these taxes. According to B. P. Mazumdar in this period *bhāga* was used for land revenue. *Kara* was used in the general sense of all kinds of taxes.⁸⁷ In some of the Pāla grants instead of the phrase *bhāga-bhoga-kara* only the word *kara* is used.⁸⁸ *Hiraṇya*⁸⁹ was most probably used for taxes which were paid in cash. *Bhoga*⁹⁰ was used in the sense of presents offered to the king by the people on special occasions. In some of the Pāla grants the word *piṇḍakara*⁹¹ is used in place of *hiraṇya* which according to Lallanji Gopal was collected from every farmer in cash and was paid on behalf of the whole village.⁹²

Uparikara and *Udraṅga* which were additional taxes are also mentioned in the inscriptions of this period.⁹³

The term *Daśāparādha* was most probably used for judicial fines collected from criminals.⁹⁴

The inscriptions of Gāhaḍavālas mention some other taxes namely *pravaṇikara*, *turuṣkadaṇḍa*, *kumāragadiāṇaka*, *kūṭaka*, *jalakara*, *gokara*, *valadī*, *lavaṇakara*, *parṇakara*, *daśabandha*, *akṣapaṭalapraṣtha*, *pratihārapraṣtha*, *viśatiāthūpraṣtha*, *varavajha*, *viśayadāna*, *yamalikāmbali*, *dagapasadīrgh-*

agovica, *ākara*, *nidhikṣepa* and *vāhyā-vāhyāmtarasiddhi*.

Pravaṇikara most probably means octroi duty (*śulka*)⁹⁵. *Turuṣkadaṇḍa* was a tax collected from the Turuṣka settlers in the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom to discourage the influx of Muslim merchants in the kingdom.⁹⁶ *Kumāragadiāṇaka* was most probably a tax on behalf of the royal princes which was realized at the rate of one *gadiāṇaka* per family annually.⁹⁷ *Kūṭaka* was most probably a plough tax.⁹⁸ *Jalakara* was according to L. Gopal irrigation cess.⁹⁹ *Gokara* was a general cattle tax.¹⁰⁰ *Valadī*¹⁰¹ was a tax on bullocks. *Lavaṇakara*¹⁰² was a tax on private manufacture of salt. *Parṇakara*¹⁰³ was most probably a tax on betel leaves. *Daśabandha*¹⁰⁴ appears to have been a tax on one-tenth of the income. *Akṣapaṭalapraṣtha*, *pratihārapraṣtha* and *viśatiāthūpraṣtha* seem to have been contributions made by the villagers to these three officers at the rate of so much per *praṣtha*.¹⁰⁵ The term *varavajha*¹⁰⁶ cannot be explained. *Viśayadāna*¹⁰⁷ was probably a district tax. *Yamalikāmbali*¹⁰⁸ may have been a tax levied on a particular type of singer minstrels. *Dagapasadīrghagovica*¹⁰⁹ was most probably a tax on branding of cattle. *Ākara*¹¹⁰ refers to the tax on output of mines. *Nidhikṣepa*¹¹¹ was probably a tax on the property held in trust. *Vāhyāvāhyāmtarasiddhi*¹¹² refers to the right of the king to treasure trove (*nidhi*) and unclaimed deposits (*nikṣepa*).

The land grants of the Pālas and other contemporary rulers of Bengal mention another tax namely *cauroddharaṇa* which was most probably a tax imposed on villagers for protection against thieves.¹¹³

The land grants from Orissa mention some other fiscal terms namely *hastidaṇḍa*, *varabalivarḍda*, *haladaṇḍa*, *padātijīvyā*, *vandāpanā*, *vijayavandāpanā*, *āhidaṇḍa*,

suvarṇadaṇḍa, *vartmadaṇḍa*, *viṣayāli* and *khaṇḍapāliya*. *Hastidaṇḍa* was a tax on the maintenance of elephants, *varabalivardda* was a tax on superior bulls, *haladaṇḍa* was a tax on ploughs, *padātijīvyā* was subsistence for the infantry, *vandāpanā* was a tribute to the king. *Vijayavandāpanā* was a tribute paid after the king obtained a victory. *Āhidaṇḍa* was a tax on snake charmers. *Suvarṇadaṇḍa* was a tax on goldsmiths. *Vartmadaṇḍa* was a road cess, *viṣayāli* was a district tax and *khaṇḍapāliya* was a tax for the officers in charge of an administrative division known as *khaṇḍa*.¹¹⁴

Similarly inscriptions of Candella, Kalachuri, Paramāra, Cāhamāna and Pratihāra kingdoms mention many other taxes besides those mentioned above.¹¹⁵

From the inscriptions of this period we know that tax was levied on the sale of mangoes and *maḍhūka* flowers. From the inscriptions of Sena and Paramāra rulers we know that tax was also levied on the sale of coconuts. The inscriptions of Kalachuri, Varman, Caulukya and Sena rulers refer to tax on betelnuts. The inscriptions of Sena rulers mention a tax on betel leaves. The rulers of Sindh charged tax on the sale of grapes and an inscription from Bengal refers to tax on *Artocarpus heterophyllus* (*panasa*). An inscription of a Kalachuri ruler refers to tax on pepper and ginger. In some inscriptions of Gujarat it is stated that tax was also charged on the sale of *mañjiṣṭha* and brinjals.¹¹⁶

From the inscriptions of the post-Gupta period we know that land revenue was collected mostly in kind but some other taxes were collected in cash. In some regions cultivators paid the land revenue directly to the ruler but at other places the landlords collected the taxes from the farmers. From documents in the *Lekhapaddhati* it appears that the majority of taxes were paid in cash. From the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹¹⁷ also we know that land revenue was collected in kind. In eastern India some

farmers paid land revenue in kind while others did so in cash. In Bengal the practice of paying land revenue in cash was becoming popular but *bhoga* was offered in kind. The *Lekhapaddhati* also confirms the view that *bhoga* was generally offered in kind.¹¹⁸

According to Idrisi the *Raṣṭrakūṭa* rulers had become rich because they charged a very high rate of taxes from the people.¹¹⁹ The rulers of Gujarat also collected land revenue at a very high rate.¹²⁰ From two land grants of Paramardideva dated 1171 A.D. and 1174 A.D. we know that the donees were permitted to collect taxes even on such articles as animals, deer, birds, fish, castor, hemp, sugarcane, cotton, mangoes, forests, grazing grounds, and charge sales tax on any article sold in the village.¹²¹

The number of taxes mentioned in the inscriptions of Mathanadeva of Rajaur and Cāmuṇḍarāja is much more than that in other inscriptions of the period. Probably the maximum number of taxes and cesses are mentioned in an inscription dated 1230 A.D. of Caulukya ruler Bhīma II. He imposed taxes even on articles like *Emblia Myrobalan* (*āmalaka*), *Terminalia bellerica* (*vibhītaka*), fenugreek (*methikā*), *Asafoetida* (*hiṅgu*), camphor, nutmeg, coconut, sugarcane, pepper, and dates, etc.¹²² Even grass and molasses were taxed in this period. Probably there was no article left on which tax was not collected by the rulers. Thus the burden of taxes became unbearable for the masses. Many taxes were collected in the name of administrative officers. When articles of daily consumption were taxed the prices of articles also increased. But nowhere except in Kashmir people revolted against these oppressive taxes. Only in Kashmir¹²⁴ some brāhmaṇas raised the standard of revolt and fasted to show their resentment. In other parts of the country even brāhmaṇas did not rise in revolt. Other castes like *vaiśyas* and *sūdras* dared not rise in revolt.

When a neighbouring ruler attacked a kingdom the people remained indifferent and did nothing to protect their kingdom. Even when the Turks and the Afghans invaded India people might not have cooperated with the state against the foreign invaders. Probably they thought that the new rulers might lessen their burden of taxes and life might become easier and less oppressive for them after the success of the Turks and the Afghans.

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QUESTIONS

1. Give a correct interpretation of the words 'balī' and 'śulka' in the Vedic Period.
2. Discuss how different rates of land-revenue prevailed during the period 600 B.C. to 300 A.D.
3. Describe how state forms were managed in the Maurya period and mention the ratio of produce collected from these forms by the government.
4. Mention the circumstances in which remission of land-revenue was made by the government in the Maurya Period.
5. Discuss the evidence in support of the view that the ruler should collect as much tax as the people could pay with ease.
6. Give a correct interpretation of revenue terms 'bhāga', 'bhog' and 'kara' in the Gupta period were the other taxes that were collected in this period.
7. Describe the important taxes levied by Gāhadavālas in the Early Medieval Period.
8. Discuss whether land revenue was collected mostly in kind or in cash in the Early Medieval Period.
9. "Many taxes were collected in the name of administrative officers in the early Medieval period." Elaborate.
10. Show how, probably, the maximum number of taxes and cesses were imposed by the Chalukya ruler, Bhima II in the beginning of the 13th century A.D.

Chapter 20

Crafts and Industries

I. Neolithic and Chalcolithic Ages

Stone Craft : Man began to develop some crafts since he began to lead a settled life. In the Neolithic cultures of South India man began to make chert implements which were superior to those made of ordinary stones. In that region some other people began to make artifacts of another kind of stone called pistacite. Tools of this kind have been found at twelve places.¹ From the excavations at Sonegaon (Maharashtra) it is evident that axes from granite originated in the Karnataka region.² All these examples show that some sort of craft specialization began in the earliest stages of settled life which also led to trade with the neighbouring people. Many kinds of stone axes were made on a large scale in South India and in the Indus valley region but with the advent of the Iron age the craft declined because much time and energy was spent in sharpening the edge of stone axes and the making of iron axes did not require that much time and energy.³

In the Chalcolithic Age many kinds of beads were made from semiprecious stones and the craft was at its climax in the Harappan culture. Many shops of bead-makers and their implements have been discovered at Harappan sites.⁴

Bowls and other utensils were made with soft stones like alabaster. Such utensils have been discovered in Baluchistan and in the valley of the Indus.⁵

Copper implements and ornaments : Copper implements have been discovered at

pre-Harappan levels at Amri, Kot Diji and Kalibangan. At Kalibangan was found the earliest copper axe of which the developed form is met with in the Harappan culture.⁶ Copper axes, chisels, knives, spearheads, arrow-heads and small saws have been found at many Harappan sites. Probably for making these weapons and implements copper was brought from Rajasthan.⁷ Beautiful copper utensils which were made by hammering copper plates have also been discovered at many Harappan sites.⁸

The copper and bronze implements discovered at Brahmagiri, Piklihal, Maski and Hallur in South India consist of mostly chisels, axes and fishing hooks. They are similar to those found at Harappan sites.⁹

The copper hoards discovered in Uttar Pradesh and Central India are dated to a period later than that of the Harappan culture.

The maximum number of bronze utensils have been discovered at Adichanallur. They belong to the Iron age. Some of these utensils have lids and they are decorated with figures of rams, buffaloes, birds and dogs. Small bells of bronze have been found in the Iron age graves.¹⁰

Gold and Silver : Beads, pendants, armlets, brooches and needles made of gold were found at Harappan sites. This gold contains much silver.¹¹ This gold was most probably brought from Mysore. Only a few articles of gold have been discovered in the graves of the iron age in South India. But from the excavations at Hatti and other sites it is

evident that South Indians had begun digging gold from deep mines even before the beginning of the Christian era. The earliest silver utensils and ornaments were discovered in the Harappan culture.¹²

Iron : In almost all the Iron age graves of South India iron implements had been found. They consisted mostly of axes, spades, shovels, sickles, wedges and spear-heads. Swords and a trident were also discovered.¹³ The iron implements discovered in Northern India are different from those found in South India. Most of the axes found in Northern India have holes for handles and arrowheads are of many kinds. India became famous for its steel as early as the fourth century B.C.¹⁴

Pottery : At Kili Ghul Mohammed in Baluchistan at the earliest levels the pottery is hand-made. At a little later level wheel—thrown pottery was found at many sites. Black and red paints were used to decorate it. The pottery is similar to that found in Mesopotamia and Iran. The pre-Harappan pottery discovered in Punjab and Sind is similar to that found in Baluchistan. It also shows the influence of contacts with Iran.¹⁵ The pottery discovered at Daojali Hading was crude and hand-made which is similar to the Neolithic pottery of South China. The hand-made pottery discovered at Burzhome also shows Iranian influence.¹⁶ The pottery discovered at Utnur and Piklihal in South India is similar to that found at Burzhome.¹⁷

The pottery of Saurashtra is of two kinds. The utensils of the first category are similar to those found at Harappan sites. The second category of utensils is different from it. Such pottery has been found at Rangpur.¹⁸ At Ahar and in Southern Rajasthan, Black and Red ware has been discovered. The craft of making such pottery was borrowed by the potters of Malwa and Saurashtra where this kind of pottery has been discovered at later levels.¹⁹

The Painted Grey ware found at the earliest levels in the Ganges valley shows that the Northern Black Polished Ware was the developed form of Painted Grey ware. The Northern Black Polished Ware is the best Indian specimen of the craft of pottery.²⁰

The Textile Industry : Some remains of dyed and woven cloth were found at Mohenjodaro. Some pottery has impressions of cloth which shows that cloth was easily available in this culture.²¹

Ivory carving and inlaying of shell and the art of making seals and beads

Only a few examples of ivory carving have been found such as combs, cylinders, small sticks and pins. Beads and bracelets were inlaid with shell. Artistic steatite seals were made in large numbers. Beads, bracelets, buttons and vessels of steatite were also found at Harappan sites.²² Beads were manufactured from a wide variety of semi-precious stones. At Chanhudaro and Lothal bead-maker's shops were discovered with their equipment.²³ Probably carnelian beads were exported to foreign countries.

II. THE VEDIC PERIOD (c. 1500 B.C. TO 600 B.C.)

From the *Rgveda* we know that the crafts of wood, textile, metal, pottery and leather had fully developed when it was compiled in its present form.

The Metal craft: The *Rgveda* mentions two metals namely gold and *ayas*. From gold the *Rgvedic* Aryans made many ornaments such as ear-ring (*Karṇasobhana*), garlands for neck (*niṣkagrīvā*),²⁴ bracelets and anklets (*knāḍi*).²⁵ A goldsmith (*hiraṇyakāra*)²⁶ is mentioned in this work and probably gold coins (*niṣka*)²⁷ were also made even in the *Rgvedic* period.

Scholars are not unanimous about the meaning of the word *ayas*²⁸ but its colour is described as being reddish. This makes us conclude that probably it was copper. The general word for a worker in metals was *karmāra*.²⁹ The person who melted this metal is called *dhmātṛn*³⁰ and the person who hammered to make a sheet was called *ayohata*.³¹ Many utensils of this metal were made (*gharma ayas-maya*).³² The use of different words for different processes in working metals shows that specialization in the craft had started even in the Ṛgvedic period. This metal was used in making pillars (*sothūna*)³³ armours (*khṛgala*),³⁴ helmets (*śiprā*)³⁵ and weapons (*rṣṭi*).³⁶

Silver : From the *Atharvaveda* we know that there was a belief that a person who wore silver (*rajata*)³⁷ ornaments would become strong and powerful. Other literary works of the Later Vedic period mention plates and ornaments made of silver.³⁸ *Niṣkas* of silver were also made.

Iron : In the *Atharvaveda* two words *śyāmaayas* or *kṛṣṇa-ayas*³⁹ have been used for iron. The archaeologists have discovered spearheads, etc. made of iron at Hastināpur, Ālamgirpur, Noh, Atranjikhhera, and Batesar. All these places are located in Kuru-Pañcāla⁴⁰ region which was occupied by the Aryans in the Later Vedic period. The use of iron in the Later Vedic period revolutionized the processes of cultivation and resulted in surplus food production which led to the growth of a number of towns such as *Āsandīvanta*, *Kāroti*,⁴¹ *Maṣṇāra*,⁴² *Kāmpilya*, *Kauśambi* and *Parichakrā*.⁴³

From the *samhitās* of the Vedic period we know that articles of tin (*trapu*)⁴⁴ and lead (*sīsa*)⁴⁵ were also made in this period. The early Vedic Aryans were well-versed in the process of melting metal.⁴⁶ In the Later Vedic period improvements were made in it and

metals began to be used on a large scale. The *Vājasanevi-samhitā* also mentions makers of ornaments from precious stones (*maṇikāra*).⁴⁷

Wood Craft : In the *Ṛgveda* two words *takṣan* and *tvaṣṭṛ* are used for a carpenter.⁴⁸ The carpenters who made chariots are called *rathakāras*.⁴⁹ They also built carts (*anas*)⁵⁰ for carrying goods. They made beautiful wooden utensils by carving.⁵¹ There is a reference to a ship with two oars in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.⁵² Such ships must also have been built by carpenters. All these references show that the carpenter's craft had well-developed in the Vedic period.

Textiles : In the *Ṛgveda* two women busy in weaving cloth have been compared to day and night.⁵³ In the same work there is a reference to a thief stealing cloth.⁵⁴ In the sixth *maṇḍala* of this *samhitā* words like *tantum*, *otum* and *vayanti* are mentioned which have been taken from the vocabulary used in the craft of weaving.⁵⁵ A weaver is called *vaya*⁵⁶ and weaver's shuttle *tasara*⁵⁷ in the same work. A loom is called *veman*⁵⁸ in the *Yajurveda*.

People in this period generally wore woollen clothes.⁵⁹ The wool from Gandhāra,⁶⁰ Paruṣṇī and Sindhu⁶¹ regions was considered good. In the later Vedic period cloth was also made with linen (*kṣumā*).⁶² Probably cloth was also made with hemp (*ṣaṇa*).⁶³ We have no references to cotton cloth in the Vedic literature.

It seems that most of the weaving work in the Vedic period was done by women.⁶⁴ For a woman doing embroidery the word *peśākārī*⁶⁵ has been used.

Leather Craft : The early Vedic Aryans knew the method of tanning leather. One who tanned leather was called *carmamna*.⁶⁶ We have references to bags⁶⁷ and containers of leather in which liquids were stored. Ox-hide was used for making strings for bows, reins of horses and whips.⁶⁸

Pottery : Two words *kulāla*⁶⁹ and *mṛtpaca* have been used for a potter in the literature of the Later Vedic period. Most of the utensils were earthen but those of stone, wood and copper were also used by the Vedic Aryans.

Architecture : Masons could make an altar with 10,800 bricks resembling the shape of a bird.⁷⁰ This shows that this craft was also well developed in the Vedic period.

We have references to some other crafts in the Vedic literature such as preparing liquor,⁷¹ basket-making, rope-making, dyeing, making bows,⁷² sewing and mat-making, etc.⁷³

III. (c. 600 B.C. TO 300 A.D.)

In this period we find that the process of specialization had penetrated all the important arts. The main factors which led to this development were the following.⁷⁴

1. The craftsmen in this period had full knowledge of the raw material required for their craft and they had invented some new implements with which they could produce better articles in less time than that they had to spend in preparing them previously.
2. The craftsmen were organized in guilds so the son learnt the technique of the craft from his father and apprentices from master craftsmen by living as members of their families.
3. When there was greater demand for articles produced by craftsmen they naturally adopted specialization to be able to compete with products of other regions.
4. When the state tried to protect the interests of craftsmen the crafts and trade developed rapidly in that state. The state made proper arrangements for safety of the traders and gave them

financial help because the state received a large sum of money as octroi duty when trade flourished.

The metal industry : From the *Sūtra* literature we know that utensils of copper and iron were made in this period. Gangs of brass and spoons of gold were made. Silver was used in making ornaments and utensils.⁷⁵ According to Diodorus⁷⁶ ornaments and war-implements such as armours and helmets were made with gold, silver and iron.

From the *Arthasāstra* we know that many mixed metals were made by purifying the ores of metals. From the *Dīghanikāya*⁷⁷ it is clear that the blacksmiths used blowing furnances for making iron implements. The Mauryan state protected the interests of industrial workers. This led to a great progress of industries in this period.

Specialization was a characteristic feature of the metal industry in this period. The *Milindapañha*⁷⁸ gives separate names for workers in different metals such as gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, brass and iron. The blacksmiths lived in separate villages (*kammāra gāma*).⁷⁹ The villagers from neighbouring villages came to these villages to get their plough-shares, axes and the goads of whips made.⁸⁰ The blacksmiths also made war implements such as armours, helmets and weapons.⁸¹ The Mauryan state financially helped the blacksmiths and severely punished any one who caused injury to the eye or hand of a blacksmith.⁸² There were blacksmiths who specialized only in making arrows.⁸³ The steel of the utensils, weapons, armours, reins of horses, and implements found at Sirkap near Taxila was of a very fine quality.⁸⁴ But the blacksmiths in this period did not know how to make the steel hard.⁸⁵ According to the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* articles of iron and steel were exported from India to the ports of Africa.⁸⁶

The *Arthasāstra* gives an account of the workers in gold and silver in a separate chapter.⁸⁷ The early Buddhist works describe how these craftsmen purified gold and silver and polished the ornaments.⁸⁸ The goldsmiths also made gold coins.⁸⁹ The silver ornaments found at Sirkap show foreign influence.

At Rampurwa was found a copper bolt in the Aśokan pillar which is dated to the third century B.C. It was brought into proper shape by hammering.⁹⁰ From the *Periplus* we know that copper⁹¹ was exported from Broach and lead⁹² was imported from foreign countries. Kauṭilya refers to zinc (*arakuṭa*).⁹³ The *Caraka Saṁhita*⁹⁴ and the *Manusmṛti*⁹⁵ mention brass (*riti*). Many implements, utensils, ornaments, idols and other articles made of copper and bronze were discovered at Sirkap. All these articles show foreign influence.⁹⁶

Wood craft : The general carpenter was called *badḍhaki* while those who specialized in planning wood *takṣaka* and those working on lathe (*bhramakāra*).⁹⁷ Thus specialization had started even in wood craft. Carpenters prepared beams⁹⁸ for construction of buildings, and cots,⁹⁹ seats and carts¹⁰⁰ for general use.

Ivory carving : Bangles¹⁰¹ and other beautiful articles were prepared with ivory. Even rulers appreciated the work of ivory-workers.¹⁰² Banaras was famous for its ivory work. Many articles of ivory were found at Begram.

Pearls and Scents : From Pliny¹⁰³ we know that pearl fishing industry was flourishing in this period. Many varieties of scents were also prepared as the aristocrats¹⁰⁴ used them. The *Kalpasūtra*¹⁰⁵ mentions three varieties namely those prepared with *goṣīrṣa* of red sandal, and *dardara*.

Utensils of stone and glass : From the *Sūtra literature* we know that utensils of stone were in common use. The stone-cutters also

prepared circular pieces of stone for grinding, and mortar and pestle.¹⁰⁶ They used dressed stone in the walls of tanks¹⁰⁷ and prepared carved pillars for buildings.

From the mound of Bhir many articles of glass were excavated. They are dated to the seventh and the sixth centuries B.C. A large number of glass articles were excavated from Sirkap consisting of bangles, bottles, flasks, tiles, beads, etc. From the relative density of glass used in these articles it is evident that the Indian manufacturers of glass articles had mastered the chemical aspect of the technique of glass making.¹⁰⁸

Pottery : Earthen cups were prepared in the Sūtra period. The distinctive pottery of this period is the Painted Red Ware. The pottery found at Sirkap clearly shows the influence of Western contacts.¹⁰⁹

Baskets and mats : Baskets were prepared with leaves and mats from cane.

Textiles : Spinning and weaving were practised in majority of families. This fact is borne out by a rule which lays down that a new student was required to wear cloth woven on the day he was initiated as a student.¹¹⁰ Cloth was prepared with linen, cotton, silk, wool and hemp.¹¹¹ From the *Milindapañha* it is clear that spinning and weaving were two separate crafts.¹¹² Many kinds of blankets¹¹³ and bed covers of silk with beautiful designs were made.

Pāṇini (5th century B.C.) mentions cotton¹¹⁴ and Herodotus¹¹⁵ praises the whiteness and brightness of Indian cotton.¹¹⁶ According to Manu, a brāhmaṇa student should wear sacred thread made of cotton, a kṣatriya that of linen and a vaiśya that of wool. In Bengal superior quality cloth from linen, silk and cotton was prepared.¹¹⁷

Probably the earliest mention of silk (*kaśeya*)¹¹⁸ is made by Pāṇini. The *Mahāvagga*¹¹⁹ permits a Buddhist monk to

wear silk clothes. Many words such as *patrorṇa*, *cīnapaṭṭa*, *cīnāṃśuka*, *kīṭaja*, *paṭṭa*, *paṭṭāṃśuka* and *cīna-kausēya* have been used for silk in the Mauryan and Post Mauryan¹²⁰ literature which makes us conclude that the use of silk had become common among the upper classes of Indian society during this period. From the *Arthasāstra*¹²¹ we know that *patrorṇa* variety of silk was woven in Bengal and Assam. In the early centuries of the Christian era Indian and Chinese silk was exported from India to Rome.¹²² In this period cloth was also prepared with hemp.¹²³

It seems that spinning and weaving was done even in this period mostly by women.¹²⁴ The craft of dyeing clothes was well-developed in this period. The person who prepared colour was different from one who dyed clothes.¹²⁵ Kauṭilya has prescribed time limit for returning clothes after dyeing and prescribed heavy fine in case the dyer who mortgaged or sold the clothes given to him for dyeing.¹²⁶ The art of dyeing clothes was so developed that India had become famous for this art even in foreign countries.¹²⁷

Architecture : The art of architecture was so developed that in building some palaces craftsmen¹²⁸ who had specialized in 18 crafts were employed. These 18 crafts probably included those of masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewellers and painters. The architects¹²⁹ selected a good site for constructing a palace and laid strong foundations. The painters painted frescoes to make the palace look beautiful.¹³⁰

Sculpture : In the second century A.D. many idols of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas were made and for making these idols stucco in large quantities was imported in north-western India from the Mediterranean region.¹³¹

Besides the crafts mentioned above, those of making sugar,¹³² oilpressing,¹³³ salt

making,¹³⁴ sewing,¹³⁵ honey making, garland making¹³⁶, etc. were well developed in this period.

IV. (c. 300 A.D. TO 600 A.D.)

Metal Industry : The *Amarakośa*¹³⁷ mentions gold and purified gold, iron bars and mines of iron,¹³⁸ but makes no mention of silver. It seems that silver was imported from Śrīlankā and Afghanistan.¹³⁹ From the literary and archaeological sources we know that iron was used in making hammers,¹⁴⁰ chisels,¹⁴¹ axes,¹⁴² padlock¹⁴³ plates with holes,¹⁴⁴ spades,¹⁴⁵ sickles,¹⁴⁶ ploughshares,¹⁴⁷ chains,¹⁴⁸ iron plates,¹⁴⁹ pans,¹⁵⁰ swords¹⁵¹ and other weapons. But the Mehrauli Iron pillar shows that the iron technology reached its climax during the Gupta period. It has not rusted and retains its inscription clearly although more than one thousand five hundred years have elapsed since it was made.¹⁵²

The goldsmiths lived in cities¹⁵³ and made ornaments for rich men and women.¹⁵⁴ From the literary and archaeological sources it is evident that the craft of goldsmiths flourished in this period.¹⁵⁵

From copper and bronze, utensils,¹⁵⁶ coins¹⁵⁷ and statues were made. Landgrants were inscribed on copper plates.¹⁵⁸ Of the statues, mention may be made of a seated Buddha¹⁵⁹ in bronze from U.P., a standing Buddha in copper¹⁶⁰ from Sultanganj and one standing female figure of copper from Bhita.¹⁶¹ Most of these articles were made by casting.¹⁶² Copper was also used for making seals.¹⁶³

Jeweller's Art : Jeweller's art was also flourishing in this period. The *Bṛhatsamhitā* mentions a number of precious stones such as diamonds¹⁶⁴ and rubies.¹⁶⁵ The *Amarakośa* also mentions emerald,¹⁶⁶ pearls¹⁶⁷ and coral.¹⁶⁸ Shells¹⁶⁹ were also used in making jewellery. Kālidāsa mentions topaz,¹⁷⁰

sapphire¹⁷¹ and lapis lazuli.¹⁷² Pearl fishery was a very flourishing industry in Śrīlankā¹⁷³ and in the Tamil country.

Salt was prepared from seawater¹⁷⁴ and dug from rocks.¹⁷⁵

Pottery : The characteristic pottery of this period is the Red Ware. It clearly shows the influence of the contacts with the Mediterranean region. It includes cooking vessels,¹⁷⁶ bowls,¹⁷⁷ jars,¹⁷⁸ incense-burners¹⁷⁹ water-jars,¹⁸⁰ goblets, pot lids,¹⁸¹ and a miniature *kamaṇḍalu* (begging bowl).¹⁸² Many of these objects were decorated with various patterns. A unique specimen of a spouted jug¹⁸³ was excavated at Ahichchatra. It seems to have been imported from the Mediterranean region.

The terracotta figures¹⁸⁴ are mostly those of gods and goddesses but there are numerous figurines of ordinary men and women and different kinds of animals. At Ahichchatra were also found earthen beads.¹⁸⁵

Stone temples : The best examples of the stone temples of the Gupta period are Viṣṇu temple at Tigawa (Jabalpur), Śiva temple at Bhūmra (Nagod State), Pārvatī temple at Nacana-kuṭharā (Ajaigarh State) and the Daśavatāra temple at Deogarh.

Leather craft : From leather knives,¹⁸⁶ shoes,¹⁸⁷ fans¹⁸⁸ and bottles¹⁸⁹ for storing oil were made. Tiger skins,¹⁹⁰ the skin of deer¹⁹¹ and those of other animals¹⁹² were used by ascetics as clothes.

Ivory : Pegs,¹⁹³ stools,¹⁹⁴ seals¹⁹⁵ and many other beautiful articles were made with ivory.

Textiles : The *Amarakośa* describes in detail the process of making silk cloth.¹⁹⁶ It was also imported from China.¹⁹⁷ Rich boys and girls wore silk clothes. The Mandasor inscription¹⁹⁸ refers to a guild of silk weavers. This shows that silk industry was flourishing in this period. Silk cloth was decorated with various patterns such as figures of swans.¹⁹⁹

Wool industry was also flourishing. Many kinds of blankets²⁰⁰ and woollen cloth²⁰¹ of fine quality were made in this period.

From the *Amarakośa* we know that very fine²⁰² cotton cloth was made for the rich and coarse cloth²⁰³ for the poor. Tents and curtains²⁰⁴ were also made with coarse cloth.

The ascetics mostly wore clothes made of barks of trees or skins of animals.²⁰⁵

Honey : It was taken out from bee-hives and used as part of food and with medicines.²⁰⁶

Wood craft : The craft of carving²⁰⁷ wood had greatly developed. The carpenters were employed in building palaces. Statues of wood were also built. Bamboos and canes were used in making chairs, five storeyed chariots²⁰⁸ and baskets.²⁰⁹

The craft of dyeing was well-developed. Besides ordinary dyeing, clothes were also dyed by *bandhana* technique i.e., ordinary tie-and-dye work, by double tied resist dying, by brocading and fine muslin weaving. Various designs were made in dyeing such as by making circles, stripes, checks, figures of geese and lions, or simple dots.²¹⁰

Oil was extracted from black²¹¹ and white mustard, sesame,²¹² linseed²¹³ and *īṅgudī*. The oil extracted from *īṅgudī*²¹⁴ was used for lighting lamps and medicine to cure boils.²¹⁵ The oilpressers were organized in guilds.²¹⁶

Cosmetics, perfumes and unguents were used both by men and women. The *Brhatsaṃhitā*²¹⁷ has a full chapter on cosmetics. The most important cosmetics were *Kāleyaka*,²¹⁸ *Kaleguru*,²¹⁹ *Śuklaguru*,²²⁰ *Havicandana*,²²¹ *Maṇḥśīlā*,²²² *Haritāla*,²²³ *Lodhracūrṇa*,²²⁴ *Dhūpa*,²²⁵ *Kuṁkuma*,²²⁶ *Gorocana*²²⁷ and *Ālaktaka*.²²⁸ The last was prepared from resin and was applied to lips and feet.²²⁹

The paste prepared from sandal wood²³⁰ was also used as a cosmetic. Sandal wood was brought from South India from the regions near the Kaveri and the Nāgaparṇī rivers.²³¹

Liquors : From the Gupta literature²³² we know that even women enjoyed drinking in this period. It was a common belief that drinking made the beauty of woman more attractive.²³³ In view of the great demand for liquor it was produced throughout the country.

In the Gupta period there was an unprecedented progress in the crafts of metal working, stone-cutting, ivory and wood work. The guilds had full autonomy in regulating the crafts. The government did not interfere in their work. There was peace and order in the country, and the work of craftsmen was appreciated in society hence every craft developed fully.

The relations between the apprentices and the master craftsmen

The *Nāradasmṛiti* lays down that if a child wished to learn some craft he should go to a master craftsman. He should live with him as a member of his family. The craftsman provided him food and treated him as his own son.²³⁴ Whatever profit was received by the sale of articles prepared by the apprentice was taken by the master craftsman.²³⁵ The teacher was not free to exploit the trainee by employing him in other kinds of work except that related to his craft. The pupil was to serve the teacher faithfully. The essence of the whole system of technical education was that the young craftsman was brought up and educated in the actual workshop of his master.²³⁶

V. (c. 600 A.D. TO 1200 A.D.)

The *smṛtis* of this period consider all crafts the occupation of *sūdras*. Metal working, ivory working, wood-work, clay-figurine making, textile industry—all such occupations were considered suitable to be pursued by *sūdras*. According to most scholars no revolutionary changes in techniques of crafts took place

during this period but the traditional form of the crafts remained and slow progress of Indian crafts continued during the period.

Textile Industry : From the *Harṣacarita* we know that cloth continued to be made from linseed and cotton. Other varieties of cloth mentioned are *dukūla* (silk prepared from bark of trees), *lālātantu* muslin (*amśūka*) and *netra-silk*. Besides the above varieties of cloth Yuan Chwang mentions wool.²³⁷ The *Harṣacarita* mentions dyed cloth (*pulakabandha*) and silk with flowery designs (*puṣpapatta*).²³⁸ The best variety of silk was woven at Vārāṇasī.²³⁹ Puṇḍra country was famous for linen cloth. Fine quality lined cotton cloth was woven at Mathurā and white linen in Kashmir.²⁴⁰ Kāmarūpa was also famous for its textile industry.²⁴¹ The ruler of Kāmarūpa had sent silk, linen and printed cloth (*chitrapata*) as presents to Harṣa. An Arab traveller states that the muslin from Bengal was so fine that a whole length of 40 yards of it could pass through a finger ring. Ibn Khordadbah has also praised the cloth made in Bengal.

According to Al Idrisi, Multan was also a centre of cloth industry. From the *Manasollāsa*²⁴² we know that Multan, Gujarat and Kalinga were famous for their good quality cloth. From other sources we know that Koṅkaṇa, Malwa and Madura were also great centres of textile industry. Cloth made at Broach was called Baroj and that at Khambat was called Khambayāta. Madhyadeśa (Uttar Pradesh) was famous for its women's upper garment (*cunarīs*). From Chaujukua's account²⁴³ we know that Chintz were made in Gujarat and Malabar, and white cloth in Malabar, and cotton and coloured silk cloth in the Cola country. From Ibn Said²⁴⁴ we know that coloured silk and cotton cloth called Laina were exported from the Pandya country. Warangal²⁴⁵ was famous for its fine quality of

cotton cloth. The above references in the contemporary literature and travellers' accounts show that textile industry was flourishing in various parts of the country in this period.

Medhātithi refers to woollen cloth, linen, silk, and wool prepared from the hair of *rañka* deer, sheep and goats.²⁴⁶ According to Medhātithi widows who did not inherit sufficient money could maintain themselves by spinning and preparing lace from thread.²⁴⁷ The contemporary literature mentions weavers, tailors and dyers. This shows that all these crafts were flourishing in this period.²⁴⁸

Metal Industry

The *Abhidhānaratnamālā*²⁴⁹ and the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*²⁵⁰ mention most of the common metals namely copper, brass, iron, lead, tin, silver and gold. Saurāṣṭra was famous for brass-ware and Bengal for articles of tin.²⁵¹ The *Agni Purāṇa*²⁵² mentions five places namely Khatikhattar, Ṛṣika, Śūrpāraka (Soparā), Vaṅga (Eastern Bengal), Aṅga (Manghyr and Bhagalpur districts of Bihar), which were famous for the manufacture of swords. According to Ibn Haukal²⁵³, Debal in Sindh was also famous for the fine quality of its swords. Copper was used for coinage and making utensils which were used for worship. Utensils and statues were also made with bronze. The bronze images manufactured in the Cola country are considered to be the best specimens of this art. From the inscriptions of Cola temples²⁵⁴ we know that very weighty idols, ornaments and utensils of gold, silver and copper were donated to these temples by Cola rulers. For example Rajaraja I got built a *kalasā* of copper for the pīnnacle of a temple. It was 3083 *palas* in weight.

The best examples of the craft of iron of this period are the beams which have been used in the roofs of temples at Bhubaneswara,

Puri and Konaraka. Each of the beams used in the temples of Konaraka is 35 feet long and its height and width are 7" × 7" or 7½" × 7½".²⁵⁵

From the account of Yuan Chwang we know that king Pūrṇavarman got built a colossal copper image of Buddha and Harṣa got a temple of brass built at Nālandā. The Buddha image was 80 feet high and the temple was more than 100 feet in height.

From the *Mānasollāsā* we know that the throne of the later Calukya rulers was made of gold²⁵⁶ and their beds were decorated with pieces of gold.²⁵⁷ From the inscriptions of this period we know that the rich donors donated ornaments and utensils of gold and silver to the temples. Mahmud of Ghazni took all these with him to Ghazni after his invasions of India.²⁵⁸

Precious stones : Yuan Chwang has written that quartz is available in abundance in India. The *Harṣacharita* and the *Kādambarī* have many references to the use of precious stones in making ornaments.²⁵⁹ The *Agni Purāṇa* gives a list of 39 gems. It describes the qualities of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, pearls, baryls, and sapphires.²⁶⁰ The inscriptions²⁶¹ of the Tanjore temple also mention different kinds of diamonds, rubies and pearls. The ornaments which Rājārāja I donated to the temples consisted of finger rings in each of which there were nine gems namely a diamond, sapphire, pearl, ruby, topaz, coral, emerald, lapislazuli and cinnamon-stone. The *Vaijayanti*²⁶² and the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*²⁶³ mention two other gems namely *sūryakānta* and *candrakānta*. The *Mānasollāsā*²⁶⁴ describes the qualities of all these gems and the places from where they could be had. According to Marco Polo diamonds were available in abundance in Warangal.²⁶⁵

Ivory working : From the inscriptions of this period we know that there were many craftsmen who made articles of ivory such as

the staves of a palanquin. The *Harṣacarita* mentions puppets made of ivory. From Al Ishtakari we know that there was a colony of ivory workers near the Sun temple at Multan. From the Chinese accounts we know that many articles of ivory were taken from India to China.

We have discussed the organization of craft guilds in chapter VI. The rules of these guilds provided full opportunity to a craftsman to develop his craft to the fullest extent possible. The aristocrats fully appreciated the work of craftsmen but their activities were confined to the region where they lived and worked. But on account of sufficient demand, on the part of the aristocrats in India and the rich in foreign countries, Indian industries continued to flourish and were not completely destroyed.

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QUESTIONS

1. Bring out the evidence in support of the view that some sort of craft specialization began in the Neolithic period which also led to trade with the neighbouring people.
2. Discuss the development of metal industries in the Chalcolithic age.
3. Describe critically different crafts developed by Harappan people.
4. Mention the factors responsible for the specialization in crafts in the pre-Gupta Period.
5. Discuss the development of metal industries in the Gupta Period.
6. What evidence do we have that silk and woole industries were well-developed in the Gupta period?
7. Discuss how the cosmetic industry was well-developed in the Gupta Period.
8. Describe the relations between the apprentices and craftsmen in the Gupta Period.
9. Describe the development of textile industry in the Early Medieval Period and the places which were famous for different kinds of textiles.
10. Mention the places famous for manufacture of swords, bronze-images and brass-ware in the Early Medieval Period.
11. Describe the development of the jeweller's art and ivory industry in the Gupta and in the Early Medieval Periods.

Chapter 21

Corporate Economic Life

Cooperation with others who follow the same occupation is a natural instinct of man. Even in the later portions of the *Rgveda* the society was divided into three classes namely the ruling class, the priestly class and the business class. The ruling class and the priestly class were fully organised but the business class was further subdivided into three groups namely cattle-rearers, the farmers and the traders. When industries and trade develop, the process of urbanisation begins in a society. Persons engaged in an industry or trade organise themselves and form guilds to protect the interests of persons following the same profession. Thus guilds came into existence with urbanisation.

First urbanisation in India took place in the Harappan culture. We have discussed in the last two chapters how many crafts and industries developed in that culture and the Harappan people had trade relations not only with various regions of the Indian subcontinent but also with Mesopotamia. Sufficient archaeological and literary evidence is available in support of the view that industries and trade were flourishing in that culture. The uniformity in the products of this culture makes us conclude that the persons engaged in different professions must have been well organized. We can call their organizations protoguilds.

In the Later Vedic literature we have references to words *Śreṣṭhin*¹ and *Śreṣṭhiya* which in the literature of the later times were used for the heads of guilds of industries and

traders. On this basis some scholars think that even in this period organisations of industries and traders were most probably in existence. The word *gaṇa* is also used in the literature of this period. This word in later times was used in the sense of unions. The word *śreṣṭhī* shows that he occupied an honourable status in society. From a reference in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*² it is clear that the *vaiśyas* were called *gaṇaśaḥ* because a single individual's effort could not enable him to earn sufficient wealth. They could do it only by cooperative effort. This makes us conclude that persons following the same profession were organized into guilds which had their own regulations to safeguard the interests of the members of the guild.

From c. 600 B.C. to 300 B.C.

The terms *śreṇī*³, *gaṇa*, *pūga* or *nigama* are generally used in the sense of an assembly of persons following a common craft or dealing in a common commodity. Early Pali literature is full of references to guilds and heads of guilds. The word *śreṣṭhī*⁴ is used in the sense of a head of a guild of traders. In a *Jātaka* the word *Jeṭṭhaka* is used in the sense of the head of one thousand families⁵. In another *Jātaka* there is a reference to 18 guilds⁶. In the *Jātakas* there are references to guilds of masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, silver-smiths, bambooworkers, stonecutters, leather-workers, ivory-workers, jewellers, weavers, potters, oil pressers, basketmakers, dyers, painters, corn-dealers, fishermen, butchers,

barbers, gardeners, boatmen, guides of traders (*sārthavāha*), robbers and money-lenders.⁷ But we do not know which of these are included in the 18 guilds referred to in the aforesaid *Jātaka*. From a study of the *Jātakas* it appears that the traders organised themselves into a guild under the leadership of a *Jeṭṭhaka*, but ordinarily they were not fully organised in this period. The craftsmen on the other hand were well-organised because most of them followed the hereditary profession. A characteristic feature of the crafts and industries was that they were localised. There are many references to streets (*vithī*), or villages named after a craft such as an ivory-workers' street or a washermen's street, a carpenters' village, or a potters' village.⁸ But it appears that there was no restriction on the mobility of craftsmen.⁹ Probably the storekeeper of a guild (*bhāṇḍāgārika*) supervised the production of articles in a guild and stored them till they were sold.¹⁰ Probably the office of *Jeṭṭhaka* was hereditary. When there was some dispute in the *Jeṭṭhaka* of different guilds the king appointed a special tribunal to settle the dispute. Sometimes the heads of guilds were appointed on some responsible government posts.¹¹ Sometimes the guilds could arbitrate even in family disputes such as between a member of the guild and his wife.¹² Some guilds were also invested with some administrative functions such as a woman accused of theft was not permitted to become a nun without the permission of the officials of guild.¹³

From the *Gautama Dharmasūtra* we know that the guilds of farmers, traders, cowkeepers, and moneylenders framed their own rules to regulate the activities of the members of their guilds. These rules were duly recognised by the government. Even the rulers consulted the heads of these guilds about the functioning of these guilds.¹⁴

The *Dharmasūtras* also refer to *gaṇas* and *pūgas*. Only persons following the same profession could be members of a *śreṇī* but any one could be a member of a *pūga*.¹⁵ The evidence of corporations (*nigamas*) and guilds (*śreṇīs*) was considered reliable in the second and the first centuries B.C..¹⁶ This shows that the members of guilds and corporations had good reputation for their integrity in society during the period.

The Maurya Period (c. 300 B.C. to 200 B.C.)

From the *Arthaśāstra* we know that the head of the Accounts department maintained registers in which he recorded the regulations and customs of guilds and corporations (*nigamas*).¹⁷

Three trustworthy commissioners were appointed to collect taxes from the guilds.¹⁸ When there was a dispute about the interpretation of certain rules in trade guilds they were given special relief¹⁹ and the members of these guilds enjoyed some special privileges.²⁰ The income from guilds was considered an important source of state revenue.²¹ Separate plots were earmarked for the buildings of guilds in town-planning.²² In times of financial emergency even the ruler borrowed money from the guilds.²³ In this period the guilds also discharged the functions of banks. They received fixed deposits (*akṣayanivī*) and the interest on these fixed deposits was spent for some charitable purpose in accordance with the wishes of the depositor.

Kauṭilya refers to some traders who unitedly increased the prices of certain commodities or decreased them. They earned 100% profit on their commodities.²⁴ This shows that the traders were fully organised during this period.

Kauṭilya mentions some guilds of *kṣatriyas* who earned their livelihood by trade or

warfare.²⁵ Some guilds maintained their own soldiers and the rulers, when in need, sought the help of these guilds and used the armies maintained by these guilds.²⁶

Kauṭilya has given some special rules for the unions of labourers. For example they were allowed to fulfil the conditions of the contract within seven days from the day mentioned in the contract. The income of the union was divided equally among the members of a union. If a member of the union did not discharge his duty sincerely he was not permitted to continue to be the member of that union.²⁷ According to Kauṭilya the difficulties which the guilds create some times become intolerable for the state.²⁸ This shows that the guilds wielded considerable power even in the Mauryan times when every economic activity was controlled by the state.

The Post-Mauryan Period (c. 200 B.C. to 300 A.D.)

According to Manu, a ruler should punish the member of a guild who does not discharge his duty sincerely.²⁹ He also refers to the breach of contract by a corporation in the same chapter.³⁰ The *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions the members of corporation (*naigamas*) and the *Mahābhārata*, the heads of *gaṇas*. The guilds formed their own regulations and the king could not enforce any laws of his own which were in conflict with the regulations of the guilds. The king had great respect for the heads of the guilds.³¹ The king considered the armies of the guilds a great source of strength to the state.³² To sow the seeds of dissension among the heads of the guilds was considered an established practice to defeat an enemy.³³ The king regarded the heads of guilds so important that after his defeat a ruler did not wish to return to his capital because he did not have the courage to face the heads of guilds in his capital.³⁴

The inscriptions of this period show that even in this period guilds received fixed deposits (*akṣayanīvī*) from individuals. The interest on these fixed deposits was spent for some charitable purpose according to the wishes of the donor. The guilds referred to in these inscriptions are those of corngrinders,³⁵ weavers,³⁶ potters, oil-pressers and makers of water-engines.³⁷ Similar deposits with guilds for charitable purposes are mentioned in many Junnar inscriptions³⁸ of this period.

The Gupta Period (c. 300 A.D. to 700 A.D.)

In the Gupta period on account of the unfettered activities of guilds and corporations, industries and trade flourished. A single merchant could not protect his life and merchandise hence many traders organised themselves into guilds. It is why the law-givers of this period have given detailed rules about the working of guilds and corporations.³⁹ We have many references to architects,⁴⁰ jewellers,⁴¹ agriculturists, traders,⁴² and persons following many other occupations in the literary works of this period. In the inscriptions of this period we have references to guilds of oil-pressers⁴³ and silk-weavers.⁴⁴ Some inscriptions⁴⁵ of this period mention *nagaraśreṣṭhī*. He was most probably the President of the guilds of the city.⁴⁶

There were many guilds at Vaiśālī. The heads of these guilds were called *śreṣṭhī*, *sārthavāha* or *kulika*.

According to Yajñavalkya if an individual took by fraud the property of a guild or corporation, the ruler should confiscate all his property and he should be banished from the country. If a member did not abide by the rules laid down by the guild he was punished by the guild. If there was difference of opinion among the members about the interpretation of some rule the king intervened. As long as an individual was a member of a guild he had

to give all his income to the guild. If he did not do it of his own accord, the ruler compelled him to pay eleven times the amount earned by him to the guild. If the rules of a guild were not against *dharma* and were in accordance with the rules framed by the ruler the guild should compel the members of the guild to follow them.⁴⁷ The *smṛtis* of Nārada⁴⁸ and Bṛhaspati have laid down many rules to regulate the activities of the guilds. For example a new corporation should make its members sign an agreement so that the corporation might have some credit in the market. According to Bṛhaspati all the property of a member who does not fulfil the terms of the agreement should be confiscated and he should be banished from the state.⁴⁹

These guilds also carried out acts of public welfare such as building a temple,⁵⁰ helping poor persons in celebrating the *Upanayana* or marriage ceremony.⁵¹ They also acted as banks and the interest on the fixed-deposits was spent for some charitable purpose according to the wishes of the investor.⁵² The members of these guilds were free to move from one place to another in the country. For example the silk-weavers of Mandasor migrated in a body from Lāṭa to Mandasor.⁵³

Bṛhaspati mentions three important sources of guilds, namely, the money invested by the members themselves, money set apart for some special project and money given by the ruler to finance the guild. According to him all this wealth should be considered the joint property of the members of the guilds.⁵⁴

From the detailed rules of guilds given in the *Nāradaśmṛti* and *Bṛhaspatishmṛti* we know that every guild had a President and an executive committee consisting of two, three or five members. The authors of these *smṛtis* lay down the qualifications of the President of a guild. According to them he should be well versed in the Vedic lore, honest, worthy of that post, have self-control, belong to a respectable

family and be competent to discharge every act of the guild.⁵⁵ The executive committee could impose fines on those who did not do their work sincerely and those who acted against the interests of the guild. Such a member could be debarred from continuing the membership of the guild.⁵⁶ For neglect of duty a member could be censured, warned or be not permitted to continue to be the member of the guild.⁵⁷ If a member did not obey the orders of the executive committee of the guild, the ruler was expected to force him to do the same.⁵⁸ If a guild, treated a member unjustly the king could intervene.⁵⁹ If the members of a guild did not pay the royal dues the guild was forced by the ruler to pay as fine an amount equal to eight times the amount due from it.⁶⁰ The king could restrain a guild from indulging in immoral or anti-state activities.⁶¹

Rules of Partnership

From the rules given in the *Nāradaśmṛti*⁶² and the *Bṛhaspatishmṛti*⁶³ we know that business was also carried on in partnership. According to Nārada in a joint venture the loss, expenses and profit of each partner should either be equal to those of other partners or less than theirs or more than theirs according to his share being equal or less or more than theirs.⁶⁴ Similar views about partnership are expressed by Bṛhaspati.⁶⁵ According to Bṛhaspati proper care should be taken in selection of partners in trade or business. Incompetent or lazy persons or those suffering from a serious disease and those who are unable to contribute financially to joint business should not be made partners.⁶⁶ Only clever, active, intelligent, those familiar with coins of various regions and those skilled in maintaining the account of income and expenditures, honest and enterprising should be made partners.⁶⁷

Bṛhaspati says that whatever property one partner may give or lend authorised by many or whatever contract he may cause to be executed, all that is considered as having been done by all. But when a single partner acts without the assent of all the partners he must give all the loss suffered by that association.⁶⁸ The partners themselves decided whether any partner has committed a fraudulent act and they were authorised to decide what punishment should be awarded to him.⁶⁹ But in case of danger to property if a partner saved it from robbers one tenth of the property should be given to the person who saved the property.⁷⁰ The partners also looked to the interests of a partner after his death. If a person proved that he was the heir of that dead person his share of the property was given to him. But in such a case the state deducted one sixth in the case of a sūdra, one ninth in the case of a vaiśya, one twelfth in the case of kṣatriya and one twentieth of the property in the case of a brāhmaṇa.⁷¹

Partnership was also practised by those making articles of silver, thread, wood, stone or leather and the partners shared the profits in proportion to the nature of the work done by each individual.⁷² Similarly if a headman built a house or a temple or dug pool or made articles of labour he was entitled to get double of what other workers in that craft got as partners.⁷³

These rules about partnership show that there was considerable growth of trade and industries during the Gupta period as compared with the age of the Mauryas.

The Post-Gupta Period (c. 700 A.D. to 1200 A.D.)

From Vijñāneśvara's commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* we know that the members of a *pūga* belonged to one place. Their castes and occupations could be different. The

members of a *śreṇī* followed the same profession. He has mentioned the *śreṇis* of weavers, leather-workers and betel-sellers.⁷⁴ According to Medhātithi⁷⁵ craftsmen, traders, moneylenders and cartdrivers had their own guilds. From Al Biruni⁷⁶ we know that washermen, leatherworkers, jugglers, basketmakers, shield-makers, boatmen, fishermen, hunters, fowlers and weavers had their separate guilds. In the contemporary inscriptions⁷⁷ guilds of oilmen, betel-sellers, wine-merchants, gardeners and drivers of elephants are mentioned. The *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacharita*⁷⁸ gives the number of guilds as eighteen but it seems to be the conventional number. Other contemporary works mention guilds of not only of persons following professions specified above but also those of potters, goldsmiths, cooks, singers, barbers, ropemakers, clothprinters, braziers, tailors, cowkeepers, Bhils, horseholders and shoemakers.⁷⁹

According to Lakṣmīdhara,⁸⁰ Apararka⁸¹ and Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa⁸² the *śreṇis* and *gaṇas* have the right to enter into agreements of which the terms and conditions should be known to every member of the *śreṇi* or *gaṇa*. From the works of the above authors it is clear that the guilds could frame their own regulations even during this period. They also had some judicial powers to decide disputes among the members of the guild.

During this period the guilds could not maintain full control over their members. Some members besides having a share of profit as members of the guild could carry on their private business, but the members of *gaṇas* could not carry on their private business⁸³ as long as they were members of a *gaṇa*. Many people did not make fixed deposits with the guilds during this period.⁸⁴ This shows that the guilds did not have as much credit during this period as they had in the Gupta period. That the executive committees of the guilds could not maintain their full control over

their members is also borne out by the fact that most of the members of the guilds during this period took their disputes to the royal courts.⁸⁵

The *gaṇas* were closely knit associations of craftsmen. Medhātithi mentions the *gaṇas* of masons and priests of temples. According to him the *gaṇas* should appoint subcommittees to decide their personal disputes as members of the guilds.⁸⁶ Architects and carpenters were also organised into *gaṇas*. The members of these *gaṇas* worked very hard to increase the profits of the *gaṇa*. Those who did difficult work were paid more dividend from the profit than those who did easy work.⁸⁷

The *Smṛtichandrikā* lays down that the members of *samūhas* should appoint subcommittees consisting of two, three or five members to decide the disputes of their members. The members had no right to question the decisions of these subcommittees. These *samūhas* could punish their members for an offence on their part.⁸⁸

The guilds (*śreṇis*) could fix the sale price of the articles produced by their members and at times could collect some money as a cess from their members.⁸⁹ There is sufficient evidence to prove that during this period some guilds maintained their own militia.⁹⁰ In this period most of the guilds were converted into castes. The *Mitākṣarā*⁹¹ gives the original meaning of *śreṇī* as an organization of members following the same profession but other contemporary works⁹² give the meaning of *śreṇis* as members of 18 low castes such as washermen. The *Kānhaḍade-prabandha*⁹³ states that there are 4 high castes and 18 *varṇas*. The *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*⁹⁴ gives the meaning of *śreṇī* as *prakṛti*. According to *Pitāmaha*⁹⁵ there are 18 *prakṛtis*. In the early Buddhist literature there are many references to 18 guilds and in the inscriptions⁹⁶ of the early medieval period 18 *prakṛtis* are

mentioned. This makes us conclude that in this period most of the guilds had been reduced to the status of low-castes. In the Jain literature⁹⁷ of this period 18 *śreṇīs* are subdivided into two categories namely touchables and untouchables. This shows that the status of guilds had fallen very low in society in this period because of deterioration in their economic condition.

From Medhātithi⁹⁸ and contemporary inscriptions we know that the activities of most of the guilds were confined to a town or city. They did not have their branches at other places. The head of a guild could censor, warn or remove any member from the membership of the guild if he was found guilty of breach of any regulation of the guild.⁹⁹ But it seems that cases of theft and robbery were tried only by the royal courts. When the guild was not unanimous about a case the matter was referred to a subcommittee of the guild.¹⁰⁰ Even in this period the President of a guild enjoyed great social status. From one of the inscriptions¹⁰¹ we know that Śūlapāṇi, the President of a guild of craftsmen, in north Bengal (Varendra) was given the title of *rānaka* by the ruler of that region. The President could give a sum of money in charity out of the funds of the guild on behalf of the members of a guild and could collect it from the members as a cess on their shares of profits.¹⁰² But if the President of a *samūha* illtreated the members of the corporation the king could direct him to do justice to the member. In spite of the ruler's direction if the President of a *samūha* did not act justly, the king could impose a fine on him, confiscate his property and could banish him from his kingdom.¹⁰³

Apprenticeship

Most of the craftsmen carried on their professions in their houses but they had some apprentices who came to them to learn their crafts. The master-craftsman taught them the

craft in which he was an expert. He made arrangements for their lodging and food. The apprentices produced some articles by their labour but the master craftsmen did not pay any remuneration for this work to the apprentices. According to Lakṣmīdhara¹⁰⁴ if an apprentice did not work sincerely the master craftsmen could punish him with a stick. From the *Kṛtyakalpataṛu* it appears that the practice of carrying down technical education from the master-craftsman to the apprentices continued even in the early medieval period in India. It seems that the treatment meted out to the apprentice by the master-craftsman was generally humane. He treated him like his own son.

Guilds in South India

South Indian inscriptions of the early medieval period throw a flood of light on the working of guilds and corporations of craftsmen and traders of that region. They mention guilds of workers in copper and bronze, weavers, oilpressers, carpenters, blacksmiths, potters.¹⁰⁵ One of these inscriptions¹⁰⁶ dated 902-903 A.D. mentions a gift by four Presidents of a guild of 360 towns, and an inscription of Rājādhirāja mentions a donation by a guild of oilpressers of 24 towns.¹⁰⁷ These inscriptions show that the corporate activities of the guilds of persons following different professions in South India were not confined to one town. Their activities spread to many towns and these guilds, unlike those of north India, continued their activities in a well-organized manner even in early medieval India as we know that some of them continued to receive fixed deposits even in the 11th century A.D.¹⁰⁸

Traders' Guilds

The traders were also well-organized in South India. The traders' guild was called

baṇaṇja. From an inscription¹⁰⁹ found in Trichinopoly district we know that 98 groups of *valangais* and 98 groups of *iḍaṅgais* entered into an agreement with a view to form a joint front against the oppression of *vanniya* tenants, *brāhmaṇas* and *Velalāla* landlords who were being supported by government officials. This inscription clearly shows that the traders of South India were prepared to raise their heads against all kinds of oppression and were prepared to merge their small organizations into a powerful big organization for that purpose.

Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam

Two other semi-autonomous traders' organizations were *añjuvaṇṇam* and *Maṇigrāmam*.¹¹⁰ These two traders' guilds are mentioned in three gift deeds found in Kottayam and Cochin and are referred to in a Malayalam work, the *Patāinur Pattola*. Special privileges were granted to these traders' guilds by the ruler.

The existence of these trade guilds with wide powers and their activities being spread to many towns show that trade corporations in South India were well-organized upto the end of early medieval India.

Conclusion

The uniformity of craft products in the Harappan culture makes us conclude that crafts were well-organized even in the pre-historic times. The use of words like *śreṣṭhin*, *śreṣṭhiya* and *gaṇa*, which in later times were associated with corporate bodies, makes it probable that corporate activities were carried on in the Vedic period. But definite evidence of the existence of corporate institutions like *śreṇīs* with their activities confined to one village or street of a town comes from the early Buddhist literature. The existence of these institutions is also supported by many

references in the *Jātakas*. Although in the Maurya period all economic activity was controlled by the government the guilds continued their activities and industries and trade flourished. In the Kuṣāṇa period trade activities of Indian traders probably reached their zenith resulting in the unexpected development of Indian industries. But it was in the Gupta period that the corporate activities of guilds had full play as the government encouraged the guilds and punished those craftsmen and traders who did not follow the regulations framed by the guilds.

In the post-Gupta period, on account of the growth in the power of feudal lords and the weakening of the central authority there was no peace and order, and traders were robbed both on land and sea, so their activities were limited to coastal trade and in the country in those luxury articles which could be carried on, without much risk, to distant regions. The guilds in northern India did not have as much credit in this period as they had in the Gupta period. Only a few persons deposited fixed deposits with them. In fact the guilds in north India were converted to the status of low castes. They did not have that social status which they enjoyed in the Gupta period and their activities were confined to a town or city. But in South India guilds of craftsmen and traders continued to be very powerful even upto the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. They were so powerful that they could unitedly curb the activities both of anti-social elements in business and trade and also government officers who wished to extort money by collecting taxes which were illegal and detrimental to the interests of both the producers and the purchasers. For this reason South India continued to be more prosperous than north even in the early medieval period.

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QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the evidence which shows that some form of guilds existed in the later Vedic Period.
2. Give a critical description of the guilds on the basis of the *Jātakas* and the *Sūtras*.
3. Describe the *Nigamas* and the *Śrenīs* in the Maurya Period and describe the important rules made by these *Śrenīs*.
4. Discuss the credit of *Śrenīs* in the pre-Gupta period on the basis of fixed deposits (*akṣayanīvī*) that people made with them.
5. How were the rules made by the guilds enforced in the Gupta period? Also mention the acts of public welfare carried out these guilds.
6. Describe the rules laid down by the *Nārada-smṛiti* and *Bṛhaspati-smṛiti* for partnership in the Gupta Period.
7. Distinguish between a 'Pūga', 'Gana' and a 'Śrenī'. Also mention the crafts and professions of the people who had organized themselves into guilds in the Early Medieval Period.
8. Show that the guilds did not have as much credit in the Early Medieval Period as they had in the Gupta period. Also mention the fact that makes us conclude that during this period the guilds did not have full control over their members.
9. Discuss the relations between the ruler, the president of a guild and its members in the Early Medieval Period.
10. Bring out the evidence that shows that guilds of many towns worked jointly in south India in the Early Medieval Period.
11. Mention the names of the trader's guilds in south India and give a brief description of their activities.

Chapter 22

Trade and Commerce

According to Allchin, Indians in the Late Stone Age had begun exchanging articles. Above conclusion is based on a number of sites discovered in Central India, Northern Mysore and Śrī Lankā where stone implements were made for many tribes living at different sites in the neighbourhood.¹ When the Neolithic people settled in the neighbourhood of the Late Stone Age people this process of exchange became common. Probably the Late Stone Age people gave the Neolithic people stone implements in exchange for corn. Thus, the process of exchange and distribution of articles had started as early as the Late Stone Age.¹ From the excavations at many sites in South India implements of a particular kind of stone were taken to places which were at a distance of 50 miles from the site where this variety of stone was available. Stone implements of one kind were exchanged for those of a different kind.²

From the uniformity met with in the products of crafts in the Harappan culture it can be inferred that crafts were well organized and there was a properly planned distribution system. A particular kind of stone was brought from one place and implements, weights, beads and seals of a uniform pattern were made in the whole area covered by this culture.³

For trade it was necessary to regulate the rates of exchange, weights and measures. Seals were most probably used on bales of cloth which were exported to foreign countries. Probably Lothal was a port from which the

products of this culture were exported to foreign countries by sea route. Probably stone flakes, seals, and beads etc. were brought to Lothal through navigable rivers. Probably gold was brought from the mines of Mysore, silver from Afghanistan, copper from Rajasthan, Baluchistan and Arabia, lead from Eastern India or South India and Lapis-lazuli from Badakhshan in North-eastern Afghanistan, agate, calcedony and carnelian from Maharashtra and jade from Central Asia.⁴ This shows that the Harappan people had trade relations with distant people.

Foreign trade: We have two kinds of evidences in support of the view that the Harappans had trade relations with foreign countries, archaeological and literary. The most important archaeological evidence consists of about two dozen seals which were discovered at Susa and other towns of Mesopotamia and which are similar to those found at Harappan sites. The carnelian beads, and articles inlaid with shell and bones which were found at Mesopotamian sites also show that the Mesopotamians had trade relations with Harappan people. At Harappan sites have been found three cylindrical seals⁵ and some metal objects which clearly show that they were imported from Mesopotamia. Probably cotton, spices and wood of different kinds were also exported to Mesopotamia of which we have no remains now. At Lothal was found a button shaped seal which was similar to those found in the Persian Gulf. A bun-shaped slab of silver

shows that it must have been imported from a foreign country.⁶

On Harappan seals we find figures of ships and a terracotta ship was discovered at Lothal. Steatite boats, seals and carnelian beads all show that the Harappan people had trade contacts with Mesopotamian towns like Sumer, Elam and Tylos. The dock-yard found at Lothal shows that this trade was carried on both by the sea route and the land route.⁷ We have enough evidence in support of the view that textiles were exported from India to Mesopotamia. In India probably trade was carried on by means of boats plying in the rivers and by carts carrying articles of trade on roads connecting various towns.⁸

From literary sources we know that in the reign of Sargon of Agade (c. 2300 B.C.) traders of Ur went to many foreign countries. One of the towns mentioned is Meluhha⁹ which has been identified with some port of north-western India. From this port were exported to Mesopotamia, various kinds of woods including ebony and copper, gold, carnelian, ivory and pearls.

In the Rgvedic period most of the trade was carried on by exchange of goods but even in this period cow was considered a medium of trade.¹⁰ *Niṣka* was a gold necklace¹¹ in the beginning but later it was also used as a coin for giving as a reward to a poet.¹² From a hymn of the *Rgveda* it appears that the custom of haggling¹³ for fixing the price of articles was in vogue even in this period. For a trader the word *vaṇij*¹⁴ has been used in the *Rgveda*. The *Rgveda* refers to sea voyages¹⁵ by traders but it does not mention to which countries these traders went for trade. Another hymn of the same work refers to a ship with 100 oars.¹⁶ On the basis of these references V.M. Apte is of opinion that the Rgvedic Aryans used to carry on trade by going on sea voyages.¹⁷

In the Later Vedic period also traders sold their articles by the system of barter. They dealt in cloth, bed-covers, skin of goats, etc.¹⁸ They were afraid of wild animals and robbers hence they prayed to Indra¹⁹ for protection. Another class of traders mentioned in the literature of this period was called *pani*.²⁰ They were traders as well as moneylenders. Probably they were non-Aryans as they did not worship Vedic gods and were misers. In the Later Vedic literature the word *sāgara*²¹ has been used in the sense of sea and from the archaeological evidence we know that Indian traders went to foreign countries for trade by sea route. The discovery of Indian cedar in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar (604-562 B.C.) and of Indian teak in the temple of the moon-god at Ur point to the existence of an intercourse between India, Egypt and Mesopotamia.²²

II. 600 B.C. TO 300 A.D.

The mention of a ritual in a *Gṛhyasūtra*²³ shows the importance of trade in this period. In this ritual (*panyasiddhi*) a part of the article of trade in which the trader dealt was offered to god fire and the trader prayed to god Soma that he might earn much profit by investing the money which he had with him. Traders in India brought articles from regions where they were available at a cheap price and sold them in regions where there was a great demand for them. In this internal trade roads joining different regions of the country played a vital role. From the early Buddhist literature we know about the following important routes.

The first important route connected northern India with the Deccan. It started from Śrāvastī and reached Pratiṣṭhāna. It passed through Kauśāmbī, Sāketa, Vanasamaya, Vidiśā, Gonaddha, Ujjayinī and Māhiṣmatī. Other towns which were joined by connecting

roads to this main route were Kuśīnārā, Mandira, Pāvā, Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra.²⁴ From the *Periplus* we know that cotton cloth in large quantities was taken from Ujjayinī by this route to Bhṛgukaccha for export to foreign countries.²⁵ Other articles which were brought to Bhṛgukaccha for export were agate, carnelian and muslin.²⁶ Carnelian was brought from Pratiṣṭhāna and many varieties of cotton cloth from Tagara.²⁷

The second route connected Bhṛgukaccha with Tāmralipti through Kauśāmbī. Probably traders who went from Vārāṇasī to Ujjayinī took this route.²⁸ Champā and Pāṭaliputra were also connected with this route.²⁹ Traders bought muslin from Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Vārāṇasī and sold it at Ujjayinī from where it was sent to Bhṛgukaccha for export to foreign countries.

The third route connected Pāṭaliputra with Pattala in the delta of the Indus. From there many traders went to Iran. Through this route many Iranian horses were brought to the cities situated in the plains of the Ganges.

The fourth route connected Champā with Puṣkalāvati.³⁰ It passed through Kāmpilya³¹ and Sāketa.³² Traders who brought horses from Afghanistan took this route. Many articles from Himalayan regions such as skins, wool, spices and precious stones were brought to towns along this route and sent to distant places.

The fifth route connected Bhṛgukaccha with Puṣkalāvati.³³ Through this route spikenard of Kashmir, the Hindukush and Kabul was taken to Bhṛgukaccha³⁴ for export to western countries.

From Puṣkalāvati traders went to Bactria³⁵ through the Pamir plateau. They brought Chinese raw silk, silk thread and silk cloth from Bactria to India. From Bhṛgukaccha these articles were exported to western countries.³⁶ Indian articles were also sent to western

countries by a land route which connected Bactria with the Caspian Sea, through the Oxus. From a Chinese chronicle we know that China established its supremacy on the Tarim basin when trade in Chinese silk increased. Trade in the Chinese silk had great political and economic impact on people residing in the valley of the Oxus, North-Western India and Western Asia. The Chinese emperor Wuti (c. 140-46 B.C.) maintained friendly relations with the rulers of Faghana, Bactria and Parthia.³⁷

The route which connected Puṣkalāvati with Bactria was not safe. Tribal people often robbed Indian traders passing through this route. In the first century of the Christian era this route became very unsafe when Parthia was entangled in wars with its neighbours. Most of Indian traders then went by the sea route to western countries. But when the Kuṣāṇa empire extended from Central Asia to India, there was great increase in India's trade with Mesopotamia and China.

Protection of Inland Routes by the Government : From the *Mahāvagga* we know that every state (*janapada*) looked after the maintenance of roads and government boats were available for crossing rivers.⁶ Aśoka got constructed many rest-houses³⁹ near the main roads. There were also stones along the main roads to show the distance between different places.⁴⁰ Inland trade was also carried on by boats plying in rivers. Many traders of Vārāṇasī preferred to travel through rivers,⁴¹ and avoided land routes as the danger on land routes was more than that on river routes. In land routes traders had to face many wild, ferocious animals in forests through which they passed. In deserts caravans of traders travelled during night as it was very hot during the day. Traders engaged a *Sārthavāha* who showed them the route and told them the dangers which they had to face along the route.

Traders faced all these dangers because if they returned safe, they earned enormous profits.⁴²

Manu lays down that the state should confiscate all the property of a trader who exports those commodities in which the state had a monopoly.⁴³ In Vārāṇasī⁴⁴ and Ayodhyā⁴⁵ there were shops where all kinds of luxury goods such as muslins, ornaments and scents were available. The *Periplus*⁴⁶ states that Pratiṣṭhāna, Ter, Sopārā and Kalyāṇa were important centres of trade in the Deccan. This shows that trade was flourishing both in north India and south India. This fact is supported by the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* in which it is stated that the rulers of Aparānta (south western India) presented to Yudhiṣṭhira cotton cloth, those of China and Bāhlika (Bactria) silk, those of Kāmboja (Ghazana) blankets, those of eastern part of Aparānta iron-weapons, those of north-western India horses and camels, and those of south India elephants.

Manu lays down that the ruler should keep in view the interests of both the traders and the purchasers while imposing taxes on various commodities and he should examine the price list of all important articles every fortnight and see that the traders do not underweigh or measure less than what they were expected to measure.⁴⁷ According to him the ruler should impose a tax which is equal to 5% of the profit of a merchant. It should not be on his investment in it.⁴⁸ Similar views have been expressed in the *Mahābhārata*.⁴⁹

Foreign Trade (By Land Route and Sea Route) (600 B.C. 300 A.D.)

Western Asia—In the third century B.C. the rulers of Bactria and Parthia became independent of the hegemony of Syria. This gave great impetus India's trade with Western Asia. From the excavations at Begram it is evident that this trade was in a flourishing

condition and many countries were participating in this trade.⁵⁰ The empires of the Kuṣāṇas, the Parthians and the Romans became very rich on account of the profits gained by large scale transactions carried on through their respective territories.⁵¹

From the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* we know that many traders of northern India went on sea voyages for trade during this period.⁵² The *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵³ has many references to boats laden with merchandise. Similar references are met with in the early Buddhist works.⁵⁴ The *Jātakas* refer to ships going to distant lands fully equipped with masts and sails.⁵⁵ The Kṣatris offered Alexander's forces ships having 30 oars.⁵⁶ From the *Jātakas* we know that there were ships in each of which 1000 passengers could travel in one trip.⁵⁷ The early Buddhist literature⁵⁸ and the *Jātakas*⁵⁹ refer to crows which were used by mariners in the seas to know the direction. Pliny⁶⁰ also refers to such crows.

Kauṭilya has laid down that the government should return the fare to the trader if a ship sinks on account of some defect in the ship and should pay compensation for the goods lost.⁶¹ From the *Manusmṛiti* we know that the fare for ships going to distant lands was not fixed. It could vary according to the risks involved in the voyage.⁶² From Megasthenes we know that the Maurya government gave ships on hire to traders⁶³ and from the *Milindapañha* we know that there were many private owners of ships who gave their ships to traders⁶⁴ on hire. These owners of ships were organised into guilds.⁶⁵

When north-western India became a part of the Iranian empire in the sixth century B.C. Indians paid to the Iranian emperor as tribute 360 talants of gold powder which is equal to 9 tons and 5 cwt. Indians could have paid that much gold only because their trade with Western Asia was flourishing. When Hippalus

discovered the existence of monsoon winds in the first century B.C. Indian traders preferred to go by sea route. In this trade sailors of Arabia took a prominent part. Indian traders went to south Arabia and eastern Africa, and some of them settled in the island of Socotra in the first century A.D.

When Roman emperors established their hegemony over Egypt and Augustus (31 B.C. to 14 A.D.) and established peace and order in the Mediterranean region, the Indian rulers maintained friendly relations with the Roman emperors.⁶⁶ All this gave great impetus to India's trade with the West.

From the *Periplus*⁶⁷ we know that on the western coast of the Deccan the most important port in the first century A.D. was Bhṛgukaccha. To a little south of it Sūrpāraka (Sopārā) and in the delta of the Indus Barbaricum were also important ports during this time. The most important port of the eastern coast was Tāmralipti. From this port products of the Ganges basin were exported to the East.⁶⁸ From the *Milindapañha* we know that ships sailed from this port to Bengal, Malay Peninsula, China, Gujarat, Kāthiawar, Alexandria, Coromandal coast and the Eastern Archipelago.⁶⁹

India's trade with the Romans was at its peak from the reign of Trajan to that of Marcus Aurelius (161 to 180 A.D.)⁷⁰ From 190 A.D. Rome was entangled in a political conflict hence India's trade with the country declined considerably.

Exports—Theophrastus (3rd century B.C.) mentions the following plant products which were imported to Rome from India :

Cardamom, cinnamon, cassia, black-pepper, ginger, lemon, rice, lentil, cotton, jackfruit, banana, mango and ebony. From other sources we know that sugar, indigo, textiles, gum and many kinds of wood were also exported to the West from India. From

the *Periplus* we know that lions, tigers and parrots were also exported from India to Rome. Skins were exported from Barbaricum. According to this work, wheat, rice, clarified butter, oil of sesame, cotton textiles and sugar were exported to Africa from India. Pliny mentions ivory, skulls of tortoise and horns of rhinoceros. But the most precious article of Indian exports were pearls. According to the *Periplus*, ebony,⁷¹ teak⁷² and sandalwood⁷³, and according to Pliny, bamboos⁷⁴ were exported from India.

Other items of export were silk yarn, pepper,⁷⁵ cinnamon,⁷⁶ aloes,⁷⁷ indigo,⁷⁸ and sugar.⁷⁹ Of the precious stones diamonds, sapphires⁸⁰ and iron-swords⁸¹ and spear-heads were exported from India to foreign countries like Arabia.

India exported to Rome mostly luxury items such as spices, scents, pearls, precious stones and fine muslins. But in the reigns of Nero and Caracalla (A.D. 217) the import in Rome of luxury items declined and that of necessities such as cotton textiles increased.

Imports—On the port of Broach were imported beautiful maidens for the king's harem. Horses were imported from Arabia and Egypt. Cloth made of hemp was brought to Barbaricum, Muziris and Nelsindi from foreign countries. Wines and dates were brought from Omman to Broach. Cloves were also imported at Broach. Iron was brought from Egypt, gold and silver from Omman and according to Apologus tin, copper and lead were imported at Broach. Other items of import were thin clothing, figured linens of Egypt and Babylon, Topaz from Egypt, the red coral of the western Mediterranean, storax, frankincense from Arabia, vessels of glass, silver, gold plates, and little wine, antimony and ointments.⁸²

The balance of trade was completely in India's favour. According to Pliny, India, the Seres and the Arabian peninsula drained from

the Roman empire 100 million sesterces (equal to £ 70,000) yearly.⁸³

Trade with Śrī-Laṅkā and South India

The ships which went to the East Indies passed through Śrī-Laṅkā.⁸⁴ These ships brought gold, silver and sapphire from distant lands.⁸⁵ Horses from Sindh and Punjab, gold and precious stones from northern India and coral from the eastern seas were brought to Kāveripattanam.⁸⁶

Trade with Burma and Indonesia

Many sailors from Andhra, Kalinga and Bengal went to Burma, Malaya, Sumatra, Java and Combodia. The products of northern India were exported to these countries from the port of Tāmralipti.⁸⁷

On account of flourishing trade many cities and ports became important trade centres during the period.

The important cities of northern India and the Deccan situated along the main routes were the following :

Puṣkalāvati, Takṣaśilā, Śākala, Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, Kanauj, Vārāṇasī, Pāṭaliputra, Champā, Vaiśālī, Puṇḍranagara, Dakṣiṇāpathaka, Vidiśā, Ujjayinī, Pratiṣṭhāna, Tagaria and Dhānyakaṭaka.

Of the far south two important cities were Kāñchī and Madurā.

Many foreign articles were brought to these cities by traders for rich inhabitants of these cities who were eager to buy them at very high prices because on account of the development of industries and trade they had become very rich.

On the mouth of the Indus the most important port was Barbaricum.⁸⁸ To the south of it was Pattala⁸⁹ and on the western coast of the Deccan Broach,⁹⁰ Sopārā,⁹¹ Kalayāna,⁹² Chaula,⁹³ Pāripattana⁹⁴ (Debāla), Vaijayantī, Tīṇḍis⁹⁵ and Muziris⁹⁶ were the important

ports which were visited by many ships with foreign merchandise brought from Arabia and Greece.

Important ports on the eastern coast of the Deccan were Korkoi, Camara,⁹⁷ Poduka,⁹⁸ Mosalia,⁹⁹ Kaṇṭakasela,¹⁰⁰ Palūrā,¹⁰¹ Tāmralipti and Gange.¹⁰² Pearl fishery was the important industry of Korkoi. Horses and pepper were brought to Camara. Many Roman traders came to Podukā in the first century A.D. Many ships from Kaṇṭakasela sailed to the East Indies. Ivory was exported from Palūrā. As we have stated before the products of the Ganges basin were exported to the East Indies from Tāmralipti.

If we accept that the age of the Imperial Guptas was the golden age of ancient India we should admit that the foundations of this prosperity were laid in the Post-Mauryan period (c. 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.), when India's trade relations extended up Rome in the west and the East Indies in the east.

III. (c. 300 A.D. TO 600 A.D.)

In the Kuṣāṇa period India's trade reached its zenith. In the Gupta period India's trade relations continued with Egypt, Greece, Rome, Iran, Arabia, Syria on the west and Śrī Laṅkā, Cambodia, Siam, Sumatra, Malaya and China on the east. Thus, in this period India became a centre of international trade.

Inland Trade—In the Gupta period a market was organised in some village or in a group of villages every week or every fortnight.¹⁰³ In this market villagers either bartered or purchased products of various villages.¹⁰⁴ Traders purchased all surplus goods¹⁰⁵ to sell them at a great profit at places where they were in short supply. They also brought and sold all those articles which the villagers required and were in short supply in the area where the market was organized.

There were two kinds of traders, petty traders who met the local needs and big traders¹⁰⁶ who brought articles from distant places and sold them to petty traders.¹⁰⁷ The big traders hired carts, labourers, boats, ships for carrying their goods and some of them became very rich as a result of lucrative foreign trade. We find mention of such a trade in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. The big traders may be divided into two categories. *Śreṣṭhis*¹⁰⁸ carried on their own trade and lent money on interest to other traders. Such *Śreṣṭhis* were greatly respected in society and their leader was appointed a member of the district advisory council. A *sārvavāha*¹⁰⁹ guided the caravan of traders through forests and deserts. In the forests the caravans of traders were looted by robbers. It was for this reason that some traders sold their articles at a price three times their cost-price. The *sārvavāhas* were also accorded great respect in society. Nārada has laid down detailed rules for the payment of hire charges. This shows that trade was flourishing in this period.

In the country, trade was mostly confined to items of daily use such as milk, curd, clarified butter, honey, resin, spices, wines, meat, cooked rice, sesame, flowers, fruits, semi-precious stones, slaves, weapons, salt, flour, plants, clothes, silk, leather, bones, blankets, animals, earthen ware, butter milk, vegetables, ginger and medicinal plants.¹¹⁰

Some traders went to distant places to bring such articles as pepper¹¹¹, sandalwood, and coral from south India; musk, saffron, and yak's tail from the Himalayan region,¹¹² elephants from Kalinga,¹¹³ Aṅga¹¹⁴ and Assam¹¹⁵ and horses from north-western India. They brought copper, iron and mica from south Bihar and probably gold from Mysore.

Nārada and Brhaspati have laid down numerous rules to safeguard the interests of

both the buyers and the sellers. For example if a merchant sold a defective article without pointing out the defect to the purchaser he had to give twice the price of the article to the purchaser and an amount equal to the price of the article as fine to the government.¹¹⁶ Nārada has laid down what percentage of the price of the article is to be deducted by the merchant from the amount paid by the purchaser in case the latter returned the article, one, two or three days after the day of purchase.¹¹⁷

Foreign Trade—Foreign trade was carried on both by land routes and the sea routes. There were many dangers in land routes¹¹⁸ as well as sea routes. There were many pirates who robbed the traders of their merchandise. Sometimes ships struck against rocks in the seas and sank, sometimes ships sank on account of storms in the seas.¹¹⁹ But traders eager to have large profits faced all these perils.

From the accounts of Fa-hien (400-411 A.D.) and Cosmas (525-535 A.D.) we know that the important Indian ports in the Gupta period were the following :

Tāmrālipti,¹²⁰ Sindh, Gujarat, Kalyāṇa and five ports of the Malābar coast namely Chaula Parati, Mangalore, Śālopattana, Nalopattana and Pāṇḍopattana.¹²¹ From Tāmrālipti (Tamluk) in West Bengal many ships went to Śrī Laṅkā, China and the East Indies. From the ports of Malabar pepper was exported to foreign countries.

Trade with Śrī Laṅkā—According to Cosmas ships from India, Iran and Ethiopia¹²² visited Śrī Laṅkā. It imported silk, aloes, cloves, sandalwood, pepper, copper, cotton cloth, linseed oil, musk and nards.¹²³ Horses and elephants were imported for the royal army.¹²⁴

The most important item of exports from Śrī Laṅkā were pearls.¹²⁵ Probably silver¹²⁶ was also exported to India as there were no

mines of silver in India. Muslin was exported for the residents of Kashmir.¹²⁷

The above references show that there was brisk trade between India and Śrī Lankā during the Gupta period.

Trade with Cambodia and China

From the chronicles of the Tang dynasty we know that India exported to Cambodia diamonds, sandalwood and saffron.¹²⁸ From the accounts of Fa-hien¹²⁹ and the Sungchu chronicles¹³⁰ we know that India exported to China horns of rhinoceros, pearls, and many varieties of textiles including very fine cloth¹³¹ and saffron.¹³²

Silk was imported into India¹³³ from China and exported from India to Arabia, Parthia and Western Asia.¹³⁴

Thus India's trade with China led to prosperity of both the countries.

Trade with Persia and Arabia

From chronicles of the Han dynasty we know that pepper was also grown in India. According to Ibn Haukal,¹³⁵ pepper, sandalwood and many drugs were exported from Iran. On the basis of the above statement Laufer¹³⁶ thinks that pepper was imported to Iran from India, many horses of good species were brought to India from Arabia.

Trade with the Roman Empire

In the early centuries of the Christian era India's trade with Rome was at its climax, but after the division of the empire in 364 A.D., there was political confusion in Rome and hence India's trade with the country considerably declined though it continued. In 408 A.D. when Alaric the leader of the Goths, seized Rome, he demanded and obtained as a part of the ransom, 3,000 pounds of silk. This shows that even after the division of the

empire India's volume of trade with Rome was considerable.¹³⁷

Trade with the Byzantine Empire

Many coins of the Byzantine empire of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries have been discovered in southern, western and eastern India. This shows that India had good trade relations with the empire during these centuries. From the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian¹³⁸ we know the names of articles imported to the empire. These included Indian wool, Indian iron, Indian scents, pearls, diamonds, sapphires, sardonys, jacinth, turquoise, beryl, raw silk, silk yarn, silk robes, cinnamon, long pepper, white pepper, nard, cardamom, ivory and Indian eunuchs. Procopius¹³⁹ informs us that the monopoly of silk trade with the West was in the hands of Iranians who used to buy silk from Indians. Thus it seems that silk and spices were the chief exports of India to the Byzantine empire.

Trade with Ethiopia

From the account of Cosmas¹⁴⁰ we know that emeralds were brought from Ethiopia to India. Other exports of Ethiopia to India were large tusks of elephants and spices such as frankincense and cassia.¹⁴¹

From records of Justinian and Procopius we conclude that the balance of trade with the two parts of the Roman empire was still in favour of India although it was less than that in the first century A.D. We do not find any Chinese coins in the Gupta period. This shows that India's trade with China was mainly by barter and probably the balance of trade in this case was equal.¹⁴² India established cultural contacts in the Gupta period through trade with other countries of South-East Asia such as Malay Peninsula, Siam, Cambodia, Indo-China, Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo and

Indonesia. This shows that India was one of the foremost maritime countries in the Gupta period.¹⁴³

IV. (c. 600 A.D. TO C. 1200 A.D.)

Inland Trade—From the literature¹⁴⁴ of the post-Gupta period it is evident that Indian traders in this period went to every part of the country where articles were available at a cheap price and sold them in regions where they were in great demand. This fact is corroborated by the Ahar inscription dated 953 A.D. which states that traders from Kaṣṇāṭa, Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa and Takkā assembled there to pay the cess on their merchandise. According to Medhātithi¹⁴⁵ a trader should know in which part of the country rice or barley is available, in which part of the year, what the trade regulations are in that region, what kind of traders there are, and what difficulties he will have to face in a particular region. He should also know the languages spoken in different parts of the country so that he may be able to explain his intention with ease to traders of that region. All this shows that successful traders must have had all this information with them before proceeding to different parts of the country.

Traders generally travelled in caravans.¹⁴⁶ The leader of the caravan announced before proceeding on a journey what facilities he would provide to the traders who would join his caravan¹⁴⁷ such as merchandise, foodgrains or carts, mules or buffaloes for carrying goods, and protection from wild animals and robbers.

From Medhātithi we know that oxen, mules, buffaloes and other animals were either yoked to carts or goods were carried on their backs.¹⁴⁸ Probably residents of eastern India did not use camels or carts in which camels were yoked to carry their merchandise.¹⁴⁹

Some of the owners of carts, animals or boats had become very rich¹⁵⁰ by giving them on hire. The rules in the smṛtis for charging hire were similar to those enforced in the Gupta period.

Roads were not metalled and were uneven.¹⁵¹ When the army moved, trees had to be uprooted to make a road.¹⁵² This shows that the number of good roads was limited. But along the good roads there were watersheds¹⁵³ and rest houses¹⁵⁴ for travellers where they were provided with food, hot-water and oil.

Many traders preferred to travel by boats playing in navigable rivers.¹⁵⁵ There were officers who looked after boats provided by the government to the traders on hire.¹⁵⁶ There were only a few permanent bridges¹⁵⁷ on the rivers. Most of the bridges were pontoon bridges.¹⁵⁸

In this period roads became insecure because of the increase in the power of the feudal lords. Yuan Chwang himself was robbed twice¹⁵⁹ and traders were always afraid of being robbed either by robbers¹⁶⁰ or small feudal chiefs. It is why Medhātithi lays down that a ruler should protect traders from the petty rulers¹⁶¹ as well as from robbers. For example we know that a feudal chief named Ghughul¹⁶² used to rob traders of their merchandise. Lakṣmaṇa,¹⁶³ the founder of Cāhamāna dynasty, had robbed a caravan of traders in horses. It was probably for this reason that the number of caravans of traders had decreased substantially during this period.¹⁶⁴

Foreign Trade (By Land Route)

From the Chinese sources¹⁶⁵ we know that there was a struggle for supremacy in Central Asia during the period 650 A.D. to 750 A.D. The four powers which took part in this struggle were the Turks, the Tibetans, the Arabs and

the Chinese. Initially the Chinese emperors spread their sphere of influence over Central Asia upto Iran¹⁶⁶ and one of them sought the help of Uighars, Indian rulers and the Caliph of Baghdad against the Tibetans.¹⁶⁷ India's trade by land route decreased considerably because the Chinese could not for long maintain their supremacy in Central Asia.¹⁶⁸ Most of the Indian traders then went to China and the West by sea routes.

From the itinerary of Kia Tan (785-805 A.D.) we know that the route from Kāmarūpa to China passing through northern Burma was frequently used by travellers during the eighth century A.D.¹⁶⁹ Many traders went to China through a route which passed through Tibet and started from Bihar.¹⁷⁰

Many traders going to Iran used to take the route passing through north western India. When the Arabs occupied Sindh, Indians established intimate cultural relations with the Caliphs of Baghdad. Many Arab travellers¹⁷¹ have referred to this route in their accounts.

Imports through the North Western route

Horses were brought from Bactria (Bāhlika), Kamboja, Turuṣka,¹⁷² Iran, Vanāyu and Sindhu.¹⁷³ Besides horses, saffron and asafoetida were imported from Bāhlika.¹⁷⁴ Probably a wine named Kāpiśāyani was also imported from Kāpiśa through this route.

In the *Vaijayanṭi* and the *Purāṇas* inhabitants of north-western India are mentioned with the Chinese. From this D.C. Sircar¹⁷⁵ concludes that some Indians continued to go to China through this route even during this period.

The treatment of the Pratihāra and the Gāhādavāla rulers towards the Arab traders

Many Arab traders came to India and settled in different parts of the country. This

resulted in great economic loss to Indian traders. Probably the Pratihāra and Gāhādavāla rulers realized this. It was why they imposed many restrictions on these traders. One of these restrictions was the imposition of a tax named *Turuṣkadanḍa*¹⁷⁶ which the Gāhādavāla rulers imposed on the Arab traders.

Foreign trade (By Sea Route)

In the Gupta period the prominent partners in the foreign trade were Iran, India, Indonesia and Śrī Laṅkā.¹⁷⁷ But after the Arabs occupied Sindh in 710 A.D. they became the most important partners in this trade in the ninth century A.D. In the tenth century A.D. the traders of Indonesia and China became equal partners in this trade. In the twelfth century A.D. the Chinese traders became more powerful than the Arab traders. Their ships were big, better equipped and stronger than those of other countries.¹⁷⁸ Indian ships were smaller and their speed was less than that of the ships of the Arabs. Besides this the Indian rulers were unable to give due protection to Indian ships. Many pirates looted Indian traders from the Gulf of Kaccha to Śrī Laṅkā, in the delta of the Tigris, in the southern part of the Red Sea and upto Zanzibar.¹⁷⁹ Pirates were also active from the Andamans to Indonesia.¹⁸⁰ On account of these pirates Indian sailors did not go to distant lands. The law-givers¹⁸¹ of this period also discouraged sea voyages, hence activities of Indian mariners were not as wide in the early medieval period as in the Gupta period.

India's trade with China

From a Chinese account¹⁸² we know that in 749 A.D. many ships from India, Iran and Arabia were standing in the harbour of Canton. But it seems that on account of the rivalry of

traders of Arabia and Indonesia, India's trade with China gradually declined. In the *Sung Annals*¹⁸³ dated 971 A.D. there is no mention of India in the list of countries which had trade relations with China. The Chola ruler Rajendra I occupied Kedah, Palembang, Nicobar islands, Djambi, North Sumatra and probably South Burma. According to K.A. Nilakanta Sastri¹⁸⁴ the aim of this Chola expedition was to keep the trade route to China open because the increase in the power of the Śailendra empire posed a great danger to India's trade with China. From a Tanjore inscription dated 1019 A.D. we know that a trader donated a large amount of Chinese gold.¹⁸⁵ Fifteen Chinese¹⁸⁶ coins of the Sung period (960 A.D. to 1279 A.D.) were discovered at Tanjore. Both these evidences show that India had a flourishing trade with China during this period and the Arabian traders failed to snatch it from Indian traders.

Trade with South-East Asia

In the Tanjore inscription¹⁸⁷ referred to above it is stated that this Chinese gold was donated to the temple at Nagapatinam by Śri Kuruttan Kesuvan alias Agralekai who was an agent of Kidarattaraiya (the region of Kedah, Malāyā). This shows that many Indian traders went to Indonesia. From an account in the *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*¹⁸⁸ we conclude that many ships sailed to Indonesia very often. Other literary references¹⁸⁹ to Indonesia support this view.

Most of the ships going to Indonesia started from Tāmrālipti.¹⁹⁰ Traders from Vaijayanti also went to Indonesia. At Lobutuwa in Sumatra was discovered an inscription dated A.D. 1088 which refers to the community of Tamil merchants called the Five Hundred of the Thousand Quarters.¹⁹¹ A traditional poem in Gujarati states that a trader who goes to Java does not return to India. In case he

returns he brings so much wealth that his descendants can lead their lives happily for two generations.¹⁹² This shows that Gujarati traders also frequently visited Indonesia and earned a huge amount of wealth as a result of trade with that country.

Trade with the West

From Abu Zaid's¹⁹³ account (916 A.D.) we know that Indian traders in large numbers visited Siraf and had intimate relations with Muslim traders of the place. From Rabbi Banjamin (1170 A.D.) we know that Indian traders sold their merchandise at Kish.¹⁹⁴ From the *Jagaducharita*¹⁹⁵ we know that some Indian traders like Jagadu regularly traded with Iran and their agents lived in Harmuz.

Indian merchants did not always, in the early Medieval India, end their journey at one place. In the seventh century they went upto Basra. From there Indian merchandise was taken to Kish and Harmuz.¹⁹⁶ The trade with Mesopotamia, Egypt or the Eastern coast of Africa was mostly in the hands of the Iranians and the Arabs.¹⁹⁷ When Indian traders had to face the rivalry of the Arabs and the Chinese they concentrated on the coastal trade. Many of them purchased foreign merchandise in bulk and sold it when there was a great demand for it.¹⁹⁸ Traders from Bengal confined their activities to the east coast of the Deccan. Traders from Indonesia came to Quilon and the trade to the north of Quilon on the western coast was in the hands of the Arab merchants.¹⁹⁹ The Rāṣṭrakūta rulers earned great profit by purchasing goods from these Arab traders hence they treated them with sympathy.²⁰⁰ Some of these Arab traders had become so powerful that they even fought against Indian rulers.²⁰¹ The Chaulukya rulers of Gujarat also earned a lot by their trade through the ports of Cambay, Broach and Somnath.²⁰²

Besides Tāmralipti on the eastern coast of the Deccan, other ports were Puri, Kalingapaṭam, Cikauli, Banpur and Rāmeśvara.²⁰³ On the western coast of the Deccan the most important port was Quilon.²⁰⁴ Other important ports were Bhṛgukaccha,²⁰⁵ Cambay²⁰⁶ and Somnath.²⁰⁷ In the delta of the Indus Debal was a famous port.

Exports of India

The *Hudud-al-Alam*²⁰⁸ gives a list of articles exported from India. They were musk, aloes, amber, camphor, pearls, diamonds, corals and medicinal herbs. Ibn Khordādbah²⁰⁹ also mentions aloewood, nutmeg, clovepink, cubeb, cocanut, textiles and ivory. From Benjamin²¹⁰ we know that spices were the chief item of export from India.

Sind²¹¹ exported costus, canes and bamboos, Gujarat²¹² exported indigo, red kino, myrobolans and coloured cotton textiles, as well as pepper, ginger, sword and slaves.

From Chinese accounts we know that horns of rhinoceros, ivory, skins of leopards, lions, sables, camels, tortoise shell, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead and tin, sugarcane, sugar, pepper,²¹³ ginger, indigo, sandalwood, black salt, all kinds of fruits, gold embroidered rugs, fine fur garments, cotton cloth and diamonds were exported from India.²¹⁴

Imports from the West

Incense²¹⁵ from southern Arabia, copper,²¹⁶ lead²¹⁷ and dates from Basra, ivory²¹⁸ from Zanzibar and Kīramdana ((a kind of dye) from Persia were the chief Indian imports in this period. Probably petroleum²¹⁹ from Iran and horses²²⁰ from west Asian countries were other imports.

From China : From the accounts of Rashīheddin²²¹ and Marco Polo²²² we know that large quantities of silk and silk textiles

were brought from China to India. Indian sources²²³ also support these accounts. India also imported some quantity of tin,²²⁴ iron,²²⁵ gold²²⁶ and silver²²⁷ from China.

From South East Asia : Chau-Ju-kua gives a list of articles which India received from South-East Asia. These are silks, porcelain ware, camphor, rhubab, wax, sandalwood, cardamom, cloves and spikenard.²²⁸ Aloewood,²²⁹ arecanuts, plantain, jackfruit, betel plants, sandalwood²³⁰ etc. were also brought from this region to south India. Metals²³¹ like gold, silver, copper and blue vitriol, were also brought from these islands hence they were called Swarnadvīpa. Probably fine cloth was also brought from this region.²³²

From Śrī Laṅka : The most important item of import from Śrī Laṅka were pearls.²³³ Other items of import seem to have been ginger,²³⁴ tin²³⁵ and fine cloth.²³⁶

The most important items of export from India were spices and drugs. But even now there was considerable export of luxury goods because these goods were used by rulers and nobles of these countries. Traders of Malabar and Coromandal coasts were having the maximum profit from foreign trade in this period. Traders of Gujarat and Cambay region were also getting a large amount of profit from the trade. The least beneficiaries from this trade were traders from Bengal and Kōṅkan region.²³⁷ But Indian traders were not getting as much profit in this period as in the previous period on account of the rivalry of traders from Arabia, Indonesia and China. Another reason for India getting less profit seems to have been greater import of luxury goods as Indian nobles²³⁸ wished to use foreign articles to show that they belonged to a higher stratum of society than the ordinary middle class people. India also spent large sums of money in purchasing horses. The result was that India did not get much cash during this period. No

Chinese coins of this period have been discovered in India. This also leads us to the conclusion that import of Chinese articles was considerable during this period and Indian traders exchanged²³⁹ Indian merchandise for foreign goods.

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QUESTIONS

1. Bring out the evidence that trade had begun in the late stone age.
2. Discuss the evidence which shows that the Harappan people had trade relations with Mesopotamia.
3. Describe critically the evidence of India's trade with Egypt and Mesopotamia in the later Vedic Period.
4. Describe the important trade routes mentioned in the early Buddhist literature. Also state what precautions the traders took to save themselves from the dangers that they had to face in the route.
5. Bring out the evidence which shows that trade flourished both in north and south India in the pre-Gupta period.
6. Discuss the evidence that shows there was flourishing trade by sea-route with foreign countries in the pre-Gupta period.
7. Mention the main items of export and import between India and Rome in the 2nd century A.D.
8. Give a brief account of Indian trade (internal) during the Gupta period mentioning the items in which the traders dealt.
9. Mention the items that India exported to and imported from Śrī Lāṅkā in the pre-Gupta Period and the Gupta Period.
10. Which items did India export to China in the Gupta period? Also state why India imported silk from China.
11. Mention the items of import and export in India's trade relations with Persia and Arabia in the Gupta period.
12. Describe India's trade relations with the Byzantine empire during the Gupta period and mention the items that India exported to the latter.
13. Mention the main items of inland trade in the Early Medieval Period.
14. Discuss India's trade relations with China and South East Asia in the Early Medieval Period.
15. Mention the main items that India exported to, and imported from the West.
16. Discuss the varying share of the Arabs, the Indonesians, the Chinese and the Indians in India's trade by sea route from C. 700 A.D. to C. 1200 A.D.

Chapter 23

Currency, Exchange and Moneylending

I. Currency and Exchange : In the palaeolithic age man maintained himself by gathering food and hunting. Tribes were generally at war with each other, hence there was no scope for exchange of articles. But later when one tribe produced articles or food more than what it required, it exchanged surplus goods with its neighbours. Later articles which were used by all members of a society became the medium of exchange. For example in a hymn of the *Rgveda* the price of an image of Indra is mentioned in cows. Soldiers settled the price of articles they purchased in horses and hunters in skins of animals. But all cows, horses or skins of animals were not exactly alike hence their prices could not be the same and for the purchase of small articles of daily use it was not necessary to dispose of a cow or a horse. On account of these difficulties these media of exchange did not serve the purpose. People then began to use lumps of gold, silver or copper, or rods of these metals as medium of exchange which could be cut into pieces to suit the price of an article. No doubt trade began with exchange of articles. But barter system was convenient only if both the persons wished to have those articles which the other wished to dispose of. For this reason, a medium of exchange was selected which could be used by all people such as pieces of gold, silver and copper. Thus coinage was evolved to suit the convenience of all.

More than 1200 seals and a number of triangles of clay have been found at Harappan sites. This has led archaeologists to suggest

that probably these seals and triangles were used by traders of this civilization as media of exchange. It is also possible that lumps or bars of gold, silver or copper were also used by the Harappan people.

THE VEDIC PERIOD (c. 1500 TO 600 B.C.)

The chief occupation of the Vedic people in the beginning was cattle-rearing. In the Later Vedic period agriculture became more important but it was also based on oxen hence cattle remained very important in the economy of the Vedic Aryans, hence cow became a medium of exchange. Later probably gold, silver and copper were also used as media of exchange. We know that *niṣka* was a necklace in the beginning but later it was used as a coin¹ as we know that 100 *niṣkas* were given to a singer as a reward.² In the Later Vedic literature there are many references which clearly show that *niṣka*³ was used as a coin. *Manā*⁴ was also a gold coin. The silver coin was called *rayi*⁵ in this period. Most probably lumps of gold (*hiraṇya piṇḍa*) were also used as a medium of exchange.⁶

600 B.C. TO 200 B.C.

Early Buddhist literature mentions many coins such as *niṣka*, *suvarṇa*, *kāma pāda*, *māśaka*, *kākaṇikā* and *kārṣāpaṇa*. But their value differed from place to place. In Rājagṛha in the reign of Bindusāra one *māśaka* was equal to one *pāda*.⁷

According to A.L. Basham⁸ rectangular or circular pieces of metal began to be used as coins about the sixth century B.C. These ancient coins bear the stamps of one to five punches. So these coins are known as 'punch-marked coins.' The punching devices of these early coins consist of various forms of hills, trees, birds, animals, reptiles, human figures, floral and geometrical patterns, religious symbols and the like. These devices were stamped only on one side of these coins.⁹

Scholars like Rapson¹⁰ were of an opinion that these punchmarked coins showed Iranian influence but Durgaprasad¹¹ and D.D. Kosambi¹² do not agree with Rapson's views. According to them the coins discovered at the lowest level of Takṣaśilā weighed 180 grains (100 *rattii*) while the Iranian coin Sigloi weighed 36 45 grains. It seems that the coins found at Takṣaśilā were indigenous and were most probably Śatamānas. According to Foucher the figures of elephant and bull on the punch marked coins show that the Mauryas were patrons of Buddhism. According to him the tree inside the railing represents Sambodhi (the tree under which the Buddha got enlightenment) and the arches the concept of *stūpas*.¹³

Kauṭilya mentions two coins namely *paṇa* and *māśaka*. *Paṇa* was a silver coin and coins of 1/2, 1/4 and 1/8 of its value were also current. *Māśaka* was a copper coin and coins of 1/2, 1/4 and 1/8 of its value were also issued. The copper coin 1/4 of a *māśaka* was called *kākaṇi*. Most of the trade transactions were carried on with the silver coin *paṇa*.¹⁴ Salaries of government servants were also paid in *paṇas*.¹⁵ In the Mauryan economy coins played a very important role and there was a royal mint which was supervised by a Superintendent.¹⁶

FROM C. 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.

Manu has given the following table of the weight of coins :

5 *rattis* = 1 *māśa*

16 *māśas* = 1 *Suvarṇa*

4 *Suvarṇas* = 1 *niṣka* or 1 *pala*, and

10 *niṣkas* or *palas* = 1 *dharaṇa*,

Pāṇini and Manu mention the coin *Satamāna* which was equal to 100 *rattis* in weight.

In the period when the *Rāmāyāṇa* was compiled in its present form (c. 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) the barter system was in vogue. The word used for barter in this work is *niṣkraya*.¹⁷ But the coin most in use seems to have been *niṣka*.¹⁸

The Indo-Greek rulers issued drachma which weighed 67.2 grains. The coin which was 1/6 of drachma in value was called obolak. It weighed 11.2 grains. These coins were current in Afghanistan. But the coins which were issued by them in India weighed 152 grains and 98 grains. We have only a few gold coins of these rulers. The coins of Menander were current upto Broach. The Śaka rulers of Western India imitated the coins of Menander. The coin which was used most was equal to three drachmas. Probably the trade of Western Indian ports with the West was carried on with these coins.

The Sātavāhana rulers of the Deccan issued coins of lead and an inferior variety of silver. But Śaka rulers issued coins of pure silver. According to the *Periplus* gold coins of the Greek rulers and silver coins of the Śakas were current in Western India, but we do not know the relative value of gold coins vis-a-vis the silver coins.

The Kuṣāṇa rulers regularly issued gold coins. These coins continued for three or four generations of these rulers. The number of Roman gold coins found in northern India is

more than those found in South India. This shows that the trade of northern India consisted of those articles which were imported and then sent to other countries while that of South India consisted of those articles which were used in the country itself.

We have no silver coins of the Kuṣāṇa rulers. Probably the Kuṣāṇas did not issue silver coins because the Śaka silver coins were available in abundance even in the Kuṣāṇa empire.²⁰ While coins of the Greek rulers weighed on an average 134.4 grains, those of the Kuṣāṇas weighed 123.2 grains. Gold coins of the Kuṣāṇas consisted of coins of one dinar, two dinars, and a quarter of a dinar. The purity of gold decreases in the coins issued by Kuṣāṇa rulers after Vāsudeva I.²¹ In local trade probably Kuṣāṇa copper coins were used or barter system was followed. Each of the copper coins issued by the Kuṣāṇas weighed 240 to 260 grains.

THE GUPTA PERIOD (C. 300 A.D. TO 550 A.D.)

Many hoards of gold and silver coins issued by the Imperial Guptas have been found. This is because coins were not only used as medium of exchange in trade, but they were also hoarded to be used in an emergency.

The earliest Gupta coins follow the standard of the Kuṣāṇa coins. They vary from 118 to 123 grains in weight. These coins according to Cunningham had 107 grains of pure gold.²² But towards the end of the reign of Skandagupta, the gold coins became heavier and varied from 144 grains to 146 grain while the gold content of these coins decreased to 70 grains.²³ The gold coins issued by the Imperial Gupta rulers from the reign of Skandagupta weighed 144 grains or 80 rattis which according to Manu²⁴ was the standard weight of a *suvarṇa*. This shows that these

rulers revived the Indian tradition by giving up the Kuṣāṇa standard in issuing gold coins.

The Kuṣāṇa and the Imperial Gupta rulers issued gold coins because in their times India's foreign trade was at its zenith and the balance of trade was in India's favour. The rulers of northern India in the post-Gupta times could issue only a limited number of gold coins as the economic condition in their times was not as good as in the time of the Guptas. Thus there was no scope for the people to hoard gold coins in the post-Gupta period.

The earliest silver coins of the Imperial Gupta rulers were those issued by Chandragupta II after defeating the Śaka rulers of western India. These silver coins are similar to those of the Śakas in weight and form.²⁵ Kumāragupta I issued two types of silver coins. Coins of one type were current in western India and those of the second type in Uttar Pradesh. Some coins of Kumāragupta I are copper coins with a covering of silver. According to Smith such coins were issued by the later Imperial Gupta rulers because they did not have enough silver to mint coins of pure silver.²⁶ Skandagupta issued two types of silver coins²⁷ and Budhagupta (c. 475-495 A.D.) also issued some silver coins.²⁸

The Imperial Gupta rulers also issued²⁹ copper coins. R.D. Benerji has mentioned two copper coins of Samudragupta but they are not available now. Six copper coins of Rāmagupta were found near Viḍiśā. According to P.L. Gupta³⁰ all these six coins were issued by Rāmagupta but according to A.S. Altekar and A.K. Narain only two of these six were issued by Rāmagupta.³¹ Nine types of copper coins of Chandragupta are available but we have only a few copper coins of Kumāragupta I and no copper coins of his successors. There can be two reasons for the non-availability of copper coins. One reason can be that copper coins are not generally hoarded. Another

reason can be that copper coins are liable to be destroyed in a short period as the metal gets rusted very soon.

The tables of coins given by Nārada³² and Bṛhaspati³³ make us conclude that coins were current on a wide scale in the Gupta period. But these tables do not correspond to the relative value of gold and silver. For we know from the Gupta coins that in the Gupta times the silver coin weighed 58 grains and the gold coin 124 grains and 16 silver coins were equal to one gold coin or 928 grains of silver were equal to 124 grains of gold or approximately 8 grains of silver were equal to one grain of gold. It seems that both Nārada and Bṛhaspati have mentioned the weights of goldsmiths and not the relative value of the coins.³⁴

In the Gupta period the exchange value of gold coins was quite good. For 2, 3 or 4 dīnars one could purchase one *kulyavāpa* of land.³⁵ If a person deposited 10 or 12 dīnars as a fixed deposit (*akṣayanīvī*) with its interest food could be provided to the inmates of a beggars' home. With a fixed deposit of 25 or 26 dīnars food could be provided to a number of monks and oil for kindling earthen lamps in temples.³⁶

The exchange value of silver coins was also good. From Baigram Copper plate inscription we know that 16 silver coins were equal to one gold coin. For this reason people used only copper coins for purchasing daily necessities of life. Gold and silver coins were used for bigger transactions such as the purchase of a piece of land or giving in charity. Cowries were also used for ordinary daily transaction and barter system existed side by side with currency. So coins of small value were not much in demand.

POST-GUPTA PERIOD (c. 550-700 A.D.)

In this period there was no central political authority. There were a number of petty states

and each state issued its own coins. For example the rulers of Kashmir, Thāneśvara and Bengal issued their own coinage. Some of them imitated Gupta coinage, but the coinage of these rulers is inferior to Gupta coinage in form and purity. As before the gold and silver coins were used in big transactions. Most of the daily transactions were carried on either through cowries or by barter system. Dīnars were used even in this period for the purchase of land.³⁷

Gold coins of Harṣa,³⁸ Jayanāga,³⁹ Śaśāṅka, and Samācāradeva⁴⁰ have been found but not of other rulers of northern India. Śaśāṅka issued some gold plated copper coins.⁴¹ He did not issue any silver coins⁴² but we have silver coins of Prabhākaravardhana, and Harṣavardhana.⁴³ Pravarasena, the ruler of Kashmir issued both gold coins and silver coins.⁴⁴

We have copper coins of Toramāṇa.⁴⁵ The copper coins discovered in Orissa are called Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins⁴⁶ because they resemble the copper coins of the Kuṣāṇas. Even in the post-Gupta period barter system was in vogue⁴⁷ and small transactions were carried on with cowries.⁴⁸

EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA (c. 700 A.D.—1200 A.D.)

The rulers of this period issued billon coins in which a mixture of copper and silver was used but these coins have neither any standard weight nor are they pure.

From the inscriptions of Sena rulers of Bengal we know that the price of land was calculated in *Purāṇas* and *Kāpardakas*. *Purāṇa* was a silver coin and *Kāpardaka* is the Sanskrit word for cowries. Generally 80 cowries were considered equal to one *Paṇa* or *Kārṣāpaṇa*, which was a copper coin and 16 *Paṇas* were considered equal to one *Purāṇa*.

Weight standard of coins : Coins of Śāhi kings did not follow the weight scheme of a drachma. They were made to approximate to the weight of a *Purāṇa* or 58.56 grains.⁴⁹

Gāṅgeyadeva (c. 1015-41 A.D.), the Kalacuri ruler of Ḍāhal, issued coins similar to those of the Imperial Gupta rulers. His silver and copper coins follow the weight standard of a drachma.⁵⁰ The Candella rulers of Jaijākabhukti imitated the coinage of Gāṅgeyadeva. On the obverse of these coins we find an image of seated Lakṣmī. Coins of the Chandellas were made to approximate to the weight standard of a drachma.⁵¹ An analysis of the Gāhaḍavāl coins indicates the use of two different weight standards. The *Purāṇa* standard of weight was used for silver and copper coins and the drachma standard for gold coins.⁵² Same is the case with coins of the Tomaras.⁵³ The copper and silver coins of the Chāhamānas also borrow the bull and horseman type started by the Śāhī kings of Ohind. The weight standard of these coins of the Chāhamānas also follows the weight standard used by the Śāhī kings i.e. a *Purāṇa* weighing 58.56 grains.⁵⁴ The Lakṣmī and bull-horseman types were the two main coinage types during the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., and were used by one or the other dynasty.

Common coins of the period

From the numerous references to *dramma* in the inscriptions it is clear that it was the most common coin. The inscriptions which mention *dramma* coins are found in Rājasthān, Marwar, Gujarat, the northern parts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire, central India and U.P.⁵⁵ The word *dramma* appears to have mostly been used for silver coins. There are epigraphic references to half, three quarters and a quarter *drammas*. Another coin mentioned⁵⁶ in the inscription of this period is

viṃśopaka. According to *Gaṇitasāra* of Thakkura Pheru 20 *viṃśopakas* were equal to one *dramma*.⁵⁷ Some inscriptions mention *Rūpakas*. *Rūpaka* was also a silver coin. *Kārṣāpaṇa* was used for a silver coin weighing a *karṣa* or 146.4 grains.⁵⁸ The gold coins are called *niṣka*, *suvarṇa* or *dinārs*. According to Viṣṇugupta 70 *rūpakas* = 1 *suvarṇa* and 28 *rūpakas* = 1 *dināra*.⁵⁹ *Taṅka* was a very common name of a coin. According to Thakkura Pheru 50 *drammas* = one *taṅka*.⁶⁰ *Gadyānaka* also denoted a gold coin.⁶¹

The Chālukya rulers of the Deccan issued gold coins which were called *padmaṭāṅka*. On them was inscribed the figure of a boar. The coin current in south India was also called *varāha* because it had the figure of a boar inscribed on it. It was also called *gadyāna* of gold. It weighed 48 *rattis* or 97.8 grains. The European writers have called *varāhas pagodas*. The copper coin was called *Kāsu* in south India. Coins of Cholas bear the figures of a fish, a bow, and a tiger. Probably these three were the national emblems of the kingdoms of the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas, over which the Cholas established their supremacy as we know that the Pāṇḍyas issued coins with the figure of a fish.

Other media of exchange

Sometimes ornaments⁶² and rice⁶³ were also used as media of exchange. Cowries were used for daily transactions.⁶⁴ Twenty cowries were equal to one *Kākiṇī* and four *Kākiṇīs* one *paṇa*.⁶⁵ Barter system still played a considerable part in the economy of northern India. Traders from distant regions of the country exchanged their goods in markets of repute.⁶⁶

The most important fact in connection with the coinage of early medieval period is the extreme paucity of gold coins. After the Guptas no gold coins appear to have been issued for

over 450 years.⁶⁷ Probably during this period gold coins of the Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas continued to be used. There is also paucity of silver coins. Some dynasties did not issue any silver coins, while others had to resort to heavily debased or billon coins.⁶⁸ The reason for paucity and debasement of silver coins seems to have been the decrease in the amount of silver which India received during this period.⁶⁹

During this period the kings issued coins whenever they thought that there was need for issuing coins of a particular denomination. They did not aim at issuing a complete currency. Some of the rulers did not issue a regular currency.⁷⁰ Coining money was the right, privilege and concern of the state. In actual practice some of the merchants and bankers could mint gold coins.⁷¹

II. Money Lending

Debt (ṛṇa)⁷² was incurred even in the R̥gvedic times mostly on account of gambling.⁷³ The rate of interest charged during this period varied from 1/16 to 1/8 of the principal.⁷⁴ A moneylender (*kuṣīdī*)⁷⁵ is clearly mentioned in the *Śatapatha brāhmaṇa*.

From the early Buddhist literature we know that traders often borrowed money from moneylenders. They could make enough profit in trade to be able to maintain their family and pay the interest to the moneylender.⁷⁶

Both Gautama⁷⁷ and Manu⁷⁸ mention money-lending as one of the seven professions by which a man could earn his living. According to Manu in times of emergency persons of all castes could maintain themselves by acquiring interest on the money lent but in ordinary times the brāhmaṇas and the kṣatriyas were not permitted to earn a living by money-lending. The business of money-lending during this period was in the hands of the vaiśyas or the sūdras. But Manu

prescribes that all those who lend money should charge a reasonably low rate of interest.⁷⁹ According to Kauṭilya a trader who borrows money for trade should give half of his profits to the moneylender as interest on the money borrowed. The payment of interest should be made by the trader annually. In no case could the amount of interest be more than the principal.⁸⁰ But according to the Śāntiparva of the *Mahābhārata* the moneylender could take 6/7 to 15/16 of the profits as interest on the money lent.

Debts were of two kinds; secured and unsecured. The heir of the debtor after his death was liable to repay only a secured debt.⁸¹ From a *Jātaka* we know that traders borrowed by giving a signet ring as a security.⁸² If a person could not repay his debt his daughter had to work as a slave.⁸³ The pledged article was returned to the debtor after the latter had cleared the debt. The money-lender could neither give the pledged article to some one else nor could he sell it.⁸⁴ Even if the moneylender said that the pledged article was lost, this plea of his was not accepted.⁸⁵ Many traders borrowed money by signing a personal bond.⁸⁶ According to Manu there should always be a bond or agreement. It did not make any difference whether the debt was secured or unsecured.⁸⁷ When the moneylender demanded repayment of the principal and interest on it he had to present the bond to the debtor.⁸⁸

According to Kauṭilya⁸⁹ and Manu⁹⁰ for secured debts the rate of interest should not exceed 15% per annum. For unsecured debts the rates of interest varied according to the caste of the debtor, 24% per annum from a brāhmaṇa, 36% from a kṣatriya, 48% from a vaiśya and 60% from a sūdra.⁹¹ According to Kauṭilya the rate of interest from the foresters could be as high as 120% and from the sailors upto 240%⁹² per annum. As stated above

according to Kautilya the accumulated interest could never be more than the principal.⁹³ Manu was also of opinion that the accumulated interest should never be more than the principal but according to him interest in the case of corn, roots and fruits of trees, wood and hire carriages, it could be upto 400%. But no moneylender was permitted to collect more than the stipulated rate of interest. Ordinarily the maximum rate of interest which a moneylender could charge was fixed at 5% per month. The moneylender was expected to collect the accumulated interest after a year and not to let the period of collection of interest exceed one year. According to Manu the moneylender should not charge *cakravṛddhi*, *kālavṛddhi*, *Kārita* and *Kāyika* form of interest.⁹⁴ *Cakravṛddhi* was compound interest. Kautilya was against charging compound interest. In *Kālavṛddhi* form of interest the rate of interest could be increased after the stipulated period expired. In *Kārita* form the debtor agreed to pay a higher rate of interest than usually charged at a place at that time. In the *Kāyika* form the debtor offered his services as a slave to the moneylender in lieu of interest or he offered to pay his buffalo's milk in lieu of interest.⁹⁵ Manu clearly lays down that if the debtor belonged to any of the three high castes he could not be reduced to slavery for non-payment of interest on the money borrowed. When the loan was given on condition that the trader who borrowed the sum of money will give a part of his profits to the moneylender no interest was charged from the trader.⁹⁶

Kautilya lays down that the ruler should see that all terms of the agreements entered into by different parties in connection with loans are fulfilled if he wishes the welfare of his state. In case some individuals did not fulfil the terms of agreements they should be punished.⁹⁷ In the beginning there were no

restrictions on moneylending⁹⁸ but when moneylenders began to charge very high rates of interest the law-givers declared that moneylending was not a noble profession.⁹⁹

If the debt incurred had no time limit for repayment it was a liability which the heirs of a deceased person had to clear.¹⁰⁰ Similarly if a debt was incurred for the welfare of a family all the members were liable to clear it.¹⁰¹ If a wife incurred a debt the husband was expected to clear it.¹⁰²

Methods adopted by money-lenders to realise the debt

According to Āpastamba the moneylender could go to the debtor's house and ask him to repay the debt but he should not interfere in his work.¹⁰³ But Manu¹⁰⁴ permits the moneylender to use force against the debtor to make him repay the loan. From the *Jātakas*¹⁰⁵ we know that agents of the moneylenders were authorised to receive payment of the loan from the debtor by showing the bond document. Some moneylenders imprisoned the poor debtors for non-payment of the loan but they could not do so in the case of rich debtors.¹⁰⁶ Being afraid of such treatment at the hands of moneylenders some debtors committed suicide.¹⁰⁷ It seems from the *Anguttaranikāya*¹⁰⁸ and the *Mahābhārata*¹⁰⁹ that the condition of poor debtors was generally miserable because they were unable to repay the debt.

c. 300 A.D. TO 600 A.D.

Nārada considers money received as interest on loans advanced as contaminated or black money¹¹⁰ but some moneylenders maintained themselves by the income derived from interest. Nārada and Bṛhaspati both have laid down rules about how interest should be charged on the loans advanced.¹¹¹ The loans

were advanced on the basis of agreements between the moneylender and the borrower. Because the government ordinarily did not interfere in the disputes between the moneylenders and the debtors, the greedy moneylenders oppressed the debtors. But ordinarily all the people followed the rules about money-lending which were in vogue in the society at that time.¹¹² From Nārada we know that in some regions of the country the amount of interest could not exceed the amount of the principal but in other parts of India it could be even two or three times the amount of the principal.¹¹³

Br̥haspati lays down that a moneylender should not give any loan without a pledge. The pledge could be of four kinds. It could be movable or immovable, to be kept only or to be used, to be released at any time, or limited as to time.¹¹⁴ The pledge should be written or stated orally in the presence of witnesses.¹¹⁵ It was expected that the pledged article would be kept in the same condition as it was given, when the money was borrowed. If something pledged was used by the moneylender he could not claim any interest.¹¹⁶ The pledged article could never be given or sold to any other individual by the moneylender. If the moneylender derived benefit from the pledged property which was more than the principal and the interest on it the debtor could get his pledged property back.¹¹⁷ If the interest became equal to the principal or if the stipulated time for repayment elapsed, the moneylender should wait for a fortnight for the repayment of the principal and interest. After that period he legally became the owner of that pledged property.¹¹⁸ The debtor could not get the property back without making full payment of the principal and interest on it.

The moneylender could also advance loan to an individual on the surety of respectable persons.¹¹⁹ The surety was expected to fulfil

the following four conditions. He should when required, produce the debtor before the moneylender. He had to certify that the borrower was an honest person and would not defraud the moneylender. If the debtor failed to repay the borrowed sum of money the surety would himself do so or he would give some movable property of the debtor in repayment of the loan.¹²⁰ Br̥haspati states that the moneylender should not harass the surety, he should receive the principal and interest in instalments.¹²¹

Both for a secured debt and an unsecured debt a written document was necessary.¹²² The moneylender was expected to give a receipt for every payment made by the debtor. If on demand he failed to issue a receipt for the sum of money paid by the debtor he was not entitled to get back the balance of the principal or interest from the debtor.¹²³ The law-givers of this period did not have full faith in the written documents so they wanted that the written document should be supported by oral evidence. For this reason both Nārada and Br̥haspati have given detailed qualifications of persons who could be reliable witnesses in cases of money-lending.¹²⁴

As in the earlier period the rate of interest on secured fixed deposits was 15% per annum and for unsecured deposits 24% per annum from the br̥hmaṇas, 36% from the kṣatriyas, 48% from the vaiśyas and 60% from the sūdras. In this period farmers and labourers were included in the category of sūdras.¹²⁵ The law-givers were against charging any interest on grass, fuel, bricks, thread, material used in preparing liquor, leaves, bones, leather, weapons, fruits and flowers.¹²⁶ They were of opinion that if money is given to a friend as a loan no interest should be charged on it but if the friend failed to return the sum on demand 5% per month interest should be charged¹²⁷ from him.

The earlier law-givers like Gautama and Manu were of opinion that accumulated interest should never exceed the principal but on account of the growth of trade and industries in the Gupta period there was great demand for money so the law-givers of this period had to change the rule. According to Nārada¹²⁸ in some parts of the country the accumulated interest could be twice, three times or even eight times the principal. It could be two times on gold, three times on corn, four times on cloth, and eight times on liquids. Interest on a woman or an animal could accumulate till they gave birth to an issue.

The debt which had no time limit had to be cleared by the heirs after the death of the debtor.¹²⁹ But the third generation of the deceased debtor had to repay only the principal.¹³⁰ If loan was taken for a joint business concern every partner was responsible to repay it but in case one of the partners died his son was not liable to repay the debt.¹³¹ If an individual suffered loss in business he could repay the loan in instalments.¹³² If a rich person did not repay the loan he was compelled to pay it with interest to the moneylender by the government and he had to pay 10% of the principal as fine to the government.¹³³

Lawbooks¹³⁴ of the Gupta period mention six kinds of debts namely *kāyika*, *kālīkā*, *cakrāvṛddhi*, *kārita*, *śikhāṇṛddhi* and *bhogalābha*. We have discussed the first four kinds while discussing the laws laid down by Manu. In *śikhāṇṛddhi* the interest increased every day. It ceased increasing only when the principal was also paid. In *bhogalābha* the moneylender was permitted to enjoy the benefits derived from the mortgaged property such as a house or a field. According to Bṛhaspati if the debtor failed to repay the loan in time the moneylender could impose the terms of the *śikhāṇṛddhi*, *kāyika* and *bhogalābha* varieties of interest.¹³⁵

Both Bṛhaspati and Nārada have given much latitude to the moneylender for the realization of his debt. He could persuade the debtor to repay the debt, could realise it by fraud, could do it by force and could take legal action against the debtor.¹³⁶ According to Kātyāyana the moneylender could make a debtor sit in the assembly of local persons as long as he did not repay the principal with interest.¹³⁷

From the detailed rules about moneylending given by Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana it appears that there was a large number of debtors in society even in the Gupta period.¹³⁸

POST-GUPTA PERIOD (c. 600 A.D. TO 1200 A.D.)

On account of political instability during the period, the traders had to face more risks and could not always repay the loans in time. The moneylenders, therefore, increased the rate of interest. From the *Mitākṣarā* commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* we know that traders had to face many dangers in forests infested with wild animals and robbers and on the seas on account of rough weather and pirates. On account of these risks the moneylender was not always sure that he would get his money back. The moneylenders, therefore, charged a much higher rate of interest as compared to that in the Gupta period.¹³⁹ The commentators of this period have given more latitude to the moneylender for the realization of his debt. In the Gupta period law-givers had laid down that the grandson or great grandson of the deceased debtor was liable to repay the debt only if he got some ancestral property but in this period some law-givers laid down that they had to repay the debt even if they did not get any ancestral property.¹⁴⁰ Some moneylenders imprisoned the debtors and released them only

when they had repaid the debt with interest.¹⁴¹ Some moneylenders took the help of *bhāṭṭaputras* (probably some judicial officers) for the realization of their debts. All expenses incurred by the moneylender in availing the help of the *bhāṭṭaputras* were realized from the debtor or his surety.¹⁴²

It appears from the *Lekhapaddhati* that in most cases the moneylenders demanded a surety before they gave a loan to an individual.¹⁴³ In case the debtor failed to clear the debt the surety had to do it.¹⁴⁴ Even if the pledged article became defective on account of a natural calamity the surety had to clear the debt.¹⁴⁵

A study of the documents given in the *Lekhapaddhati* makes it clear that the documents were drafted in such a way that the emphasis was on privileges of the moneylender.¹⁴⁶ There is emphasis on the duties of the debtor. For example in a document it is stipulated that the farmer would borrow 20 units of wheat and return to the moneylender 25 units when the next crop is thrashed. But the farmer could not sell even his house, land or any other property as long as he had not paid 25 units of wheat to the moneylender.¹⁴⁷ In the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* there is a reference to a moneylender who gave a certain sum and in the agreement he made it ten times that sum. Thus he defrauded the poor debtors.¹⁴⁸

From the *Lekhapaddhati*¹⁴⁹ and the commentary of Medhātithi¹⁵⁰ it is clear that a moneylender could not give the mortgaged property to any other person for use but according to Kullūka¹⁵¹ (1150-1300 A.D.) the moneylender could give the mortgaged house or land for use to any other person. There was so much demand for money that the debtors had to concede this right to the moneylender.

The rate of interest had also increased on account of the great demand for money. The

farmers had to give double the quantity of corn which they borrowed in the spring season in the autumn season.¹⁵² Many people paid a higher rate of interest of their own accord because they were in dire need of money.¹⁵³ In the *Gaṇitasāra saṁgraha* it is laid down that the rate of interest could vary from 13/4% to 13-1/3% per month.¹⁵⁴ But from the examples it appears that the usual rate of interest varied from 2% to 6% per month.

The *Lekhapaddhati* gives drafts of many kinds of documents under which the moneylenders gave loans to individuals. *Vyavahārapatra* was a document under which the moneylender gave loan on the personal surety of the individual. In the document called *hastākṣarāṇi* both the debtor and the sureties had to sign the document. In *sammukha-hastākṣarāṇi* the loan given was mentioned but no sureties were required. The document under which the loan was granted against something mortgaged was called *adhaukṛta vastūnamu-parighṛtadravyapatra*. The mortgage deed was called *adhipatra* and the mortgage under which the moneylender had the right to use the mortgaged property was called *Vṛddhi-phala-bhoge-patra*.¹⁵⁵

From the contemporary inscriptions we know that even in the early medieval period some people made fixed deposits with a view to get a good income from interest on these deposits. The individuals, guilds or corporations who received these deposits either used the money in their own business or lent it to merchants, traders, craftsmen, and farmers, etc.

From Siyadoni¹⁵⁶ inscription of 912 A.D. we know that a merchant named Nagaka invested 1350 *varāhadrammas* with the distillers of spirituous liquor. But on account of disturbed political conditions the number of such deposits with guilds in the period were not very large. Instead people made deposits

in temples¹⁵⁷ because there the deposits were considered more secure than in the guilds.

Many persons during the period borrowed money for unremunerative purposes as well. They borrowed it to purchase such articles as cloth, corn, gold, wine, and other consumable articles of daily use.¹⁵⁸ But from the commentaries of Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara we know that traders generally borrowed money with a view to earning large sums of money by investing it in trade.¹⁵⁹

Moneylending was not considered a despicable occupation during this period.¹⁶⁰ Even brāhmaṇas lent money to traders by charging interest on it. According to Brhaspati¹⁶¹ it was a noble profession for the three high castes by which they could maintain themselves.

We find the beginnings of banking system during the period. It is stated in the *Kuṭṭaniṃmatam*¹⁶² that the maid servant of a prostitute deposited a necklace of pearls with a trader and borrowed 30 *kedāras* from him, a second time she again borrowed 30 *kedāras*, some camphor, saffron, sandalwood and incense. She continued to borrow such articles even in future from that trader. In the *Rajatarigini*¹⁶³ there is the story of a merchant who deposited 1,00,000 *dināras* with a merchant and took money from him for some 20 or 30 years to meet his expenses. Both these examples show that the rudimentary system of banking in India began in the early medieval period.

Hoarding

It seems that on account of disturbed political conditions many people hoarded money during the period. The *Mānasollāsa* lays down that the ruler should try to find various hoards on the basis of relevant clues.¹⁶⁴ People were not prepared to keep with them the sums of money which an individual wished to deposit

even for a short time. The law-givers have, therefore, framed rules for these temporary deposits. For example Haradatta states that the son is not liable to repay the sum of money deposited with his deceased father if the latter had misappropriated it. He was liable to repay it only if he himself misappropriated it.

But from the contemporary literature we know that traders received deposits even in this period. The *Naiṣadhiyācharita* refers to *nikṣepavaniks*.¹⁶⁵ Similarly Kṣemendra¹⁶⁶ and Kalhaṇa¹⁶⁷ mention traders who kept *nyāsas*, and defrauded individuals who kept *nyāsas* with them. According to Vijñāneśvara¹⁶⁸ *nikṣepa* was a deposit which was counted in the presence of the person who came to deposit it, *nyāsa* was a deposit which was kept in the absence of the head of the family and *upanidhi* was a deposit which was kept after sealing the bag without counting the money. But this distinction has not been accepted by the writers of lexicons. For example the author of the *Abidhānaratnamālā*¹⁶⁹ gives *nikṣepa* and *upanidhi* as synonyms and in the *Vaijayanti*¹⁷⁰ *nyāsa*, *upanidhi*, *sthāpya* and *nikṣepa* are given as synonyms.

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QUESTIONS

1. What were the probable media of exchange in the Harappan culture? Also discuss the media of exchange in the Vedic Period.
2. Give a brief description of 'punch-marked coins'.
3. Describe briefly the coins issued by the Indo-Greek and the Kuṣāṇa rulers.
4. How do old coins issued by the Imperial Gupta rulers reflect the economic conditions during that period?
5. Discuss why the coinage of the rulers in the Early Medieval Period is inferior to the Gupta coinage.

6. Mention the common coins used in north India in the Early Medieval Period.
7. Discuss briefly the evidence that shows money-lending was prevalent in the Vedic Period as also during the time of the Buddha.
8. Mention some important rules given in the *Manusmṛti* and the *Mahābhārata* regarding money-lending.
9. Distinguish between secured debts and unsecured debts. Also mention the methods adopted by money-lenders to realise the debts.
10. Discuss briefly the rules laid down in the *Nāradaśmṛti* and the *Bṛhaspatishmṛti* about secured and unsecured debts.
11. Why did the money-lenders increase the rate of interest when lending money to traders in the Early Medieval Period? Also state why they demanded a surety?
12. Discuss why in the documents on the basis of which money was lent there is emphasis on the privileges of the money-lender and on the duties of the debtor in the Early Medieval Period.

Appendix 4

Economic Conditions of Delhi in the Fourteenth Century

The *Gaṇitasāra Kaumudī* is an elementary book on arithmetic written in c. 1347 A.D. The author Thakkura Pheru, was born at Kannana, a place four miles from Dadari, and was employed as a *responsible officer* by Sultan Alauddin at Delhi. The book throws some useful light on the economic conditions of Delhi in the middle of the *fourteenth century* A.D.

Coinage

The system of coinage as given in the *Gaṇitasāra Kaumudī* and prevalent in Delhi may be tabulated as follows :¹

20 pratikākiṇīs	=	1 kākiṇī
20 kākiṇīs	=	1 prativimaṃśa
20 prativimaṃśas	=	1 visamsa
20 visāmsasa	=	1 viṃśopaka
20 viṃśopakas	=	dāma
50 dāmas	=	taṅka

According to the commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra* of Sri-dharacharya (V.S. 1449) 20 *kaṇḍas* were equal to one *kākiṇī*² so the *pratikākiṇī* of our system should be identified with a *cawrie*.

There is no doubt that *dāma* is derived from the Greek word *drachma* and *viṃśopaka* or *bisoyā* of Pherū was a copper piece, one twentieth in value of *dramma* as pointed out by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar.³ According to Pherū the silver *taṅka* was 1 tola in weight⁴, but he mentions gold *taṅkas* weighing from 1 to 100 tolas.⁵ From Muslim sources we learn that a silver *taṅka* was equal to 48 jitals in value.⁶

The standard weight of a silver *taṅka* was 172.8 grs.⁷

Measure of length

The measures of length prevalent in this region as described by Pherū may be tabulated as below :

8 yavas (barley corns)	=	1 aṅgula
24 aṅgulas	=	1 hasta (cubit)
4 hastas	=	1 daṇḍa
2000 daṇḍas	=	1 kosa
4 kosas	=	1 yojana ⁸

This table in a slightly different form which is given by Varāhamihira as quoted by Alberuni. He equates 4 *hastas* with one *dhanu*, 40 *dhanus* with one *nalya* and 25 *nalyas* with one *krosa*.⁹ Even Kauṭilya equates 8000 *dhanus* with one *yojana*.¹⁰ Thus it appears that this system of measuring land had been in use from very ancient times. The commentary on *Gaṇitasāra* of Śrīdhara¹¹ gives a slightly different table in the beginning as follows, but after *hasta* the two tables are exactly the same :

8 sarśapas (mustard seeds)	=	1 yava
6 yavas	=	1 aṅgula
28 aṅgulas	=	1 hasta

This shows that the measurement of a finger in Gujarat was smaller than in Delhi region.

The Measurement of Volume

The measurements of volume used for cereals as given by Pherū were as follows :¹²

4 karapuṭas (handful)	=	1 pāi
4 pāis	=	mānaka
4 manakas	=	1 sei
16 seīs	=	1 prastha

But it seems that *prastha* of 10 seīs, was also prevalent in some regions.¹³

The commentator on Śrīdhara's work mentions a different system as follows:¹⁴

4 pālis	=	1 mānaka
4 mānakas	=	1 sei
16 seīs	=	1 kalasī
10 kalasīs	=	1 mūdai

The comparison of the two systems shows that one *prastha* was equal to 1 *kalasī*. Alberuni quotes Charaka as follow:¹⁵

4 pala	=	1 kuḍava
4 kuḍavas	=	1 prastha
4 prasthas	=	1 āḍhaka
4 āḍhakas	=	1 droṇa
and according to Jivaśarman ¹⁶		
20 droṇas	=	1 khārī

The above tables clearly show that *prastha* was a very common measure which had continued from ancient times till the medieval period.

The System of Weights

Pherū gives the following table of weights in common use:¹⁷

6 guṇjās	=	1 māśaka
4 māśakas	=	1 taṅka
10 taṅkas	=	1 pala
6 palas	=	1 sera
4 seras	=	1 mana

From the above table one *pala* works out to be 240 *guṇjas*.

In the Sarigadhara-Saṃhita we find the following table of weights:¹⁸

6 raktikās	=	1 māśaka
4 māśakas	=	1 dharaṇa
2 dharaṇas	=	1 kola
2 kolas	=	1 karṣa
2 karṣas	=	1 śukti
2 śuktis	=	1 pala

From the above table one *pala* works out to be 384 *guṇjās*. This means that the weight of *pala* differed from region to region.

Another system of weights used in weighing light articles was as follows:¹⁹

16 yavas (barley corn)	=	1 māśaka
4 māśakas	=	1 taṅka
3 taṅkas	=	1 tola

We do not find such a system mentioned by the commentary on Śrīdhara's work, however, Alberuni mentions 12 *masas* equal to 1 *tola* which shows that the system of weights was in vogue in the first half of the eleventh century.²⁰ In the Śārṅgadharma Saṃhitā 4 *māśakas* are given equal to one *dharaṇa* which shows that *taṅka* was probably called *dharaṇa* in the earlier weight system.²¹

Occupations

Agriculture was the main occupation of the people. Pherū gives the production per bighā in the Delhi-Hansi-Narahaḍ area as follows:²²

kodrava	=	60 mounds
moṭha	=	24 mounds
chaula beans	=	22 mounds
sesame	=	16 mounds
mudga māṣa	=	18 mounds
kangani	=	20 mounds
chīnaka	=	15 mounds
kūrī	=	18¾ mounds
cotton	=	16 mounds
jawar	=	40 mounds
sana (hemp)	=	10 mounds
sugarcane	=	10 mounds

All the above products were shown in Āṣāḍha. The products reaped before this crop per bigha were as follows:

wheat	=	45 mounds
pea, lentil, gram (each)	=	32 mounds
barley	=	55 mounds
mustard, linseed,	=	10 mounds
karada (each)		
Vartula (a kind of pea)	=	14 mounds

Arhar (each)

Cumin, Corriander = 10 mounds
(each)

We must remember that in the above products the mound should be taken equal to 2400 tolas or 281 lbs.²³

Sugar industry was also flourishing in this region. We learn from Pherū that a farmer could have 50 mounds of sugarcane juice from 9 kharis. According to Bhaskaracharya who flourished in the twelfth century A.D. a khāri was equal to 16 droṇas,²⁴ but according to Jivaśarman as stated by Alberuni it was equal to 20 droṇas.²⁵ Probably we will be more correct if we accept Bhāskarācharya's view because he flourished later²⁶ and Śrīdhara also gives 1 khāri equal to 16 droṇas. From these 50 mounds of juice he could have 10 mounds of guḍa or 8 1/3 mounds of sugar, 3 1/3 mounds of white sugar (khānd) or 5 mounds of inspissated juice of sugarcane (Rāb).²⁷

Fats

Oil industry was also well developed. Pherū says that one could get nine, two and five *bisvās* of oil respectively from one mound of sesame, mustard and karaḍa respectively. From Alberuni we learn that 1 bisi was equal to 1/4 prastha.²⁸ So the measure of oil per mound of the oil seeds will be 9/4 and 5/4 prasthas respectively. One could get 1/8 or 1/9 part of the weight of milk as butter and 3/4 of the latter as clarified butter.²⁹

Cloth

Cloth industry was also flourishing. Many kinds of cloths such as *juia*, *paṭṭiaka*, *atalas* and *karavāsāka* were woven. *Sāris* of different kinds were available.³⁰ Pieces of cloth having five colours, each measuring seven hands in length and three hands in width and those having four colours each eight hands in length

and five hands in width were sold.³¹ Pherū says that while cutting cloth for sewing about a hand or 1-1/2 hands of cloth were wasted in 100 hands, and in washing, the length became one, two or three hands less according to the quality of the cloth.³² He then gives the quantity of cloth required for *tents* having one, two or sixteen pillars.³³ Blue and red borders were also used in these tents.³⁴

Woolleh cloth, especially blankets, were also manufactured. Blankets 9 hands in length and 5 hands in width, and those 6 hands in length and 3 hands in width are mentioned.³⁵

Gold Ornaments

Gold Ornaments seemed to have been very popular. The best gold is called *Mahākanaka* and with regard to its purity it was classed as *Barahavanni*³⁶ but it appears that ornaments with different kinds of ratios of purity such as 11 1/2 : 1/2 and 10/1/4:1/3/4 were also manufactured.³⁷

The building industry

The building industry seems to have been well developed. Nine kinds of structures called *gommaṭa*, *nāvasa*, *vaṭṭa*, *munaraya*, *taka*, *pulabandha*, *kūpa* and *dāvi* are mentioned.³⁸ Some of these were straight walls, some had pillars, some were circular and some were triangular in shape. Staircases, bridges, wells and tanks are also included in these nine kinds of structures. As many as six varieties of tanks are mentioned.³⁹

The method of calculating pieces of stone or number of bricks in each structure is also explained.⁴⁰ Different weights of stone imported to Delhi from different regions are mentioned. For instance one square *kambī* of Delhi stone weighed 50 mounds.⁴¹ Timber of *Mahuā*, *vata*, *sāl*, *śīśam*, *nīm*, *sirīsa*, *khair*, *añjana*, *kīra*, *semal* and *deodār* trees was used

in building work. The charges for sawing of the first six varieties of trees were the same, for the next three varieties 25% more and the last two 25% less.⁴²

Prices

If we compare the prices of certain common articles given by Barani in *Tarikhi Firozshahi* and those given by Pherū we come to the conclusion that the prices mentioned in the sum by Pherū are not altogether fanciful. They seem to have been taken from real life. For example, paddy according to Barane⁴³ was sold 5 jivals per man and according to Pherū it comes to 1/9 damas per seer⁴⁴ or 40/3-4/4/9 damas per man. Assuming that the prices mentioned in the arithmetical sums by Pherū are not very far from reality we give the following table of prices on the basis of questions in the *Gaṇitaśara Kaumudī* :

Food Stuff

Rice	1/9	dama per	seer	} ⁴⁵
Mudga	1/11	dama per	seer	
Ghee	1	dama per	seer	} ⁴⁶
Pīpal	5/4	dama per	seer	
Dry ginger	3/2	dama per	seer	} ⁴⁷
Harītākī	1	dama per	seer	
Bahedā	1/3	dama per	seer	} ⁴⁸
Āmalaka	1/6	dama per	seer	
Marich	9 1/3	dama per	seer	} ⁴⁹

This shows that the purchasing power of a dām was sufficiently high.

Cloth, etc.

A piece of cloth having five colours measuring 7 hand in length and 3 hands in width cost 50 dams.⁴⁸ Dosiya cloth was sold at 11/7 dams per hand.⁴⁹ This means as compared to corn the price of cloth was not cheap in these days. According to K.M. Ashraff the price of a coarse blanket was 6 jitals

while that of a fine one was 36 jitals⁵⁰ while according to Pherū a blanket 6 hands in length and 3 hands in width cost 4 1/2 dams.⁵¹ This shows that the latter refers to the coarse variety.

Gold *bārahavannī* (pure) 103 dams per tola.⁵²

Sandal wood 13/36 dama per pala.⁵³

Dr. Ashraff gives the price of a camel 12 to 24 jitals⁵⁴ but according to Pherū the price of a 10 year old camel was probably 108/3 tankas.⁵⁵ This seems too be to high a price.

Profit

From two sums it appears that profit on different commodities varied from 13 1/3 to 114 2/75.⁵⁶ This shows that there was no government control on the percentage of profit.

Wages

The wages of a labourer were probably 15/24 dām per day.⁵⁷

The weaving charges of cloth weighing 48 tankas was five dāms while its price was ten tankas.⁵⁸

The sewing charges of 100 yards of border were 16 dāms.⁵⁹

This shows that labour was quite cheap.

Rate of Interest

It seems that generally the rate of interest was cent per cent per annum but from *Brahmaṇas* half the rate was charged.⁶⁰ Dr. Ashraff says that the rate of interest was 10 per cent per annum on big sums and 20 per cent on petty sums.⁶¹ Thus Pherū's rate seems to be reasonable.

All this is very useful material for the economic conditions of the period. Muslim historians generally present only the political history of the period. It is rarely that they have

anything to say about the common people and the way they lived. Thakkura Pherū's works supply this desideratum to a certain extent and deserve being studied properly. My paper is merely an introduction to the subject.

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43. Wheat per man 7½ jitals
Barley per man 4 jitals
Rice in husk per man 5 jitals
Mash (Urad) per man 5 jitals
Gram per man 5 jitals
Moth per man 3 jitals
Sugar per seer 1½ jitals
- Gur per seer 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ jitals
- Ghee 2 1/2 per seer 1 jitals
- Oil of Sesam 3 per seer 1 jitals
- Salt 2 1/2 mans 5 jitals
44. Pherū G.S.K., p. 53, G. 14.
45. Please See f.n. 1 above.
46. Pherū G.S.K., p. 49, G. 91.
47. Pherū G.S.K., p. 53, G. 13.
48. See f.n. 31 above.
49. Pherū G.S.K., p. 47, G. 64.
50. Life and Conditions of the people of Hindustan, p. 129, Pherū G.S.K., p. 53, G. 12.
51. See above f.n. 35.
52. Pherū G.S.K., p. 47, G. 69.
53. Pherū G.S.K., p. 47, G. 66.
54. Life and conditions of the people of Hindustan, p. 129.
55. Pherū G.S.K., p. 49, G. 93.
56. Pherū G.S.K., p. 49, G. 87, 8.
57. Pherū G.S.K., p. 48, G. 76.
58. Pherū G.S.K., p. 52, G. 9.
59. Pherū G.S.K., p. 65, G. 3.
60. Pherū G.S.K., p. 52, G. 4.
61. Life and Conditions of The People of Hindustan, p. 1.

Chapter 1

Functional Drinks in Ancient India

Part Three

Part Three

Chapter 1

Food and Drinks in Ancient India

Introduction

Of the three primary needs of an individual, food, clothing and shelter, food occupies the most important place. In the early stages of civilization man was essentially a food gatherer and lived on the flesh of animals he killed and the wild roots, fruits and flowers which he gathered. But later, making use of his superior intelligence, he began to tame wild animals and raise crops. This was a great step forward in solving the ever present problem of food. With the advancement in civilization he began to improve his food both with regard to its taste and its nutritive value. Complexities of life led to complexities of food. Man began to prepare delicious dishes by intermixture of various articles of food and by cooking them in different ways. He began also to bring together articles of food from distant lands, if he could afford them.

Ancient Indians cared for the spiritual advancement of the people but they were not averse to worldly enjoyments. They wanted to maintain a harmonious balance between the different aspects of life. They fully realized that they could not fulfil their other worldly (*pāralaukika*) duties unless they had the minimum of the necessities of life in this world. It was this outlook on life which made them attach considerable importance to the matter of food.

In the Upaniṣads it is stated that it is food which enables a man to use all his faculties. Purity of thought, according to these sages, depends on purity of food. Purity of thought leads, to good memory, and when memory

does not fail all the knots which bind a man to this world are loosened.¹ Food is called a panacea because all creatures depend on it.² In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad we find that Śvetaketu's father cut off all food to his son except water to show that all knowledge disappears when one is not permitted to take food.³ These sages believed that the mental make up of a child depended considerably on the type of food which a mother took during the period of pregnancy. With that aim in view different dishes were prescribed for an expectant mother according to the type of the child the parents wished to rear.⁴ Similarly different food preparations were prescribed for different types of children in the Gr̥hyasūtras, at the time of the first feeding of a child.⁵

The organisers of the Buddhist and the Jain churches also realised the importance of food and laid down explicit rules as to what should be eaten and what should be avoided. The Jains, for example, believed that rich food would make a man neglect his spiritual duties and, therefore, prescribed coarse food for Jain monks.⁶ The Sūtras also laid down food suitable for students, widows, hermits and people observing some vow.⁷

Even works on politics like the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and the writers of the Yaśastilaka and the Mānasollāsa discuss the question of food and drinks at length with relation to health.⁸ Princes of royal blood like Bhīma and Nala were expert cooks. The belief that the mental make up of the people depended considerably on the food articles which they

consume is very well illustrated by a set of verses in the Bhagavadgītā. It classifies food articles into three categories. First category mentions the articles liked by people in whom the divine virtues predominate, the second mentions food liked by passionate people and the third which is liked by people of low tastes.⁹ The same book lays down that a person who indulges in overeating or observes too many fasts cannot lead a life of continence. It is only proper food which leads to perfect happiness.¹⁰

The medical works clearly state that the physical and mental happiness of individuals depends on the food which they take.¹¹ They, therefore, give a list of those articles which are conducive to health and those which are unsuitable for different people.¹² According to these works the suitability of food stuffs depends on many factors—race, country, time of the year and the physical condition of the individual taking food. A food article may suit a person at one time and may not suit him at another time. The medical works, therefore, prescribe food suitable for different seasons, for the inhabitants of different regions and for the people of different temperaments.¹³ Even in these works good health is considered a means of fulfilling the various aspects of life (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*).¹⁴ Even works like the *Kāmasūtra*, *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas* lay down what should be eaten and what should not be eaten.¹⁵ There was a firm belief that a man is what he eats and purity of thought depends on purity of food. Elaborate rules were, therefore, framed to maintain the purity of food. The above facts prove it, beyond doubt, that ancient Indians attached great importance to proper diet of the people.

In the present thesis an attempt has been made to survey the food habits of Indians, particularly those residing in the north, from the earliest times to 1200 A.D.

The first chapter gives the geographical and cultural background of the Indian sub-

continent so that readers who do not already have an acquaintance with the geography of India may be able to grasp the full significance of the geographical factor on the food habits of the people residing in different regions of this sub-continent.

The second chapter deals with the habits of the people inhabiting India in the Paleolithic and Neolithic times. The philological study of words expressing different articles of food in the Pre-Aryan languages and some archaeological finds are our only sources of information of this period. The excavations in the Indus valley region throw some light on the food habits of the people residing in that region. This chapter has now been thoroughly revised in the light of excavations during the last twenty years.

The third chapter deals with the Vedic period. Our sources for this period are the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. These works are mostly religious in character but provide us with some data about the food articles used by early Aryans as most of the offerings which they made to the gods consisted of the food articles which they themselves used.

The fourth chapter has been divided into two sections. For the first section our chief sources are the Gṛhya and the Śrauta Sūtras as also the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. They present before us the conditions as they existed in the middle country during the period C. 800 B.C. to C. 325 B.C. To form an idea of the foodhabits of the people during the period in the eastern parts of the India the Jātakas and the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works have been used. The Jain works in their present form were compiled rather late, perhaps in the 5th century A.D., but they give a true picture of this period as there was little change in the Jain traditions upto that time. An indistinct picture of the food habits of the South Indian people can also be formed by a few references in the early Sangam literature.

The fifth chapter also has been divided into two sections. In the first section an attempt has been made to present a picture of the people in the Mauryan period. Our principal sources for this section are the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the edicts of Aśoka and the account of Megasthenes and some historians who accompanied Alexander on his Indian invasion. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra shows how the sale of meat was supervised by the government officers and the preparations and sale of intoxicating drinks became a state monopoly. There was wide difference between the food of the rich and the poor. The epics and the Manusmṛti also present a picture of the post Buddhist period but are of uncertain date. They are a mine of information for the social history of the period and depict the changing conditions of the time. No student of social history of ancient India can afford to ignore them. They have, therefore, been used in the second section of this chapter.

In the sixth chapter the conditions as they existed during the period c. 75 A.D. to C. 300 A.D. have been surveyed. During this period the Imperial Kuṣāṇas were the predominant power in the North West India. Our principal sources of information are the medical works of Caraka and Suśruta. These works are free from any religious or communal bias and refer to the food habits of the people in all parts of India, both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. There are also some casual references in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali which throw some light on the food habits of the people.

For a study of the food habits of the people in the Gupta Age (300 A.D. to 750 A.D.) which is the period dealt with in the seventh chapter, we have a number of literary works by authors like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and Daṇḍin. Special mention may be made of the Aṅgavijjā which is a mine of information for the social history of the early Gupta period. Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, the Amarakośa and two medical

works of this period, the Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha and the Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya, supplement this information. Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang also throw some light on the food habits of the people. But their accounts present a picture mainly of the Buddhist section of the society, because they could not come in contact with other sections. The Purāṇas and the Smṛtis of this period prescribe the articles of food which should be used and which were to be avoided. They are rather conservative in outlook but the literature of the period and paintings of Ajanta reflect a happy and prosperous state of society.

For the next chapter which deals with the conditions as they existed during the period 750-1200 we have a number of literary sources, such as the works of Rājaśekhara, Somadeva and Śrīharṣa. But the chapters on food and drinks in the Mānasollāsa are the basic source of information for a study of the food habits of the people during the early parts of the 12th century. Some Jain works of the period give an account of feasts where only vegetarian dishes were served. The account of Alberuni has been used with caution because sometimes it was based, not on personal observation, but on a study of the religious works of the Hindus. Wherever it is in conformity with the picture presented in the contemporary literature due weight has been given to his evidence.

In dealing with the subject in each chapter a uniform scheme has been adopted. Food grains and milk products have all along occupied a prominent place in Indian dietary; hence these have been discussed at the beginning of each chapter. Next in importance come the meat preparations, which were used by a considerable section of the society along with vegetarian dishes. Then follows a short account of the spices and oils used for seasoning the various food articles. Sweets and sweetening ingredients such as honey, *guḍa* and sugar come next with a short description

of fruits and vegetables used in each period. Towards the end of the chapter various beverages including intoxicating drinks and water are dealt with. Then follows a short account of the development of culinary art and the cooking utensils used. At the end of each chapter an attempt has been made to make a short survey of the important rules of diet, etiquette and the favourite articles of food in different parts of the country during the period. A glance at these rules proves it beyond doubt that great stress was laid on such virtues as hospitality and great care was taken that the food consumed should be pure. Students, widows, and ascetics were advised to avoid exciting food stuffs. The mass of the people lived on simple and nourishing food. The rich, however, enjoyed dainty dishes.

The concluding chapter tries to present a rapid survey of the striking features the food habits of ancient Indians in each period. It also tries to throw some light on the important changes¹⁶ brought about in the food habits and the probable causes—religious, political, geographical, or economic which brought about such changes. The chief characteristic of the Indian civilization is its spirit of synthesis. It has all along adapted itself to the new forces; and the same spirit of synthesis is discernible in the food habits of the people which have altered with the changing conditions. But the process of change has all along been gradual.

References

1. Chand. Up. VII. 26.3.
2. Tait. Up. II. 2.

3. Chand. Up. VI.
4. Brhad. Up. VI. 4.18.
5. Aśv. Gr. Su. I. 14.2-5.
Cf. Par. Gr. Su. I. 19.7-11.
6. See Ch. III. Sec. 2.
7. Students Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.
Widows Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 55.
Hermits—Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.22.
Observing some vow—Kātyāyana Śr. Su. II. 1.8,
Baudh Gr. Su. II. 1.10.
8. Yaśastilaka III. āā 329-353. Mānasollāsa. III. 13.
9. Gītā. XVII. 8-10.
10. Gītā. VI. 16-17.
11. Caraka. Su. XXV. 31.
Kāśyapa Sam., p. 249.
Suśruta, Su. 46.
12. Caraka. Su. V, Bhela., p. 4.
13. Seasons—Caraka. Su. VI. Bhela., p. 25.
Regions—Kāśyapa. Sam. Bhojanakalpa., p. 46-52.
Bhela., p. 22. Caraka. C. 30 ā 317.
14. Caraka. Su. I.
15. Kāmasūtra 191. ā I, Vāyu-Pu. 80-83, Matsya. Pu. XV. Agni Pu. 162-165, Kūrma Pu. II. 17-20. Manu Sm. V and VI, Yaj. Sm. I. 171-180.
16. The establishment of Muslim rule probably affected the food habits of a few rich people and some new preparations were introduced into our dietary, but the masses continued to relish traditional dishes even as late as the 17th century. This is evident from such works as Bhojana-Kutūhala by Raghunātha who flourished in that century. With the advent of the Europeans some foreign articles of food were included in our dietary. There is no mention of maize, chillies, and tobacco before the Portuguese entered India although some of these articles are used almost in every part of India now.

QUESTIONS

1. Briefly describe the importance of food for the all round development of an individual as stated in the *Upaniṣads* and the *Gṛhyasūtras*.
2. On the basis of the *Bhagavadgītā* discuss how the mental make up of the people depended

considerably on the food articles which they consumed.

3. Discuss how according to ancient Indian medical works the suitability of food stuff depends on many factor such as race, country, time of the year and physical condition of the individual taking food.

Chapter 2

Prehistoric and Protohistoric Age

The earliest man every where was essentially a part of the plant and animal life that surrounded him reacting passively to the climate and geographical configuration of the land. But he slowly gained consciousness of the powers and potentialities which distinguished him from other animals and enabled him to dominate over nature rather than remain its slave.

The generally accepted theory is that the earliest inhabitants of India were Negroid in type.¹ Originally they appear to have come from Africa through Arabia and the coastlands of Iran and Baluchistan. They appear to have been food gatherers rather than food producers.² Their food consisted of fruits, nuts and tubers obtained by the use of stone knives and diggers. Soon they added to their dietary the flesh of animals which they hunted.³ They did not know how to till the soil or raise the food. They probably were unaware of the art of cattle breeding.⁴ They probably spread over South India and even ventured to cross the sea and settled in the Andaman Islands. In India, the Negrito, would appear to have been either killed off by later immigrants, notably the Proto-Australoids⁵ or absorbed by them.

The Negritos were displaced by the Proto-Australoids.⁶ They probably used a stick (*lakuṭa*, *laguḍa*, *liṅga*, *lauḍa*) for ploughing.⁷ The terrace cultivation of rice, might have originated with these people. The common word for rice, *Chāwal*, in Indo-Aryan languages might be very well connected with the Kol or Muṇḍā root 'Jom' 'to eat'.⁸ The word *taṇḍula*

(husked rice) also seems to be of Austric origin. This leads us to the conclusion that these people probably used rice as the staple food grain.

On the basis of philological studies of Jean Przyluski, Jules Bloch and Sylvan Levi,⁹ we can say that pumpkin (*alābu*) and brinjal (*vatiṅgaṇa*) were used as vegetables by these people. Their food also included such fruits as banana (*kadalī* and *kandlī*), coconut (*nārikela*), roseapple (*jambū*), dillenia Indica (*kāmaraṅga*) and watermelon (*kaliṅga*).

These people probably used turmeric (*haridrā*), ginger (*śṛṅgavera*), lemonfruit (*nimbuka*) as spices and knew how to prepare mustard (*sarṣapa*) oil and jaggery (*guḍa*). They used betel leaves (*tāmbūla*) and betelnut (*guvāka*). They do not appear to have been cattle breeders.

The next people to reach India were probably the Dravidians.¹⁰ On the basis of Dr. J. Burrow's studies of early Dravidian words¹¹ it can be concluded that the food of the early Dravidians consisted of boiled rice (*kūra*), sour rice gruel (*kali*), *kulmāṣa* (a species of *Delichos*) and *varuka* (an inferior food grain). They also used fried barley (*vāṭya*). Of the pulses (*śimbi*) they used *Māṣa*, *Mudga* and *Masūra*. They also prepared round cakes (*vaṭakas*) which they fried in oil or butter. They were also acquainted with shrivelled grain (*Pulāka*). Rice seems to be the staple food grain as several earthenware bowls containing the husk of paddy and bronze bowls with grains of rice have been found at Adicchanallur.¹²

They used meat (*tarasa*) as also seasoned meat (*vallūra*). Fish seems to have been another important article of food as a number of netsinkers have been found near the Neolithic sites.¹³

They consumed two intoxicating drinks *Irā* and *Māsara*. Some Chunam like matter in a *loṭā* was found at Cuddapah. It points towards the existence of palm juice industry.¹⁴ They knew the art of preparing *Guḍa* and toddy tapping.

Of the fruits and vegetables *Panasa* (jack fruit), *Tuṇḍi* (gourd), *Paṭola* (a species of cucumber), *Mulālī* (a kinds of edible root) and *Puṇḍarika* (lotus flower) are mentioned. Spices must have been used in preparing curries as we know that they were exported to Assyria in the 14th century B.C.¹⁵ They used *Tulasī* (holy basil), *Ciñcā* (tamarind) and *Pūga* (betel nut). The mention of *Tila* (sesame) and *Piṇyāka* in the vocabulary leads us to the conclusion that these people extracted oil and used it in cooking.

As a result of the labours of the archaeologists during the last fifty years much light has been thrown on the food economy of the Prehistoric and Protohistoric cultures of ancient India. On the basis of these archaeological finds an attempt is being made in this chapter to make a survey of the food habits of the people in different regions of this sub-continent.

EARLY, MIDDLE AND UPPER PALAEOLITHIC AGE

Early Palaeolithic Age : We have only stone tools of this age to form an idea of the food of these people. On the basis of these tools we can divide the sub-continent into two regions Northern India and Peninsular India. The tools of the Sohan Valley in Panjab comprised pebble tools, cores, flakes, handaxes cleavers and blades.¹⁶ The first three types of tools

could have been used for collecting fruits from trees, small animals or digging roots while the latter three types of tools might have been used as choppers and scrapers. They could also serve as lance, spear or javelin-heads for killing animals.

Thus it appears that the food of the residents of Panjab in this age consisted of wild fruits, roots, honey and flesh of animals which they killed with these stone implements. They were simple food-gatherers or hunters of big game. We can form no idea of the kind of vegetarian food they gathered from this region or the animals which they killed.

In the Peninsular India there is a predominance of core tools which consist mainly of handaxes, ovates and cleavers. The number of chopping tools is limited. Handaxes and cleavers were used for chopping, cutting, digging and perhaps scraping hides. In this region bones of animals found at various sites also throw some light on the food habits of the residents of different regions. In Karnataka bones of Rhinoceros had been found at Chikdauli, district Belgaum¹⁷ and remains of cattle (*Bos*) at Nittur, District Bellary,¹⁸ in the forests between Hoshangabad and Narsimhapur¹⁹ were found bones of many species of animals such as wild elephant (*Elephas namadicus*), wild horse (*Equus namadicus*), wild ox (*Bos namadicus*), Hippopotamus palaeindicus F and C, rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*), boar (*Sus Sp Trionyx*), Slegodon quanesa F and C., Emys, wild bear (*Ursus namadicus*), (F and C., leptobas frazery Rus) and deer (*Carvus duvauceli*). The rivers contained clams and gastropods.²⁰ But fossils of wild ox (*Bos namadicus*), wild elephant (elephant antiquus) and rhinoceros were found at all the sites in this region.²¹

Thus it is clear that with the stone tools the inhabitants of this region killed these

animals and their diet mainly consisted of the flesh of these animals. In addition to the flesh of these animals they must have eaten fresh water and sea based molluscs and numerous wild fruits, roots and plants.²² Thus the food of the Early Stone Age man, it seems consisted of whatever he could get by gathering and hunting with no provision for future needs.

More evidence is being brought to light on the chronology of the Indian Middle and Upper Palaeolithic industries. For instance the Palaeolithic dates broadly fall around c. 2000 B.C. The Middle Palaeolithic dates occasionally overlap with this but are generally earlier.²³

MIDDLE PALAEOLITHIC AGE

The tools of this age suggest an increasing degree of forethought. The principal tools were scrapers of several kinds, made on flakes, together with other flake tools and cores. They seem to be specialized tools for hunting, fishing and food-gathering. The tools from the gravels of the second cycle of aggradation at Hoshangabad, Nevasa or Bheraghat or in the Damoh area which are representative of Central and Peninsular India are largely made on flakes. With these flakes are found cores of tortoise type.²⁴ During this period tools of each region had a distinctive character of their own.

With these specialized tools man during this age could get more food. From the finds of animal fossils it seems that wild ox (*Bos namadicus*) and wild elephant (*Elephant antiquus*) were the main source of food.²⁵ Probably other animals whose flesh was eaten were *hysidricus* and *insignis*. But man still depended for his food on whatever he could get by hunting animals and gathering a variety of forest produce, fruits, grasses, edible plants and flowers.²⁶

UPPER PALAEOLITHIC AGE

The tools of this age show the next stage of specialized tools. The principal tools were punch-struck blades from cylindrical cores, burins,²⁷ and shouldered points. Such tools were mostly discovered in various parts of Central and Peninsular India. These tools are quite different from those of the two earlier ages. The slender blades are uniformly symmetrical, long, thin and parallelsided. Some of these look like pen-knife blades and some like burins or chisels.

The remains in Kurnool caves (Andhra Pradesh) suggest the existence of a variety of animals such as boar (*Sus*), civet (*Viverra*), tiger (*felis*), porcupine (*Hystrix*), deer (*Cervus*), nilgai (*Bos elaphus*), cattle (*Bos*), antelope, gazella, monkey (*Presbytus*), horse (*Equus*) and bear (*Ursus*).²⁸

All these animals must have been the source of food to the man of this age and it seems that even in this age he depended on hunting of animals and gathering of fruits, roots and edible plants which he found in the neighbourhood. With the specialized tools he must have been able to increase the quantity of food which he could consume.

To sum up in the Early Palaeolithic Age man in northern India subsisted on fruits, roots, honey and flesh of animals which he killed with unspecialized crude stone implements. We can form no idea of the vegetarian food he gathered or the animals he killed. In the Peninsular India in this age he seems to have consumed the meat of rhinoceros, wild elephant, wild horse, wild ox, wild bear and deer etc. In addition to the flesh of these animals he must have eaten fresh water and sea-based molluscs and numerous wild fruits, roots and plants which were available in plenty in this region.

During the Middle Paleolithic Age man seems to have made specialized stone tools

for hunting, fishing and food-gathering. With these tools he must have got more food than that in the earlier period. But man still depended for food on what he could get by hunting and gathering.

From the bones of animals found at the Upper Palaeolithic levels in the Peninsular India, it appears that man in this age largely depended for food on the flesh of wild animals such as boar, civet, tiger, porcupine, deer, nilgai, cattle, antelope, gazella, monkey, horse and bear. Even in this age he must have supplemented his meat diet by wild fruits, flowers, edible plants and grasses available in the region.

LATE STONE AGE

The Late Stone Age people throughout the Indian subcontinent used microliths. The small stone tools were hafted before use. As composite tools they were light to handle and smaller quantity of stone was required for making such tools. The principal tools of this age were scrapers of several kinds, small parallel-sided blades produced from carefully prepared cores, burins and points.²⁹ The blades could also be used as arrow-heads. Thus technically these tools show an advance on the former tools. Microliths have been discovered in North West Frontier Province, South India, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.³⁰ Even in this age the food of the people in the whole subcontinent could not be the same. It must have differed on the basis of animals and wild plants available in the region in which they lived. We will try to discuss their food habits on the basis of archaeological evidence for each region.

I. North Western India

In the Late Soan collection the common tools—pointed flakes, generally more or less

leaf-shaped occur fairly commonly. They could have been used either as knives or as missile points. At Sanghao cave in the North West Frontier Province in period I pointed flakes seem to have been used for piercing and boring. In period III blade flakes disappear, burins continue and a few fine microlithic blades and blade cores make their appearance. They resemble microliths of Central and Peninsular India.³¹

We have no archaeological evidence about the flora and fauna which existed in this region in this age. Hence we cannot have a clear picture of the diet of these people but they must have subsisted on what they hunted or gathered from the neighbourhood with the better stone tools which were at their disposal.

II. Southern Part of the Indian Peninsula

In southern India the change from Middle to Late Stone Age appears to have been a process of continuous development, microliths develop from the flake tools.³²

Both to the south of Raichur in the former Mysore State and to the west Late Stone Age people made their tools of quartz. At Jalahalli near Bangalore were discovered flakes made from small carefully prepared cores and microlithic blades. Other tools were scrapers of several kinds, burins, awls, lunates and points. On the east coast south of Madras flake tradition is more strongly represented than in Mysore. The microliths were prepared from flakes.³³

The people living in areas of moderate rainfall such as near Raichur or Jalahalli must have subsisted mostly on non-vegetarian food as the stone tools of this period indicate that hunting methods were probably more efficient than those of the earlier age. By adopting these new hunting methods they could get enough non-vegetarian food and there was no need to collect wild fruits, leaves or roots for food.

Fishing must have been an important source of food for the people in the coastal regions in South India as they could fish easily near the coast and in the lagoons.³⁴

III. Northern part of Peninsular India and Western India

Madhya Pradesh : At Adamgarh hill in the Narmada valley Late Stone Age tools comprised points and blades, lunates, triangles and a variety of scrapers made on flakes. Of these tools blades and lunates form the bulk of microliths but bores, awls, and burins are also present in small numbers.³⁵

The bones of domestic animals included those of dog (*Canis familiaris*), Indian humped cattle (*Bos indicus*), water buffalo (*Bubalus bubalis*), goat (*Capra hircus aegagrus*), domestic sheep (*Ovis Orientalis Vignei Blyth* race *domesticus*), pig (*Bus scrofa cristatus*), and horse (*Equus*). The bones of wild animals were those of Sambar, Barasingha, swamp deer (*Cervus duvauceli Cuvier*), spotted deer (*Axis axis Erxleben*) hare, porcupine (*Hystrix cristata* Linn), monitor lizard, wild pig, wolf (*Canis*), tiger and wild boar (*Sus scrofa cristatus*).³⁶

These people must have hunted wild animals for food with microliths and the domestic animals must also have been a source of food. Both their flesh and milk/curds must have been used by them.

In addition to this non-vegetarian diet they must have eaten fruits, leaves and roots of wild plants growing in the river valleys. There is some evidence to show that these people were on the way to food-producing stage i.e. the Neolithic Age.³⁷

North Gujarat : The people of Langhnaj also made parallel-sided blades from carefully prepared cores. Flakes and cores predominate among the tools found at this site at Late Stone

Age level. Most of the tools were made of jasper.³⁸

From the bones found at the site it appears that the people hunted rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*), wild boar (*Sus scrofa cristatus*), nilgai (*Boselaphus tragocamelis*), spotted deer (*Axis axis Erxleben*), swamp deer (*Cervus duvauceli Cuvier*), hog deer (*Arix porcinus*), the black buck (*Antelope cervicapra*) and wolf (*Canis*).³⁹ Probably these people also ate the flesh of cattle (*Bos indicus*), buffalo (*Bubalus bubalis*), rats, squirrel, mongoose, fish and tortoise.⁴⁰

They roasted the flesh and marrow of these animals. The work of skinning and chopping was done by the microliths mentioned above, which must have been very useful as they were better made than the stone tools of the early ages.

About 2000 B.C. the residents of Langhnaj had a few pots and perhaps used a copper knife.⁴¹ This means that these people were on their way to Neolithic-Chaleolithic Age.

West Rajasthan : The man who used microliths lived at Bagor (Phase 1) about 4600 B.C. His food economy appears to have been based on a combination of hunting, gathering and herding.⁴² From the bones found at the site it is clear that the flesh of cattle hog deer (*Arix porcinus*), barasingha (*Cervus duvaceli*), wild boar (*Sus Scrofa crisastus*), jackal (*Canis aureus*), rat (*rattus rattus*), monitor lizard (*Varanus flavescens* Gray) and river turtle (*Lissemys punctata Bonnaterre*) were eaten by these people. Sheep, goat and fish were also sources of food for them. But it appears that the diet of Bagor man in Phase 2 (c. 2800-600 B.C.) consisted mostly of animals which were domesticated and not wild.

The bones were charred and fragmentary. This shows that meat was roasted on open fire and the bones were split open for the extraction of marrow.⁴³

Even in this age the mounds of Rajasthan were most probably clothed with light scrubby vegetation whereas along the river valleys trees grew more abundantly. The Bagor man must have supplemented his non-vegetarian diet with fruit of such trees as *babul* (acacia), *ber* (jujube) and *karonda* some of which seem to be indigenous.

Thus it is clear that the food economy of Bagor man in Phase 1 was based on a combination of hunting, gathering and herding. It seems that from phase 2 (2800-600 B.C.) onward a certain amount of plant agriculture was also practised.⁴⁴ Some domesticated animals must have provided milk.

Metal tools and pottery make their appearance in this phase. The pottery consisted of large jars, small *lotā*-like pots, large shallow basins, and large deep bowls.⁴⁵

IV. The Upper Ganga Valley

In the Mirzapur district Late Stone Age tools were discovered at Lekhania (c. 1710 B.C.). The tools became smaller and more delicately made in the upper levels. Pottery also appears towards the top.⁴⁶

The animal bones recovered from hearths and floors at Sarai Nahar Rai (Pratapgarh district) at the microlithic level (c. 1800 B.C.) comprise the bones of stag, bison and rhinoceros. The people must have used the flesh of these animals besides fish, tortoise and shell collected from the lakes for food. Probably Late Stone Age man took the first steps towards farming on the old banks of the Ganga at Lekhania in about the ninth century B.C.⁴⁷

V. Eastern Central India, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa

In eastern parts of Central India microlithic tools were found in the Singrauli

basin. The tools—small parallel-sided blades, bifacial points and lunates, were made of quartz.⁴⁸ At Birbhanpur on the Damodar river in West Bengal microliths were discovered about 3 feet below the present surface. The tools were mostly blades, lunates, points and scrapers. Of all the tools 87.9% are flakes.⁴⁹ Microliths can be found in whole of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and southwards in Andhra Pradesh.

There is no doubt that man in the Late Stone Age in this area subsisted on the animals which he killed and fruits, roots and plants which he gathered from the neighbourhood. He must have added to his food resources by fishing on the coast or in the rivers of the area in which he lived. There is no indication of domestication of animals.

The above survey makes it clear that during the Late Stone Age (c. 8000 to 1000 B.C.) man in almost the whole of India used microliths and lived in a seminomadic stage by gathering wild plants, hunting and fishing. During this age he, as is clear from the remains at Adamgarh and Langhnaj, man began to domesticate some animals like the dog, pig, goat, sheep, cow or ox. But this is not true of all the regions. In Bengal there is no indication of the domestication of animals or primitive cultivation. Their food economy continued to be based on hunting and gathering.⁵⁰ In areas of higher rainfall the collection of vegetable food must have continued to be of primary importance as vegetable foods were easily available in these areas. With domestication of animals a settled way of life began in some regions. Man also learnt during this age, at some places, the art of making earthen pots. In some of the river valleys like those of the Ganga and the Narmada he, probably, was on the way to food producing stage. In parts of Central India and north Mysore huge collections of stone tools

have been discovered. It is possible that the makers of these tools who were hunters⁵¹ augmented their food resources by exchanging their tools for food with the Neolithic people living in their neighbourhood. Thus this age was a link between the Middle Stone Age and the Neolithic Age which marked a great leap forward in the march of civilization.

NEOLITHIC AND CHALCOLITHIC CULTURES

We cannot discuss the food habits of the people residing in the Indian sub-continent as one unit because they must have differed from region to region. We will discuss them in the five broad regions—(i) North Western India (ii) Southern part of the Indian Peninsula (iii) Northern part of the Peninsular India and Western India (iv) The Upper Ganga Valley and (v) Eastern India comprising Bihar, Orissa, Western Bengal and Assam.

North Western India

Kashmir : The pit dwellers of Burzahom (about six miles north-east of Srinagar) were predominantly hunters (c. 2375 B.C.). Their food consisted of fruits, roots or tubers which they could gather from the neighbourhood and the animals which they killed. It appears that hunting played an important part in their food economy.⁵² There is no evidence of domestication of animals but from the seeds of cereals found at the site Vishnu-Mittre came to the conclusion that wheat or barley was cultivated here in the period c. 2300 to 1500 B.C.⁵³ It is probable that the inhabitants of Karewas (elevated terraces) in Kashmir c. 2000 B.C. carried out agriculture and horticulture of a primitive kind with stone tools and long and short hoes.⁵⁴ Foodgrains, probably rice and millets, which could be grown without much difficulty were cultivated. Leguminous weeds were also discovered at

Burzahom (c. 2300-1500 B.C.).⁵⁵ They must also have eaten naturally growing fruits, vegetables and edible grasses available in the region.

Meat Diet : Primarily these people were non-vegetarians and subsisted on the flesh of ibex, wild dog, wolf or deer. They must have augmented their non-vegetarian diet by fishing in the rivers and ponds.⁵⁶

Utensils : Grinding querns have been found in almost every house. This shows that this culture was not solely based on hunting and fishing.⁵⁷ They used coarse grey or black burnished pottery and a distinctive pierced chopper of a kind hitherto unknown in India. In period II (c. 1400 B.C.) a single copper arrow-head was discovered.⁵⁸ In period III the pottery is coarse red-ware.

Baluchistan : Foodgrains : Mehrgarh on the border of Sindh and Baluchistan is being excavated since 1977. Beginning of the site goes back to the seventh millennium B.C. The basic interest of this site is that it has shown positive evidence of the transformation of wild wheat and barley to their domesticated stages. This shows that the nuclear-centre of wheat-barley cultivation extends right upto Baluchistan. Archaeological evidence shows that wheat and barley were cultivated in c. 5000 B.C. there.⁵⁹ In prehistoric times attempts were made to retain rainwater in surface tanks behind earth or stone embankments and a number of grinding slabs and stone balls were discovered at Damb Sadat at⁶⁰ which were perhaps used as corn-crushers. This means that the diet of the people in this region included some cereal which they might have cultivated with primitive stone implements. The vegetarian food of the residents of Kot Diji most probably included wheat, barley⁶¹ and perhaps rice.

Dairy Products : The inhabitants of Kili Ghul Mohammad (2 miles from Quetta) c.

3700 B.C. had domesticated sheep, goats and cattle.⁶² Some of these animals must have provided milk/curds.

Meat Diet : The non-vegetarian diet of the early settlers of Kot Diji comprised flesh of cattle, pig, deer and fish.⁶³

Utensils : In period II at Kili Ghul Mohammad the people used crude, handmade and basket-marked pottery. In period III the pottery was both wheel and handmade decorated with black or red painted designs including simple geometric motifs. At the same site in period III the first copper was found.⁶⁴

Gandhāra region : *Foodgrains*: Cultivated variety of rice was also discovered from Gandhāra graves (c. 2000-400 B.C.) but the exact date could not be determined.⁶⁵

South-East Afghanistan

Food grains : At Mundigak (period II) the people used club wheat (*triticum compactum*) for food.⁶⁶

Dairy Products : Sheep, goat and cattle were domesticated. Humped bull figurines appear from period I. This shows that cattle was domesticated even in this period. They must have provided milk/curds for food.⁶⁷

Fruits : Of the fruits they ate jujube (*Zizyphus jujuba*).⁶⁸

Utensils : The pottery was mostly wheel-thrown in period I. In this period the designs on the pottery are similar to those of Kili Ghul Mohammad II. It shows signs of contact with Iran in period III (c. 2360 B.C.). A copper needle and a small bent copper blade were also discovered in the later phase of period I.⁶⁹

Indus plains : At Amri in the Indus plains the animal remains were largely the same as those of contemporary Baluchistan which means that the food of the people comprised the flesh of cattle, pig, deer, sheep, goats and

fish. We do not have more details which may throw light on their food habits.⁷⁰

Harappan Culture

Food grains : The wheat eaten by Harappans was of two varieties, the club wheat (*Triticum compactum*) and the Indian dwarf wheat (*Triticum Sphaerococcum*) (c. 1755 B.C.).⁷¹ It formed the principal article of food of the inhabitants of this region. Specimens of barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) have also been found among the ruins of Mohenjodaro and Harappa.⁷² Evidence of the presence of rice was discovered at Lothal and at Rangpur in period IIA.⁷³ We do not have any evidence from Harappa or Mohenjodaro to support the view that it was eaten by these people. Varieties of Leguminous plants such as field peas⁷⁴ were also eaten by these people.

Grain was stored in granaries, and it was pounded with wooden pestles in circular platforms which served the purpose of mortars. It was also ground in saddle querns with mullers. A number of rolling pins of pottery and stone were found at Chanhudaro. This means little watercakes (*Phulkas* in Hindi) were also prepared by these people.

Dairy Products : Domestic animals in the Harappan culture included humped bull (*Bos primigenius*), buffalo (*Bos bubalis*), goat and sheep.⁷⁵ This means milk must have formed an important article of food of these people.

Meat Diet : Bones of humped cattle, boar (*Sus cristatus*), domestic fowl, Sambar deer (*Rusa unicolor*), spotted deer (*Axis axis* Evleben), hog deer (*Arix porcinus*), several varieties of tortoise were found at Harappan sites. Flesh of all these animals and domestic fowl must have been eaten.⁷⁶ They must have eaten fresh fish from the rivers and dried fish from the sea-coast.⁷⁷

Oilseeds : Remains of *Sesamum indicum* were discovered at Harappa and seeds of

Brassica juncea were reported from Chanhudaro.⁷⁸ Oil extracted from these might have been used for cooking.

Fruits and Vegetables : We have sufficient evidence that the Harappans consumed some fruits. Melon seeds were found at Harappa. A few date stones were discovered at Mohenjodaro. Tree forms on the pottery suggest the existence of coconut fruits, pomegranate and banana.⁷⁹ The shape of an earing suggests the existence of lemon fruit.

Drinking Water : For getting a regular supply of drinking water wells with brick lining were constructed both at Mohenjodaro and Harappa.⁸⁰

The Art of Cooking and Utensils : Most of the pottery was wheel-made, well fired and plain.⁸¹ But painted ware have also been found. The designs were executed in black of a red slip. The pottery consisted of bowls, beakers, goblets, dishes, basins, saucers, stands and jars. Clay cups were used for drinking water and thrown after use. Stones for grinding spices were quite common. Some vessels were made of copper, silver and lead. For cutting articles of food a knife with the blade of a chert flake and with probably a wooden or bone handle was used.⁸²

II. THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE DECCAN PLATEAU

Foodgrains : From the earliest levels at Utnur, Piklihal, Maski and Brahmagiri (c. 2300-1800 B.C.) rubbing stones and querns were found suggesting some sort of grain cultivation. Probably rice was eaten by South Indians even in the Neolithic Period. It is likely that Neolithic cultivation was restricted to terrace fields but the earliest evidence of the cultivation of rice in South India comes from Hallur (Mysore) in about 870 B.C.⁸³ Finger millet or Ragi (*Eleusine Coracana*) was also discovered at Hallur (c. 1800 B.C.) and at

Paiyampalli (c. 645 B.C.)⁸⁴ In this region grains of horsegram or Kulthi (*Dolichos biflorus*) were found at Tekkalkota I (c. 1800-1600 B.C.). At Ter (Maharashtra) horsegram was used in c. 303 B.C.⁸⁵ Wheat was used by the people of Ter about the beginning of the Christian era (155 B.C. to A.D. 100).⁸⁶ The residents of Kaundinyapur in Maharashtra ate rice in c. 500 B.C.⁸⁷ Greengram (*Phaseolus radiatus*) was also discovered at Paiyampalli.⁸⁸

Dairy Products : Cattle rearing seems to have been an important part of the food economy of these people. They domesticated humped cattle, goat and sheep.⁸⁹ These animals must have provided milk/curds to these people.

Meat Diet : Bones of humped cattle are most numerous at all sites in South India. Other animals which were killed for food were goat, sheep, fowl, deer, tortoise. Split and cut bones have been found at many sites. This shows that flesh of these animals was cooked, roasted and eaten.⁹⁰ Rats, squirrels and birds also augmented their meat diet.⁹¹

Fruits : Matting impressions at Tekkalkota, Mysore and charcoal at Utnur suggest wide spread use of date palm.⁹² Carbonised stones of *Zizyphus nummularia* were found at Ter.⁹³

Intoxicating Drinks : These people might have prepared some intoxicating drinks from the juice of date palm.

Utensils and implements : The residents of South India in the Neolithic period used handmade grey or buff-brown pottery in which *lotās* and bowls predominate. As we have stated above many rubbing stones and querns were found at Utnur, Piklihal and Maski I (2300-1800 B.C.)⁹⁴ The first metal objects appear towards the end of phase II (c. 1800-1500 B.C.). In phase III (c. 1400-1050 B.C.) there is an increase in the number of copper and bronze tools.⁹⁵

III. NORTH DECCAN AND WESTERN INDIA

Rajasthan : Foodgrains : Cereal pollen has been discovered in the lake deposits of Rajasthan which shows that cereals were present there in the eighth and seventh millennia B.C.⁹⁶

At Bagor (Bhilwara district) in phase 2 (c. 2800-600 B.C.), people practised a certain amount of agriculture. Hunting was less important in this phase as compared with the earlier phase.⁹⁷

Dairy products : The Bagorians in Phase 2 relied mostly on domestication of animals such as cattle, sheep, and goat. These animals must have provided milk/curds to them.⁹⁸

Meat Diet : The non-vegetarian diet of the Bagorians consisted of the flesh of animals which were largely domesticated and not wild. They probably consumed the flesh of sheep, goat, cattle and fish.⁹⁹

Utensils : The pottery is hand-made with incised decoration.¹⁰⁰ It consists of large jars, small *loṭa*-like pots, and large deep bowls. Metal implements were also used.¹⁰¹

At Kalibangan (Northern Rajasthan) in the Pre-Harappan phase (c. 2370-2100 B.C.) it seems that people were both vegetarian and non-vegetarian.

Foodgrains : They must have eaten wheat and barley though so far only traces of barley have been found.¹⁰²

Meat Diet : The residents of Kalibangan in this period most probably cooked humped cattle, Indian buffalo, pig, barasingha, elephant, rhinoceros, and camel.¹⁰³

Cooking : The ovens at Kalibangan resemble very closely the present day *tandoors*. This shows that the western Rajasthanis came in contact with Iran and western Asia as early as c. 2500 B.C.¹⁰⁴ The designs and fabric of the pottery show a close similarity with those of Baluchistan and east

Iran. Some implements of copper-bronze such as fish-hooks were also used by these people.¹⁰⁵

Malwa Culture

It seems that the earliest people who settle in Malwa region were the inhabitants of Kayatha near Ujjain (c. 2200-2000 B.C.). The Ahar or Banas Culture flourished in South-east Rajasthan from c. 2000 to c. 500 B.C. Navdatoli culture on the southern bank of the Narmada (c 1600 to 1300 B.C.) in the heart of Madhya Pradesh was a later development of Kayatha and Ahar cultures. Navdatoli culture is also called Malwa Culture.

Foodgrains : The people of Navdatoli in the Chalcolithic Age (1660-1440 B.C.) consumed two varieties of wheat, *Triticum vulgare* and *Trilicum compactum*. Wheat was eaten by the people of Inamgaon and Sonagaon in the period 1340 to 1290 B.C. Wheat was the staple foodgrain of Kayatha people in c. 1380 B.C.¹⁰⁶ A number of saddle querns were discovered at Ahar which shows that some cereal like wheat or millet must have been ground into flour by the people of Ahar as rice is not eaten by grinding. The Aharians ate rice of the long seeded variety (*Oryza sativa*) since c. 2000 B.C. It was used by the residents of Navdatoli about (1657-1400 B.C.).¹⁰⁷ There is some evidence to show that Sorghum or Jawar was eaten by the Aharians in period II (1725 \pm 110 B.C.).¹⁰⁸ Some of the impressions from Ahar seem to show that these people also used pearl millet (*bajra*).¹⁰⁹ Barley was also used by the residents of Navdatoli during the Chalcolithic Age, (1660-1440 B.C.).¹¹⁰ The archaeological evidence from Inamgaon and Sonagaon shows that barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) was eaten here during the Neolithic Age (1340 to 1290 B.C.).¹¹¹

Of the leguminous plants the residents of Navdatoli consumed lentil (*lens culinaris*),

blackgram (*Phaseolus munge*), greengram (*Phaseolus radiatus*), grass pea (*Lathyrus sativus*) and several other leguminous plants during this period (1660-1440 B.C.).¹¹² The residents of Inamgaon and Sanegaon ate horsegram (*Dalichos biflorus*), lentil (*Lens esculenta*), common pea (*Pisum awense*), grass pea (*Lathyrus sativus*) and green gram (*Phaseolus radiatus*) during this age (c. 1340 to 1290 B.C.).¹¹³

Dairy Products : In the remains found at Gilund bones of domesticated cattle predominate (c. 2000 B.C.). The residents of Kayatha domesticated cattle, goat and sheep.¹¹⁴ The Aharians also domesticated buffalo in addition to the animals mentioned above.¹¹⁵ The people of Navdatoli also domesticated cattle, goat and sheep.¹¹⁶ These animals must have provided milk curds to these people.

Meat Diet : The residents of Kayatha and Gilund domesticated besides cattle, sheep and goat¹¹⁷, pig and deer for meat. The non-vegetarian food of the Aharians consisted of fish, turtles, fowl, cow, buffalo, goat, sheep, deer and pig.¹¹⁸ The people of Navdatoli also ate the flesh of all these animals.¹¹⁹

Oil seeds : Linseed (*Linum usitatissimum*) is reported from all levels of Navdatoli.¹²⁰ Its oil might have been used for frying.

Fruits : Fruits which formed part of the diet of the residents of Navdatoli were jujube or *ber* (*Zizyphus jujuba*) and myrobalan or *āmalaka* (*Phyllanthus emblica*).¹²¹ The residents of Inamgaon also ate wild date.¹²²

Art of cooking and Utensils : The grain was pounded and turned into flour in stone querns with the help of pebbles of quartzite. Large dishes were used for preparing dough. The Aharians used *Chulhas* with two or more mouths.¹²³ At Ahar a number of fragments of baking pans were found. Probably these were used for roasting bread. The black-and-red

pottery was used for eating. The most common vessels are various types of bowls, *lotās* and small jars. The pottery of Aharians points to their contacts with people of north-eastern Iran.¹²⁴ For eating cooked food several types of medium sized dishes and bowls were used by Navdotolians whereas drinking water was kept in small and large jars.¹²⁵

Maharashtra : Jorwe Culture (1800-1500 B.C.)

In western Maharashtra Jorwe was a village on the Pravara. By about 1200 B.C. this culture had spread over the Krishna-Godavari valleys.

Foodgrains : In the later phase (c. 1500 B.C.) the residents of Jorwe depended largely upon foodgrains. They ate wheat, barley and possibly sarghum (Jowar). Of the leguminous plants they used lentil, peas and horsegram (*Kulthi*).¹²⁶

Dairy Products : Cattle must have provided milk/curds to Jorwe people.

Meat Diet : The Jorwe people were predominantly non-vegetarians and ate beef, meat, pork, venison, quail collected from rivers, fish and birds.¹²⁷ Their animal food in the later phase also included black buck, fourhorned antelope, spotted deer, sambar, buffalo, and mussel shell. The least common are the bones of horse, dog, and pig.¹²⁸

Oil Seeds : Evidence of the presence of linseed was discovered at Nevasa. Its oil might have been used for cooking.

Fruits : Charred seeds of jujube or *ber* were discovered in Jorwe culture. This means these people must have eaten jujube.

Cooking and Utensils : All the early pottery of Jorwe people was well baked. It had only limited shapes and the designs mostly geometric were painted in black over a red-shipped surface.¹²⁹ Amongst the pottery of Jorwe people there were spouted *lotās* and bowls, but there were no *thālīs* (flat-based

dishes). This means that these people did not prepare *chapātis* of wheat, barley or *Jowar*. They most probably ate some preparation like *Dhokla* which is a common preparation in Maharashtra to this day. Both vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes were cooked on small circular Chulhas.¹³⁰

Gujarat

Foodgrains : Rice husks and spikelets embedded in clay and pottery were discovered at Lothal.¹³¹ This means that the people of Lothal ate rice during the Harappan period (c. 2300 B.C.).

Saurashtra

Foodgrains : Rice was used by the people of Rangpur about 2300 B.C.¹³² In period III-A (c. 1200–1000 B.C.) the people of Rangpur used Pearl millet or *Bajra* (*Pennisetum typhoideum*) for food.¹³³

Dairy Products : The people of Rangpur domesticated cattle, sheep and goat. These animals must have provided milk/curds to these people.

IV. THE UPPER GANGA VALLEY

Uttar Pradesh

In the Belan Valley in U.P. at Coldihawa both wild and domesticated rice was present at a level dated to sixth and fifth millennia B.C.¹³⁴ There are two early C-14 dates from this site : 4530 ± 185 B.C. and 5440 ± 240 B.C. Another sample from the same level gives a date of 1440 ± 120 B.C. Besides, the radio carbon dates from the neolithic level at another site, Mahagara in the same area are 1440 ± 120 B.C., 1380 ± 120 B.C. and 1400 ± 150 B.C. Rice husk was used in the hand-made Koldihawa neolithic pottery to increase the strength of the material used.¹³⁵ The Copper Hoard Cultures in western Uttar Pradesh are

associated with Ochre Coloured Pottery (c. 1800 B.C.). Two small excavations one at Lal Qila (District Bulandshahr) and the other at Saipai (Etawah District) show that the people lived in houses which were built with sundried and baked bricks. We have no information about the food of the residents of these two places. But at Atranjikhhera (District Etah) rice was discovered at O.C.P. level (c. 2000 B.C.) and at Black and Red, Painted Grey Ware and Northern Black Polished Ware levels (c. 1000–500 B.C.).¹³⁶ There is evidence of plenty of rice. This is supported by the evidence of the *Yajurveda* where rice is an important cereal. Wheat and barley occur in an earlier level at Atranjikhhera. At Noh (Bharatpur State) rice occurs at the Black and Red Ware, Painted Grey Ware and early historical levels (c. 800–500 B.C.).¹³⁷ P.G.W. people (c. 800–400 B.C.) are associated with the *Mahābhārata*. Rice at Hastinapur is dated to 500 B.C.¹³⁸

Utensils : Their pottery is wheel-turned, painted in black with geometric designs like *swastika* and spirals. The associated wares are a red ware, generally plain, a plain grey ware, and black-slipped ware.

Wheat at Atranjikhhera is dated to 1200 B.C.¹³⁹ Barley here is dated to 2000–1500 B.C.¹⁴⁰ Chickpea (*Cicer arietinum*) was also used by the residents of Atranjikhhera in c. 2000 B.C.¹⁴¹ Wheat should also have been eaten by the people associated with the *Mahābhārata* as it is the staple diet of Haryana today. Perhaps they also ate lentil.¹⁴²

Dairy Products : The residents of Atranjikhhera domesticated cattle, sheep and buffalo. From the literary sources also it is clear that milk and its products formed an important part of these people.¹⁴³ Bones of buffalo were also found at Hastinapur.

Meat Diet : These people ate beef, pork, mutton, venison and even horse's flesh.¹⁴⁴

Art of Cooking and Utensils : All the food,

vegetarian and non-vegetarian, was eaten in bowls and dishes which were quite different from those hitherto known in India.¹⁴⁵ Most of their implements were made of copper. A pair of iron tongs was discovered at Atranjikhhera (c. 800-400 B.C.). Cooking was done on simple one-mouthed *Chulhas* with horse-shoe like side.¹⁴⁶

V. EASTERN INDIA-BIHAR, ORISSA, WESTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM

Bihar

Foodgrains : The residents of Chirand ate rice during the Neolithic period (2500-1800 B.C.).¹⁴⁷ It was also used by the residents of Oriyup and Singhbhum during this period. At Sonpur it is dated to 637 B.C.

Wheat and barley were also used by the people of Chirand during the period (2500-1800 B.C.).¹⁴⁸ Peas¹⁴⁹ and Lentils¹⁵⁰ were also eaten by the residents of Chirand in the Neolithic period. These people also used *Mung*¹⁵¹ and *Lathyrus sativus* in this period.¹⁵²

Meat Diet : Cereals do not seem to have played a major part in the food economy of the residents of Chirand in the Neolithic period. The animal diet of people was composed of beef, meat, venison and fish.¹⁵³

Vegetables : The Biharis must also have consumed wild vegetables and stalks of wild grasses from the earliest period.¹⁵⁴

Utensils : The early Chirand man used 4 kinds of pottery, red, black, black-and-red and grey. It consisted of bowls with stand, bowls with perforations, lips and spouts and small globular vessels. Most of the pottery was handmade.¹⁵⁵

Orissa

Foodgrains : The residents of Baidipur used rice in the Late Neolithic Age.¹⁵⁶

West Bengal

Foodgrains : Rice was used by the residents of Mahishdal as early as 1000 B.C.¹⁵⁷ and by those of Pandu Rajar Dhibi in c. 850 B.C.¹⁵⁸ The paddy found at Pandu Rajar Dhibi seems to be of a cultivated variety (*Oryza sativa*)¹⁵⁹. We have some archaeological evidence to show that in Bankura, Birbhum and Purulia districts of West Bengal rice was grown in about 150 B.C. The residents of Pandu Rajar Dhibi ate wheat in c. 1000 B.C.¹⁶⁰

Meat diet : The inhabitants of Bengal in this period must have supplemented their vegetarian diet by fish, molluscs and animal food such as meat of nilgai, pork, mutton, beef and venison.¹⁶¹

Utensils : The pottery used by these people was of three kinds, black-and-red, lustrous red, often painted in black, and chocolate or buffish. It consists of various kinds of bowls, dishes *loṭās*, basins and storage jars.¹⁶²

Assam

Foodgrains : The residents of Ambri used rice in c. 900 B.C.¹⁶³

Meat Diet : Earliest inhabitants of the Brahmaputra valley probably mainly subsisted by fishing and hunting but we do not have any archaeological evidence regarding the animals they hunted and the flesh of which they ate.

To sum up the people of North Western India were primarily non-vegetarians and subsisted in the Neolithic Age on the flesh of ibex, wild dog, or wolf and deer. Probably they also supplemented their food with rice and millets which could be grown without much difficulty. They must also have eaten naturally growing fruits and vegetables available in the region.

We have definite evidence that the food of the *Harappans* consisted of wheat, barley and

field peas. The residents of Rangpur also consumed rice. The Harappans must have used the milk of buffalo, goat and sheep which they domesticated. Boar, domestic fowl, sambar deer, spotted deer, tortoises and fish were also sources of food for these people. They might have used the oil of sesamum for frying. They also consumed some fruits such as melons, dates, coconut, pomegranate, banana and lemon.

The residents of the *southern part of Deccan Plateau* probably ate rice even in the Neolithic Age but the earliest archaeological evidence of the use of rice comes from Hallur (c. 870 B.C.). They also ate finger millet (*Rāgi*) and horse gram (*Kulthi*). Cows, goat, and sheep provided them with milk and meat. Other animals whose flesh they ate were fowls, deer, tortoises, rats, squirrels and birds. Of the fruits they used dates and *Zizyphus nummularia*.

In *Northern Deccan and Western India*, the residents of Bagor (Bhilwara district) in phase I (2800-600 B.C.) practised certain amount of agriculture. The people of Kalibangan used wheat for food in the Pre-Harappan phase (c. 2370-2100 B.C.) The residents of Navdatoli, Inamgaon, Sonagaon and Kayatha also ate wheat during the period (1600-1290 B.C.). The Aharians ate rice of the long seeded variety in c. 2000 B.C. while the Navdatolians ate rice a little later (1600-1443 B.C.) The people of Jorwe ate wheat, barley and possibly sorghum (*Jowar*) about 1500 B.C. Probably Pearl millet (*Bājra*) was used by the residents of Rangpur during the period 1200-1000 B.C.

Of the leguminous plants the residents of Navdatoli consumed lentil, blackgram, greengram, grasspea and those of Jorwe (Maharashtra) horsegram about 1500 B.C.

The people residing in this region ate the flesh of cattle, goat, sheep, pig, deer, fish,

turtles, fowl and buffalo. The residents of Kalibangan ate the flesh of *barasingha*, elephant, ass, camel and rhinoceros.

All these people must have used the milk/curds of cattle, goat, and sheep for food. The oil of linseed might have been used for frying. Of the fruits they must have consumed jujube and myrobalan.

The residents of the *Upper Ganga Valley* ate rice about 2000 B.C. They used barley during the period 2000-1500 B.C. and wheat for food about 1200 B.C. These people ate beef, pork, mutton, venison and even horse's flesh.

In *Eastern India* the residents of Chirand (Bihar) ate rice during the Neolithic period (2500-1800 B.C.), those of West Bengal about 1500 B.C. and those of Assam c. 900 B.C. The residents of Orissa also used rice for food in the Neolithic Age. Wheat and barley were also used by the residents of Chirand during the Neolithic period. The residents of Pandu Rajar Dhibi ate wheat c. 1000 B.C. Cereals do not seem to have formed a major part in the food economy of the residents of Chirand. Their meat diet was composed of beef, venison and fish. The non-vegetarian diet of Bengalis generally comprised of fish, molluscs and the flesh of nilgai, pork, mutton, beef and venison. We have no archaeological evidence about the animals which were the source of non-vegetarian diet of the Assamese.

The above survey shows that long before the beginning of the Harappan civilization there was a deep rooted agricultural growth in Baluchistan c. 7000 B.C. and in the Indus area c. 3000 B.C.

The archaeological evidence proves that wheat was the staple food grain of the residents of Sind (2500-1700 B.C.), Punjab (2500-1700 B.C.) Uttar Pradesh (1200-600 B.C.), Madhya Pradesh (1500-1000 B.C.) and Maharashtra (1370-1000 B.C.) in the Prehistoric times. The

first people to have used rice seem to have been the residents of Chirand (Bihar) in c. 3500 B.C. In Saurashtra the residents of Lothal and Rangpur ate rice c. 2300 B.C. At Atranjikhhera in Uttar Pradesh it became the part of diet about 2000 B.C. It was part of the food of the Aharians in Rajasthan about 1800 B.C. and the residents of Navdatoli began to eat it during the period 1656 to 1400 B.C. At Hallur in South India it was used only in 870 B.C. The earliest eaters of barley seem to have been the residents of Kalibangan 2090 to 2075 B.C. At Mohenjodaro and Chanhudaro it was used about 1750 B.C. In Uttar Pradesh the residents of Atranjikhhera seem to have eaten barley about 2000-1500 B.C. At Chirand it came into use during the period 2500 to 1800 B.C.

Of the millets finger millet *Ragi* (*Eleusine coracana*) was used by the residents of Hallur (Mysore State) in about 1800 B.C. Sorghum or Jowar was used by Aharians in Rajasthan about 1725 ± 110 B.C. but more profusely from 1550 ± 110 to 1270 ± 110 B.C. In Maharashtra it was used from the fifth-fourth century B.C. to the third to the sixth century A.D. Pearl Millet or *Bajra* (*Pennisetum typhoideum*) was used at Rangpur in Saurashtra during the period 1200 to 1000 B.C. *Paspalum scrobiculatum* or *Kodon* dates from the Iron Age.

Of the legumes Horsegram (*Dolichos biflorus*) was used by the residents of Tekkal Kota (Mysore State) during the period (c. 1780-1540 B.C.). The people of Ter (Maharashtra) used it as late as 150 B.C. to A.D. 100. The Harappans (Panjab) used Peas (*Pisum arvense*) during the period 2100-1850 B.C. The residents of Chirand (Bihar) and Navdatoli (Madhya Pradesh) used it during the period c. 1658 to 1443 B.C. The residents of Atranjikhhera in Uttar Pradesh used Chickpea (*Cicer arietinum*) about 2000 B.C.

Phaseolus mungo and *Phaseolus aureus* were used by the residents of Navdatoli during the period 1660-1440 B.C. *Phaseolus mungo* was used at Paiyampalli (Tamil Nadu) about 645 B.C. The residents of Chirand (Bihar) used lentil (*Lens culinaris*) during the period 2500-1800 B.C. and those of Navdatoli during the period 1550 to 1440 B.C. The earliest people to use *Lathyrus Sativus* were the residents of Chirand in Bihar. The Navdatolians used it during the period 1660-1440 B.C.

The earliest oil seed seems to have been *Sesamum indicarum*. The Harappans used it during the period 2100-1850 B.C. *Brassica Juncea* was found at Chanhudaro, linseed (*Linum usitatissimum*) and *Myrobalan* (*Phyllanthus emblica*) were used by the residents of Navdatoli in 1600-1440 B.C.

Datepalms and melons were used by the Harappans during the period 2100-1850 B.C. *Zizyphus nummularia* was eaten by Navdatolians during the period 1660-1400 B.C. We have no archaeological evidence about the antiquity of sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum*).

H.D. Sankalia was of opinion that "the subsistence pattern has not much changed. Large segments of population still eat the same food in the traditional way,"¹⁶⁴ but the archaeological evidence does not seem to support his view about the conservative attitude with regard to food. From 1940 ± 95 to 1725 ± 110 rice was the only cereal used by the residents of Ahar in South-east Rajasthan but later they began to eat Sorghum (*Jowar*). In *Madhya Pradesh* the residents of Navdatoli ate only wheat till rice was introduced in period II (1660 B.C.). In *Maharashtra* at Ter wheat and rice were equally important in the *Sātavāhana* period (200 B.C. to A.D. 100) but later wheat predominated. Chickpea made its appearance here in the late *Sātavāhana* period and became an important article of food

during the period A.D. 250-400. Barley and *Paspalum Scrobilatum* also entered the food economy of these people during the period. In the same region at Paunar in the Sātavāhana period Sorghum was more important than rice but from the third century A.D. rice became more important. These changes in food habits were the result of cultural contacts. Thus archaeological evidence points to the fact that there were changes in the food habits of the people but without there being any serious break with the past.

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QUESTIONS

1. In the basis of philological studies state the food articles consumed by the Proto-Australoid people in India.
2. On the basis of J. Burrow's studies of early Dravidians words mention the food articles consumed by early Dravidians.
3. Mention the food articles used by man in the Early Palaeolithic Age in Punjab and Peninsular India separately. Also state how archaeologists have determined the different food articles in the two regions.
4. Keeping in view the remains at langhney and Adamgarh state what important changes took place in the food economy of man in Late Stone Age.
5. Discuss the importance of the remain found at Mehargarh in the history of diet of Indians in the Neolithic Age.
6. Describe briefly the diet of the Harappan people.
7. Describe the diet of the people of Navdatoli in the Chalcolithic Age.
8. Discuss critically the view of H.D. Sankalia that subsistence pattern of Indians has not much changed.

Chapter 3

Food and Drinks in the Vedic Period

Food has great importance for Vedic Indians. It is from food states the Tait. Up. that the people are born. All who live on this earth have to subsist on food. Of all created things food is the most important hence it is called *Sarvaśadha* or panacea¹ Elsewhere, one is advised to worship food for it enables a man to use all his faculties.² We are even told that through food comes the end of all ignorance and bondage.³ It is eaten so it is called *Anna* but it is also *Pitu* because it provides nutriment.⁴

Cereals and Pulses

As now, cereals formed a very important part of Indian food and among cereals the most important place was occupied by barley.⁵ In the Atharvaveda it is called one of the two immortal sons of heaven i.e. barley and rice.⁶ It was ground and formed into cakes⁷ which were dipped into ghee before eating.⁸ Sweet cakes (*apūpa*) of barley flour were also prepared.⁹ Parched barley¹⁰ was eaten either whole with *Soma* juice¹¹ or ground into meal which was mixed with curds, clarified butter, *Soma* juice, water¹² or milk.¹³ A gruel was also prepared with barley.¹⁴ Some times a mess of barley was prepared by cooking it in water of milk.¹⁵

Wheat is mentioned in all the *Samhitās* except the *R̥gveda*.¹⁶ We find it used in preparing groats¹⁷ but it may also have been used as a substitute for barley. Its introduction in the Aryan dietary may have been due to

their contact with the Dravidians who as we have seen, had been using wheat as far back as 2500 B.C.¹⁸

We find no definite mention of rice in the *R̥gveda*¹⁹ but it is referred to frequently in the post *R̥gvedic* literature.²⁰ The *Yajurveda* mentions five varieties of it²¹ of which the best was *Mahāvrihi*.²² A mess (*Odana*) was prepared with rice cooked in water²³ or milk.²⁴ Rice was taken also with curds,²⁵ sesamum,²⁶ ghee,²⁷ *Mudga* beans²⁸ and meat.²⁹ Parched rice could be taken alone³⁰ or prepared into a drink after boiling it.³¹ The well known preparation *Civḍā* had come into use and was known as *Pṛthuka*.³² It was prepared as now, by moistening rice grains with water, slightly parching them and flattening them with the strokes of a pestle. We find also the mention of a preparation of rice, milk and sesamum called *Kṛsara*.³³ The Proto-Australoids knew the use of rice. As its use by the Aryans looks post-*R̥gvedic*, is it not likely that its introduction in Aryan dietary, like that of wheat, may have been due to their contact with the Dravidians and the Proto-Australoids.³⁴ The excavations at Maheshwara and Nāvdātoli have shown that people in this region were using wheat, rice, *masūra*, *māṣa*, *Arahar*, gram, pea and *kulattha* as early as about 1200 B.C.³⁵ while rice was a common foodgrain in the *Madhyadeśa* about 800 B.C., as rice husk was used in mud plaster at Hastināpur.³⁶

Some inferior varieties of cereals were also used.³⁷ Of the pulses the most commonly used varieties were *Māṣa* (Kidneybeans),³⁸

Mudga (*Phaseolus Mungo*)³⁹ and *Masūra*⁴⁰ (Lentils). But for some reason or other the use of *Māṣa* is indicted for sacrificial purposes.⁴¹ One of the pulse preparations was *Kulmāṣa*. It was prepared by stewing beans and mixing them with a little *guḍa* and oil.⁴² It seems to have generally been the food of the poor; but the rich ate it in times of scarcity.⁴³

Dairy Products

Milk⁴⁴ formed one of the principal ingredients of the food of Vedic Indians. Generally boiled cows milk⁴⁵ was taken. It was used in preparing a mess with grains⁴⁶ and a gruel with parched barley meal.⁴⁷ It was also mixed with *Soma* juice.⁴⁸ Milk of buffaloes might also have been used in the Ṛgvedic period.⁴⁹ The popularity of milk in the later Vedic age is testified by the fact that the cow is called a blessing (*vara*).⁵⁰ Fresh milk,⁵¹ boiled milk⁵² and cream of boiled milk⁵³ were in common use. Goat's milk was also used.⁵⁴ Beastings were not used for ten days.⁵⁵ There were some people who lived on milk alone (*Payovrata*).⁵⁶

Milk was curdled by mixing with it a little sour milk, pieces of a creeper called *Pūtikā*, bark of *Palāśa* tree or *Kuvala* (Jujube). The curds prepared by mixing *Kuvala* were not regarded as pure.⁵⁷ Curds were widely used.⁵⁸ Sometimes they were mixed with *Soma* juice and barley meal.⁵⁹ The process of churning with a churning stick was known.⁶⁰ The mixture of curds and minute globules of butter when the latter have not been removed was called *Prṣadājya*.⁶¹ We find the mention of *dadhanvat* which was probably cheese with two varieties, one with pores and the other without pores.⁶² A preparation of curds with boiled milk was very popular. The solid part of the preparation was called *āmikṣā*⁶³ while the liquid part was called *vājina*.⁶⁴

Butter was heated before use with a view to clarifying it.⁶⁵ It was mixed with *Soma* juice⁶⁶ and used in frying *apūpas*⁶⁷ and for dipping cakes in.⁶⁸ It was also used in making offerings to gods and manes. While solidified clarified butter was used by grown up men, fresh butter was used by children.⁶⁹

Meat Diet

Meat eating is mentioned as early as the Ṛgvedic period. Fire is called the eater of ox and barren cows.⁷⁰ The ritual offerings of flesh implied that the priests would eat it. A goat is also offered to fire to be carried to forefathers.⁷¹ A barren cow was also killed at the time of marriage⁷² obviously for food. Fish is mentioned in the Ṛgveda but it is difficult on the basis of this reference to conclude that the Ṛgvedic Indians consumed fish.⁷³ A slaughter house is also mentioned.⁷⁴ The flesh of horses, rams, barren cows, sheep, and buffaloes was cooked.⁷⁵ Probably flesh of birds was also eaten.⁷⁶

In the later Vedic period it was customary to kill a big ox or a big goat to feed a distinguished guest.⁷⁷ Sometimes a cow that miscarried or a sterile cow was also killed.⁷⁸ *Atithigva* also implies that cows were slain for guests.⁷⁹ Many animals cows, sheep, goats, and horses continued to be killed at sacrifices and the flesh of these sacrificed animals was eaten by the participants.⁸⁰ Many words in the sense of fishermen are used in the Yajurveda which makes us infer that the Aryans had included fish in their diet by the time.⁸¹

Of the meat preparations the most common in the Ṛgvedic period were flesh roasted on spits⁸², and boiled in pots. The latter was eaten with great relish.⁸³ Meat cooked with rice was much valued as food in the Upaniṣadic period.⁸⁴

Some notion of pure and impure meat was present even in the days of the Ṛgveda. A man

cooked the entrails of a dog in extreme destitution.⁸⁵ The cow, on account of its usefulness and the many blessings it provided was considered *aghnyā* (not to be killed).⁸⁶ Sterile cows could perhaps, be killed a little more freely.⁸⁷

Vegetarianism was perhaps also not unknown to the Ṛgvedic Aryans. A devout offering of praise or of fuel stick or cooked food was considered as good as a more solemn sacrifice.⁸⁸ Then there is a whole hymn addressed to *Pitu* (nutriment) which mentions all the articles of food except meat.⁸⁹ In the later Vedic period a feeling of revulsion against meat eating, especially beef, is found in almost all our works.⁹⁰ The Atharvaveda regards beef eating as an offence against forefathers (*Pitṛs*).⁹¹ Bṛhaspati, it is said, takes away the progeny of those who consume a cow.⁹² There was also an injunction against the slaughter of horses in a sacrifice.⁹³ People who observed a vow, generally, abstained from meat diet⁹⁴ and Brāhmaṇas took only sanctified meat and that too of pure animals.⁹⁵

Sweets

Honey was, possibly, the earliest sweet thing Indians knew.⁹⁶ It was taken out from two kinds of bees, one big *Ārangara* and the other small *Sāragha*.⁹⁷ The latter kind was considered better than the former.⁹⁸ It was used to sweeten food articles such as *apūpas*.⁹⁹ Its use is tabooed for women¹⁰⁰ and students.¹⁰¹

Sugarcane (*Ikṣu*) is not expressly mentioned in the Ṛgveda¹⁰² but is found in all the other Saṃhitās.¹⁰³ Chewing of sugarcane is referred to in the Atharvaveda.¹⁰⁴

Apūpa was a round cake of barley meal¹⁰⁵ or rice flour¹⁰⁶ baked in clarified butter¹⁰⁷ on slow fire.¹⁰⁸ Honey was added to sweeten it.¹⁰⁹ It is, probably, the earliest sweet preparation known to us.

Salts and Spices

Salt is not mentioned in the Ṛgveda although the Salt range exists in the *Sapta Sindhu*, the region occupied by the Ṛgvedic Indians. In the rest of the Vedic Literature salt is frequently mentioned.¹¹⁰ Some spices such as brassica (*baja*),¹¹¹ *Jambīla* (citrus aurantium),¹¹² turmeric,¹¹³ and long pepper¹¹⁴ were also probably used in the preparation of food articles.

Oils and Oilseeds

Sesame was used as a food article.¹¹⁵ The two common preparations were a gruel¹¹⁶ and a porridge.¹¹⁷ A wild variety of Sesamum (*Jartila*) was also used in preparing a porridge.¹¹⁸ Sesamum oil is not mentioned in the Ṛgveda but is mentioned in the Atharvaveda.¹¹⁹ Mustard is mentioned in the Upaniṣads and Brāhmaṇas.¹²⁰ The use of oil was perhaps commoner with the non-Aryans than the Aryans.¹²¹

Fruits and Vegetables

Flowering and fruit bearing plants are mentioned in the Ṛgveda.¹²² It is obvious also that fruits were a valuable part of Arya dietary¹²³ but we come across specific names only in the later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. Three varieties of jujube,¹²⁴ *bilva* (aegle marmelos)¹²⁵ and *Kharjūra* (*Phoenixilvestris*)¹²⁶ are mentioned in the Yajurveda. Mango is for the first time mentioned in the Śat. Bra.¹²⁷ while *Āmalaka* (myrobalan fruit) in the Jaim. Up. Bra.¹²⁸ Jujube was also eaten by the people of Maheshwar Navdātoli about 1200 B.C.¹²⁹

Of the vegetables cucumber (*Urvāruka*)¹³⁰ and lotus stalks (*bisa*)¹³¹ were known to the Ṛgvedic Indians. The latter was probably in common use with the edible roots of lotus (*Śāluka*)¹³² and *alābu* (bottle gourd).¹³³

Saphaka (*Trapabispinosa*)¹³⁴ also seems to have been used as a food article. People of Maheshwar Navdātoli used beans about 1200 B.C.¹³⁵

Beverages

Of the beverages of the Vedic Indian—*Soma* juice was the most important.¹³⁶ The plant was brought from some mountains especially *Maujavanta*.¹³⁷ The process of extracting the juice is described in detail. The stalks were crushed between two stones.¹³⁸ They were sometimes pounded in a mortar with a pestle.¹³⁹ Before crushing, the plant was washed in water.¹⁴⁰ In order that it may yield copious juice, water was sprinkled on the stalks.¹⁴¹ It was pounded with both hands.¹⁴² Women sang songs when they squeezed the juice of the plant with their fingers.¹⁴³

Soma juice was pressed in very large quantities¹⁴⁴ and was poured upon a strainer for removing the impurities.¹⁴⁵ It was stored in jars or wooden tubs and was either brown, ruddy or tawny.¹⁴⁶ It was mixed with curds, clarified butter or milk to improve its taste.¹⁴⁷ Other preparations with which it was mixed were *karambha*, *dhānāḥ*, *apūpa*, *pakti*, *saktu*, water and honey.¹⁴⁸

According to Vedic descriptions *Soma* juice was sweet and delicious in taste.¹⁴⁹ It was believed that it inspired confidence, courage, faith and self-trust and bestowed powers of eloquence and immortality.¹⁵⁰ It was called pure, purifying,¹⁵¹ and the most heavenly nectar.¹⁵² A strong mixture of *Soma* juice, called *Pañcadaśa* is also mentioned.¹⁵³

Another beverage of the Vedic period was *Surā* (intoxicating liquor) which was prepared from fermented barley or wild paddy after distillation.¹⁵⁴ But while the use of *Soma* juice was highly commended that of *Surā* was condemned. Drinking *Surā* gave rise to broils in the assembly.¹⁵⁵ Its popularity in the later

Vedic period is, however, evident from a verse in the *Atharvaveda* where it is mentioned as a reward for the performance of sacrifices.¹⁵⁶ The praise of *Surā* in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the placing of *Surā* vessel in the hands of a king¹⁵⁷ makes us conclude that the Kṣatriyas were generally in the habit of drinking *Surā*.

But the evil effects of drinking were known. It is regarded as one of the seven sins forbidden by the *Vedas*¹⁵⁸ and is classed with anger, senselessness and dicing.¹⁵⁹ Realising its evil effects the *Brāhmaṇas* avoided drinking¹⁶⁰ and good kings like *Aśvapati* proudly declared that there was no drunkard in their kingdoms.¹⁶¹

Another common intoxicating drink was *parisruta*.¹⁶² It was prepared either from flowers or by fermenting certain grasses,¹⁶³ while *Kilāla* was a sweet drink prepared from cereals.¹⁶⁴ The preparation of another drink called *Māsara* is described in the *Yajurveda*.¹⁶⁵ It was prepared with a mixture of mess of rice and some spices which was allowed to ferment for three days.¹⁶⁶ This beverage was purified with the help of a filter.¹⁶⁷

Water is described as nectar (*amṛta*) and a remedy (*bheṣaja*).¹⁶⁸ Main sources of water were rivers, wells, springs. Rain water was also used for drinking.¹⁶⁹

The Art of Cooking and Utensils

The art of cooking¹⁷⁰ was well developed as early as the *Rgvedic* period. The processes of cleaning food grains with a sieve and grinding them were known.¹⁷¹ Preparation of such food articles as *Kṛsara* and *Prthuka* shows a very high stage of development. Meat was not only roasted and cooked in the form of a soup but also cooked with rice.

There were cooks and servers of food.¹⁷² Many implements and utensils were used in cooking. Some of these were made of clay, wood and stone while others were made of

metals. Leather vessels were used for storing liquids.¹⁷³

Rules of Diet and Etiquette

Vedic Indians laid great stress on the virtue of hospitality. Even their beloved god fire is called a guest (*atithi*) in the *R̥gveda*.¹⁷⁴ In another verse it is considered a sin to take food without feeding a hungry person.¹⁷⁵ In the *Atharvaveda* feeding a guest, without hatred or doubt,¹⁷⁶ is considered as meritorious as performing a sacrifice.¹⁷⁷ The *Brāhmaṇas* consider feeding a guest as meritorious as worshipping God Himself¹⁷⁸ and prescribe that a great goat or a barren cow should be killed for a distinguished guest.¹⁷⁹

Next to hospitality much emphasis was laid on purity of food, as the Vedic Indians were of opinion that proper mental make up of a person depended on the purity of food.¹⁸⁰ Practice of washing the mouth before taking meals and after meals was common.¹⁸¹ Leavings of food were not taken except in a dire calamity.¹⁸² Friends could, however, even partake of drinks from the same cup.¹⁸³ The food cooked by a woman in her courses was considered impure.¹⁸⁴ Milk of a cow was not used for ten days after she had calved.¹⁸⁵ Even the entrails of a dog, however, could be taken in a dire necessity.¹⁸⁶

In the *Brāhmaṇas* we find some traces of the idea of pollution of food by contact with persons of low caste. People refuse to dine with Kavaṣa because he was the son of a maid seavant.¹⁸⁷ A Kṣatriya loses his caste by dining with members of other castes.¹⁸⁸ In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* even a Śūdra is given a place in the Soma sacrifice¹⁸⁹ but the *Kāthaka Samhitā* does not allow a Śūdra to milk a cow whose milk was to be used in a sacrifice.¹⁹⁰ Dining with non-Aryans was considered a sin.¹⁹¹ Vedic Indians used to recite a prayer to food before they took their meals.¹⁹² They

also made offerings to gods before they began eating newly ripened corn as a token of gratitude to them for enabling them to enjoy the produce of a new crop.¹⁹³

Moderation in food is advised from very early times. It is said that if a person took his food only twice a day he would be so wise, and intelligent that his sayings would never fail.¹⁹⁴ People observed a fast whenever they performed some sacrifice.¹⁹⁵

We can also form some idea of the rules of etiquette. From a simile in the *R̥gveda* we learn that the Vedic Indians took their meals in a sitting posture.¹⁹⁶ Men avoided taking meals with their wives¹⁹⁷ and women, generally, did not take their food in the presence of male members.¹⁹⁸

Students were expected to go out to beg food for it was supposed that the practice created a sense of humility in them.¹⁹⁹ We also find the beginnings of some taboos in the *Samhitās*. The use of exudation of trees (*niryāsa*) was forbidden on account of its red colour.²⁰⁰ *Māṣa* pulse was forbidden probably because it was considered exotic.²⁰¹

From a passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* we learn that *Soma* juice was considered a proper drink for *Brāhmaṇas*, curds for *Vaiśyas*, water for *Śūdras* and a juice extracted from the roots of *Nyagrodha* and fruits of *Udumbara*, *Aśvattha* and *Plakṣa* for *Kṣatriyas*.²⁰² This shows that the four castes had their own favourite drinks.

To sum up the food habits of the Aryans seem to have been affected considerably by their contact with the non-Aryans who were the makers of the Indus civilization. Probably wheat and rice became a part of their dietary only after this contact, as there is no mention of these cereals in the *R̥gveda*. Fish was also included in the articles of food by the time of the *Yajurveda*. The use of oil as a cooking medium seems to have been borrowed by the

Aryans from the non-Aryans. *Soma* juice was widely used in the beginning but towards the end of the period, when it became difficult to obtain the plant some substitutes were used.

References

1. Tail. Up. II. 2.
2. Chand. Up. VII. 6.1.
3. Chand. Up. VII. 26.2.
4. Rv. I. 61.7, 132.6, 187.1, VI. 20.4 etc. Ved. Ind. I. 526, Kath. Sam. XIII 15, Vaj. Sam. II, 266, XII, 65. Tait. Sam. V. 7, 2, 4. Av. IV, 6.3. Ait. Bra. I. 13. Rv. I. 187.2.
Sāyana on Rv. I. 187. 1.
Other words used in the sense of food in the Vedic literature are *iḍā* (Rv. III. 1.23), *andhas* (Rv. I. 153.4, Vaj. Sam. III. 20), *parimśa* (Rv. I. 187.8) and *Āhāra* (Chand. Up. VII. 26.2).
5. Rv. I. 23.15, 117.21, 135.8, II. 5.6, 14.11. III. 42.7, V. 85.3, IX. 68.4, Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. Tait. Sam. IV. 7.4., VI. 4. 10. Kath. Sam. XV. 5, Mait. Sam. III. 10.2, IV. 3.2, Av. II. 8.3. VI. 30.1. VI. 50.1., 91.1., 141.2, VIII. 7.20., IX. 1.22, 6.14, XII. 1.42. Av. XII. 142.
6. Av. VIII. 7.20. Ait. Brā. VIII. 16.
7. *Puroḍāśa*.
Rv. III. 28.1, 41.3, 52.2, IV. 32. 16, VI. 23.7. Mait. Sam. III. 10.2. Sāyana on Ait. Bra. I. 1.2.9.
Pakti. Rv. IV. 24.5, 24.7, 25.6, 25.7, VI. 29.4. According to Sāyana and Mahīdhara *Pakti* means cake but as in the Rv. IV. 24.5 both *pakti* and *puroḍāśa* are mentioned in the same hymn it seems unlikely that the two words are synonymous. It seems likely that *pakti* was a liquid preparation served after *puroḍāśa*.
See K.R. Potdar—Sacrifice in the R̥gveda.
Rv. IV. 24.5.
8. Av. X. 9.25.
9. See Sweets, in this chapter.
10. *Dhānāh* (parched barley) Rv. I. 16.2, III. 35.3, 43.4, 52.5, IV. 24.7, 29.4, VIII. 92.2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 22, Kath. Sam. XI. 2. Tait. Sam. VI. 5.11.4, III. 1.10.2, Av. XVIII. 3.69., Tait. Bra. I. 5.11.2, Sat. Bra. IV. 4.3.9, XIII. 2.1.4.
11. Rv. III. 35.7.
Tait. Sam. VI. 5.11.4. Av. XVIII. 4.43.
12. *Saktu*. (parched barley meal) Rv. X. 71.2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, Tait. Sam. VI. 4.10.6., Kath. Sam. XV. 2, Sat. Bra. I. 6.3.16, IX. 1.1.8. XII. 9.1.5. Rv. X. 71.2.
Karambha (parched barley meal with curds, clarified butter, *Soma* juice or water). Rv. I. 187, 10, III. 52.1., VI. 56.1. VIII. 91.2.3.
Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, Tait. Sam. III. 1.10.2, VI. 5.11.4, Sat. Bra. II. 5.2.14. IV. 2.4.18., Tait. Bra. I. 5.11.2., Ait. Bra. VIII. 6. Rv. III. 52.1., VIII. 91.3. Sāyana on Rv. III. 52.1. Sāyana on Tait. Bra. I. 5.11.2. Mahīdhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21.
13. Rv. X. 86.15.
14. *Yavāgū*—Tait. Sam. VI. 2.5.2., Kath. Sam. XI. 2. Tait. Aran. II. 8.8., Kaus. Bra. IV. 13. Tait. Sam. V. 4.3.2.
15. Rv. VIII. 69.14. Rv. VIII. 77.10.
16. Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, XIX. 22.89, XXI. 29, Sat. Bra. XII. 7.1.2., 7.2.9. Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. Sat. Bra. V. 2.1.6.
17. Sat. Bra. XII. 9.1.5.
18. See Chapter II, p. 55.
19. We come across two expressions *Dhānyabija* (Rv. V. 53.13.7.) and *Kṣīrapākam Odanam* (Rv. VIII. 77.10). It is doubtful if they indicate the use of rice for *Dhānyabija* may merely mean grain and *Odana* though later used for boiled rice might have had only the sense of a mess in general in the R̥gvedic period, as the exact grain used is not mentioned. *Dhānya* may have meant rice as the word has been used by Śābara in that sense on Jaim. IX. 1.38.39.
20. Tait. Sam. I. 8.10, Kath. Sam. XV. 5, Av. VI. 140.2. VII. 7.20. IX., 6.14., Sat. Bra. V. 5.5.9. Brh. Up. VI. 3.22., Chand Up. III. 14.3.
21. *Kṣṇavrihi*. Tait. Sam. I. 8.10, III. 1. 5.9. Kath. Sam. X. 6. *Śuklavrihi*. Kath. Sam. XI. 5., Tait. Sam. I. 8.10. Jaim. Bra. I. 43, Chand. Up. V. 10.6.
Āśuddānya. Tait. Sam. I. 8.10. Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.2. Harisvāmī on Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.2. a swift growing variety of rice.
Hāyana. Mait. Sam. II. 6.6., Kath., Sam. XV. 5. Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.6. red rice growing in a year. Harisvāmī on Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.6. Pāṇini III. 1.48. cf. Ved. Ind. II., p. 502.
22. Tait. Sam. I. 8.10. Ait. Bra. VIII. 16.
23. Av. IV. 14.7., 11.3. Brh. Up. VI. 4.16.
24. *Kṣīraudana*. Av. XIII. 2.20. Sat. Bra. II. 5.3.4. XI. 5.7.5. Brh. Up. 4.13.

25. *Dadhyodana*. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 15.
26. *Tilaudana*. Brh. Up. VI. 4.17.
27. *Ghrtaudana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8.
28. *Mudgaudana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8.
29. *Mainśaudana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8., Sat. Bra. XI. 5.7.5. Brh. Up. VI. 4.18. Brh. Up. VI. 4.18.
30. *Parivāpa*. Tait. Sam. III. 1.10.1, VI. 5.11.4., VII. 2.10.4. Kath. Sam. XXXIV. 11. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21-22. Ait. Bra. II. 24. Tait. Bra. I. 5.11.4. *Lājāh*. Mait. Sam. III. 11.2. Tait. Bra. II. 6.4. III. 8. 14.4, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 13.81, 21.42, Sat. Bra. XII.8. 8.2.7. Sāyaṇa on Tait. Bra. II. 6.4.
31. Av. V. 5.1. *Lājamāṇḍa*.
32. Tait. Br. III. 8.14.3.
33. Av. V. 5. *Ṣaḍviṃśa* Bra. V. 2.
34. Rice grain is called *Taṇḍula* and Chaff *palāva* (Av. XII. 3. 19).
- (a) Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6., Kath. Sam. X. 1. XV. 6, Tait. Sam. I. 8.9.3. Av. X. 9. 26., XI. 1. 18. XII. 3. 18, 3. 29, 3. 30, Ait. Bra. I. 1., Sat. Bra. I. 1.4.3., II. 5. 3. 4., V. 2. 3. 2, VI. 6. 1. 8. Tait. Bra. II. 8. 14. 3. Chand. Up. III. 14. 3. See Chapter II.
35. Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. XXI, No. 4/84. Culture of Maheshwara Navdā Toli by H.D. Sankalia, p. 332.
36. Ancient India Nos. X and XI (1954-55), p. 129.
37. *Priyaṅgu*. (*Panicum Italicum*) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. Tait. Sam. IV. 7.4. Kath. Sam. X. 11. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 13. *Aṇu*. (*Panicum Miliaceum*) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. *Śyāmāka*. (*Panicum frumentaceum*) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10, II. 3. 2, IV. 7. 4. Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6, II. 11.4. Kath. Sam. X. 2, XV. 5. Sat. Bra. X. 6. 3. 2. XII. 7.1.9. Kaus. Bra. IV. 12. Av. XIX. 50. 4. Chand. Up. III. 14. 3. *Nīvāra*. Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, Kath. Sam. XII. 4. XV. 5. Mait. Sam. II. 6.6., 4.10., Tait. Sam. I. 8.10, IV. 7.4. Sat. Bra. V. 1. 4. 14., 3. 3. 5, Tait. Bra. I. 3. 6. 7. *Gavīdbukā* (*Coix Lacryma*) Tait. Sam. V. 4. 3. 2. Mait. Sam. II. 6. 5, IV. 3. 8, Vaj. Sam. XV. 5, Tait. Bra. I. 7. 3. 6, Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 2. 29. II. 4. 11. 13, IX. 1. 1. 8. *Āmba* or *Nāmba*. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10.1, Kath. Sam. XV. 5, Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6. Sat. Bra. V. 3. 3. 8. *Upavāka* (*Wrightia antidysenterica*). It was used in preparing groats and a gruel. Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2, Vaj. Sam. XIX.22.90. XXI. 30. Sat. Bra. XXII. 7. 1. 3., 7. 2. 9.
38. Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, Tait. Sam. V. 1. 8, I, VII. 2. 10. 2. Kath. Sam. XII. 7, XXXII. 7, Mait. Sam. IV. 3. 2. Av. XII. 2. 53. Sat. Bra. I. 1. 1. 10. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 22. Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6. Tait. Sam. VII. 2. 10. 2.
39. Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. It was also cooked with rice (*Śāṅkh Aran*. XII. 8).
40. Vaj. Sam. XVII. 12., Brh. Up. VI. 3. 22. The Tait. Br. III. 8. 14. 6. mentions *Masūśya* which seems to be a misreading for *Masūra*. Some other pulses *Satīna* (a) a kind of pea, *Khalakula* (b) *Delichos biflorus*, *Garmuta* (c) (Horsegram) and *Khalva* (*Phaseolus radiatus*) (d) are mentioned.
- (a) Mait. Sam. II. 66. (b) Brh. Up. VI. 3. 13. (c) Tait. Sam. II. 4. 4., Kath. Sam. X. 11. Mait. Sam. II. 2. 4. (d) Av. II. 31. 1., V. 23. 81. Vaj. Sam. XVII. 12. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 22.
41. Mait. Sam. I.4.10. Kath. Sam. XXXII. 7.
42. Nirukta I. 4. Chand. Up. I.10.2.
43. Chand. Up. I.10.2.
44. *Kṣīra*. Rv. I. 164. 7., VIII. 2. 9., IX. 67. 32., X. 87. 16. *Payas*. Rv. I. 153. 4., I. 121. 5., VI. 52. 10. *Go*. Rv. I. 33. 10., 151. 8, 181.8, IV. 27. 5, IX. 46. 4., 71. 5. Rv. I. 164. 7. Rv. I. 153. 4.
45. Rv. I. 180. 3. Rv. I. 62. 9. Rv. VIII. 9. 4.
46. *Kṣīraudana*. See p. 454, f. n. 24.
47. *Mantha*. See p. 454, f. n. 13.
48. *Gavāśīra*. Rv. II. 41. 3. *Abhiśīra*. Rv. IX. 86. 27.
49. The word *Mahiṣa* (a buffalo) is frequently mentioned. Rv. V. 29. 7., VIII. 12. 8, 77. 10. Rv. V. 29. 7.
50. Tait. Bra., III. 12. 5. 7. Tait. Sam. VII. 5. 31. Cows were milked three times a day—in the morning, in the forenoon and in the evening.
51. *Pratidhuk*, Tait. Sam. II. 5.3.3., Kath. Sam. XVII. 6, Av. IX. 4. 4. Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2. Panc. Bra. IX. 5. 5., XVIII. 4. 2. Tait. Bra. II. 7. 2. Śat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.
52. *Śṛta*. Śat. Brā. III. 2. 2. 10, VI. 3. 3. 2. Śat. Bra. III, 2. 2. 10. Sāyaṇa on Sat. Bra. III, 3. 3. 2.
53. *Śara*. Śat. Brā. III. 3. 3. 2. Sāyaṇa on Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

54. Tait. Sam. IV. 1. 6. 1., V. 1. 7. 4, Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 2. 13.
55. Tait. Bra. II. 1. 1.
56. Sat. Bra. IX. 5. 1. 1.
Kauṣ. Bra. VIII. 9.
57. *Ātañcana*. (a little sour milk). Tait. Sam. II. 5.3. 5.
58. Av. III. 12. 7. IV. 34. 6, Tait. Sam. II. 5. 3. 4, Kath. Sam. XXXIV. 3.
Panc. Bra. XVIII. 5. 12, Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 2. 12.
Jaim. Bra. II. 348.
59. Rv. I. 127. 2. V. 51. 7, VII. 32. 4. Rv. I. 5. 5.
Karambha (barley meal with curds)
60. Rv. I. 28. 4. Cf. Bṛhad. Up. VI. 3. 13.
61. Particles of butter produced by churning were called *Phāṇṭa*. Śat. Bra. III. 1. 3. 8.
Whey was called *Mastu*. Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.
Rv. X. 90. 8. Sāyaṇa on Tait. Sam. III. 2. 6. 2.
62. Ved. Ind. I, p. 209.
According to Sāyaṇa '*dadhanvat*' simply denotes abundance of curds. Sāyaṇa on Rv. VI. 48. 18. Rv. VI. 48. 18.
63. *Āmikṣā* or *Payasyā*.
Tait. Sam. II. 5. 5. 4, III. 3.9. 2, VI. 2. 5. 3.
Mait. Sam. II. 1. 9. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 23.
Av. X. 9, 13. Sat. Bra. I. 8. 1. 7, 8. 1. 9., III. 3. 3. 2.
Tait. Ar. II. 88. Jaim. Up. II. 438, Ch. Up. VIII. 8. 5.
Kaus. Bra. XIX. 7. Sāyaṇa on Tait. Bra. V. 11.
64. Tait. Sam. I. 6. 3. 10, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 23, Sat. Bra. II. 4. 4. 21, III. 3. 3. 2, IX. 5. 5. 7.
Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22.
65. Rv. I. 134. 6, II. 10. 4, IV. 10. 6, 58. 8, V. 12. 1.
Rv. IV. 1. 6.
66. Rv. X. 29. 6.
67. Rv. X. 45. 9.
68. Av. X. 9. 25.
69. *Ājya*. (melted butter) Sāyaṇa on Ait. Bra. I. 3. Ait. Bra. I. 3.
Ghṛta. (Solidified clarified butter). Sāyaṇa on Ibid.
Āyuta. (Slightly melted butter). Sāyaṇa. on Ibid.
Navanīta. (Fresh butter) Tait. Sam. II. 3. 10. 1, VI. 1. 1. 5. Kath. Sam. XI. 7. Mait. Sam. II. 3. 4. Sat. Bra. III. 1. 3. 7, 1. 3. 8. Sat. Bra. V. 3. 7. 6. Jaim. Up. Bra. The phrase may probably imply that fresh butter eaten by a pregnant woman pleases the embryo in the womb as the word 'garbha' also means embryo.
70. Rv. VIII. 43. 11.
71. Rv. X. 16. 4.
72. Rv. X. 85. 13.
73. Rv. X. 68. 8.
74. *Śasana*. (a slaughter house). Rv. X. 89. 14.
75. Rv. V. 29. 7, 29. 8, VI. 17. 11, 17. 13, VIII. 12. 8. Rv. X. 91. 14. Rv. VI. 17. 11.
76. Rv. I. 92. 10.
77. Av. III. 21. 6, Tait. Sam. I. 3. 14. 7. Sat. Bra. III. 4. 1. 2. Ait. Bra. III. 4. 15.
78. Av. XII. 4. 10.
79. Ved. Ind. I. p. 15., Ait. Bra. I. 15.
80. Mait. Sam. III. 14, Vaj. Sam. XIII. 47-51. Tait. Sam. IV. 2. 10. 1-4. Panc. Bra. XXI. 14. 5, Ait. Bra. VI. 8. Sat. Bra. IX. 7. 1. 3., Tait. Sam. I. 3. 8., Gopatha. Bra. III. 13. 18. Gopatha Bra. III. 18.
81. *Śauṣkala*. Vaj. Sam. XIII. 16, Tait. Bra. III. 4. 12. 1.
Pāśin. Av. XVIII. 1.
Baindra. Vaj. Sam. XXX. 16.
Kaivarta. Tait. Bra. III. 4. 12. 1.
Puñjīṣṭha. Vaj. Sam. XXVI. 27., Tait. Sam. IV. 5. 42. Mait. Sam. II. 9. 5., Kath. Sam. XVII. 13. Vaj. Sam. XXX. 16.
82. Rv. I. 162. 11, Av. IX. 6. 17. Rv. I. 162. 11.
83. Rv. I. 162. 13. Rv. I. 162. 12.
84. *Māmsaudana*. Bṛhad. Up. VI. 4. 18.
85. Rv. IV. 18. 13.
86. Rv. I. 164. 40, IV. I. 6, V. 83. 8. VIII. 69. 2., X. 87. 16. Rv. I. 164. 27.
87. Av. XII. 4. 10.
88. Rv. VIII. 19. 5.
89. Rv. I. 187. 8-10.
90. We find some exceptions even in this period for instance Yājñavalkya relished beef diet. Sat. Bra. III. 1. 2. 21.
91. Av. V. 19. 5.
92. Av. XII. 4. 38.
93. Vaj. Sam. XIII. 48.
94. Av. VI. 70. 1. Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 1. 29.
95. Sat. Bra. II. 2. 1. 39. Sat. Bra. XII. 1. 2. 39. cf. Ait. Bra. VI. 8.
96. Rv. IV. 43. 5., 45. 3, X. 24. 6, Vaj. Sam. VI. 2, XXXVII. 10. Av. VI. 69. I., IX. 1. 22, Tait. Bra. III. 1. 2. 4, 1. 2. 13. Rv. IV. 45. 3.
97. Rv. X. 106. 10.
98. Sat. Bra. III. 11. 3. 13.

99. Av. XVIII. 4. 22.
100. Jaim. Up. Bra. I. 55. 2.
101. Sat. Bra. XI. 5. 4. 18.
102. However, according to B. Majumdar *Kuśāra*. (Rv. I. 191. 3.) refers to sugarcane. The word is still used for sugarcane in Bengal. Rv. I. 191. 3.
103. Av. I. 34. 5., XII. 2. 54, 100, 277. Mait. Sam. III. 7. 9., IV. 2. 9, Vaj. Sam. XXV. 1, Tait. Sam. III. 8.
104. Av. I. 34. 5.
105. Sat. Bra. II. 2. 3. 13.
106. Sat. Bra. II. 2. 3. 12.
- 107-108. In clarified butter.
On slow fire. Rv. X. 45. 9.
Rv. III. 51. 1.
Sat. Bra. IV. 2. 5. 19.
Also please see Appendix I.
109. Av. XVIII. 4. 22.
110. Av. VII. 76. 1. Sat. Bra. V. 2. 1. 16. Jaim. Up. III. 17.3, Brh. Up. 4.12. Chand. Up. IV. 17.7. Gopatha Bra. I. 14. Brh. Up. II. 4. 12.
111. Baja (brassica). Av. VIII. C. 3. VIII. 6.6.
112. *Jambila*. Mait. Sam. III. 15.3.
Kath. Sam. V.2.1. Vaj. Sam. XV.3.
113. *Haridrā*. (Long turmeric) Av. XII. 24.2.
114. *Pippalī*. (Epuloides, Long Pepper) Av. VI. 109.
115. Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12., Mait. Sam. IV. 3. 2., Tait. Sam. VII. 2.10.2., Av. IV.7.3, II. 8.3, VI.140.2, XVIII.3.69, 4.32. Sat. Bra. IX.1.1.3.
Stalks of Sesam (*Tilapiñja*) were used as fuel (Av. XII.2.54).
116. Av. IV.7.3.
117. Brh. Up. VI.4.16.
118. Tait. Sam. V. 4.3.2. Sat. Bra. IX.1.1.3.
119. Av. XX.136.16.
120. Ṣaḍ. Bra. V.2. Chand. Up. III. 14.3.
121. Av. I.7.2.
122. Rv. VI.49.14. VII. 34.23, 35.57 X.97.1. Av. XIX. 3.1. Rv. X.97.4. Rv. X.97.15. Rv. VIII. 34.23.
123. Rv. X.95.5. Rv. X.97.16. Rv. X. 146.5.
Also see X. 146.6. III. 45.4.
124. Jujube fruit was also used in preparing groats.
Sat. Bra. V.5.4.22. XII.9.1.5.
Badara. (a large sized Jujube)—Kath. Sam. XX. 20, Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22. 90. XXI.30., Tait. Bra. I. 8. 5. 1. Sat. Bra. V. 4. 10, XII. 7. 1. 3, 7. 2. 9.9. 1. 8. Jaim. Br. II. 156.5.
Kuvala. (an average sized soft Jujube) Mait. Sam. III.11.2. Vaj. Sam. XIX.22, 89, XXI. 29. Sat. Bra. V.4.10.
Karkandhu (a small sized Jujube) Mait. Sam. III.11.2. Kath. Sam. XII.10. Vaj. Sam. XIX.23. XXI. 32.
125. Av. XX. 136. 13, Mait. Sam. III. 9. 3.
Ait. Bra. II. 1. Sat. Bra. XIII. 4.4.8.
126. Kath. Sam. XI. 10, XXXVI. 71. Tait. Sam. II. 4.9.2.
127. Sat. Bra. XIV.7.1.41.
128. Jaim. Up. Bra. I.38.6.
129. See p. 455, ref. 35
Also see Chand. Up. VII.3.1.
130. Av. VI.14.2, Mait. Sam. I.10.4, Tait. Sam. I.8.62. Vaj. Sam. III. 60. Rv. VII.59.12.
131. Rv. VI.61.2.
Also see Av. IV.34.5, Ait. Bra. V.30, Ait. Ār. III.2.4. Saikh. Ar. XI.4.
132. Av. IV.35.5.
133. Av. VIII.10.29 and 30.
134. Av. IV.39.5.
Some other plants are mentioned :
Mulāli (*Trapabispinosa*)—Av. IV.34.5.
Avaka (*Blyseca Clandra*—an aquatic plant)
Av. IV.37.8, VIII.7.9, 37.38.10. Tait. Sam. IV.6.1.1. V.4.2.
Kapittha (*Ferronia Limonia*) Av. IV. 2.8.
Aṇḍikā (*Nymphaeae albe*) Av. IV.35.5, IV.17.16.
Madugha (a sweet herb) Av. I.34.4. VI.122.3.
Aśvabalā Sat. Bra. III.4.1.17., III.6.3.10.
Madhūka (*Bassia Latifolia*) Av. I. 34.5.
Uṣanā (Sat. Bra. III.4.3.13. and IV.2.5.15).
Prapathā (Panc. Bra. VIII. 4. 1.) and *Ādāra* (Kath. Sam. XXIV. 3., (Sat. Bra. IV.5.10.4.) were used as substitutes for Soma.
135. See p. 455, ref. 35
136. Rv. IX.12.7.
The exact identity of the Soma plant is controversial. J. M. Unwala has on the basis of Vedic and Avestan references identified it with 'Ephedra'.
See Vallabha Vidyānagar Research Bulletin. Vol. I. Issue 2, pp. 7-10.
137. Rv. I.93.6, III.48.2, V.36.2, 43.4, 85.2. Rv. IX. 18.1.
138. Rv. 65.25, 66, 29, 70, 7. Rv. I.83.6.
139. Rv. I. 28.4. Rv. I. 28. 6.
140. Rv. IX. 65. 6. cf. Rv. IX, 16. 2.
141. Rv. IX. 75. 9., Av. IX. 6. 16.

142. Rv. IX. 72.5.
 143. Rv. IX. 66. 8.
 144. Rv. III. 46. 4.
 145. Rv. IX. 12. 5.
 146. *Kalaśeṣu* (Vessels) Rv. IX. 12. 5.
Droṇa (Wooden tubs) Rv. IX. 15. 7, 33. 2.
Babhru (brown) Rv. IX. 33. 2, 63. 4, 63. 6.
Hari (tawny) Rv. IX. 3. 9.
Aruṇa (ruddy) Rv. IX. 40. 2, 45. 3.
 147. *Dadbyāśira* Rv. IX. 23. 3, 101. 12.
Ghṛtaṃ vaśānaḥ Rv. IX. 82. 2.
Parīṣkṛtaḥ gobhiḥ Rv. IX. 61. 13, 46. 4, 64. 28.
Svādukarmagobhiḥ Rv. VIII. 2. 3.
 148. Rv. VIII. 91. 2. Rv. III. 52. 7. Rv. VI. 29. 4. Rv. V. 27. 5. *Mādhava* on Rv. V. 27. 5.
 Rv. IX. 74. 9. Rv. IX. 67. 32.
 149. Rv. VI. 47. 1.
 मधु (Sweet), स्वादिष्ट (delicious)
 150. Rv. VI. 47. 3. Rv. IX. 96. 5. Rv. VIII. 48. 12.
 151. Rv. IX. 24. 7.
 152. Rv. IX. 110. 8.
 The above qualities of Soma juice show that it was a drink very different from *Surā*. When Soma plant could not be had some other plants such as *Pūtikā* and *Arjuna* were used as its substitutes. Also see Appendix VIII. B. *Tāṇḍya* Bra. IX. 5. 3.
 153. Rv. X. 27. 2.
Pānta might have been some other beverage but is identified with Soma by *Sāyaṇa*. It is frequently mentioned Rv. I. 122. 1, I. 155. 1, VIII. 92. 1, X. 88. I. Rv. I. 122. 1.
 154. Rv. VIII. 2. 12, I. 116. 7, X. 131. 4, 131. 5., Rv. VII. 86. 6, VIII. 21. 14, Mait. Sam. I. 2. 6. II. 4. 2. IV. 2. 1. Tait. Sam. I. 3. 3. 2. Sat. Bra. XII. 7. 3. 8, I. 6. 3. 2, Chand. Up. V. 10. 9.
 155. Rv. VIII. 2. 12. Tait. Bra. I. 3. 3. 2-3.
 156. Av. IV. 34. 6.
 157. Ait. Bra. XXXVII. 4.
 158. Rv. X. 5. 6. *Nirukta* VI. 27.
 159. Rv. VII. 86. 6.
 160. Kath. Sam. XIII. 2.
 161. Chand. Up. V. 11.5.
 162. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 15, XX. 59, XXI. 29, Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Av. III. 12. 7, XX. 127. 9, Sat. Bra. V. 1. 2. 14. Sat. Bra. XII. 9. 1.1.
 163. Mahidhara on Yaj. Sam. II. 34. Av. XX. 127. 8-9. *Harisvāmī* on Sat. Bra. V. 1. 2. 14.
 164. Av. IV. 11. 10. 26. 6. 27. 5. VI. 69. 1. X. 6. 25.
 XII. 1. 59. Tait. Bra. II. 6, 12, 13, Mait. Sam. II. 7. 12, III. 11. 3. 4.
 165. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14, 82; Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. 9. Tait. Bra. 6. 11. 3. 6. 11. 4.
 166. Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14. *Sāyaṇa* on Tait. Bra. II. 6. 11.3.
 According to *Sāyaṇa*, *Māsara* means powdered barley meal mixed with butter milk. The interpretation of *Sāyaṇa* does not seem to be correct in view of the method of preparation described in the *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*. XIX. 1. 20-22.
 167. See Ch. IV.
 168. Rv. X. 101. 7. *Kauṣitakī* Bra. XII. 1. Tait. Bra. I. 7. 6. 3. Brh. Up. VII. 10. 1. Av. I. 4. 4. Tait. Bra. I. 7. 6. 3.
 169. Av. XIX. 2.1-5.
 Seventeen kinds of waters are mentioned in the Sat. Bra.
 Sat. Bra. V. 3.4.22.
 170. Cooked food is called *pakva* or *Pacata*.
 Av. VI. 119. 2. XII. 3. 55. Sat. Bra. I. 5. 1. 26. 6. 1. 9., Rv. I. 61. 7, X. 116.8.
 171. Rv. X.71.2.
 Rv. IX.112.3.
 According to the authors of the Vedic Index Vol. I., p. 94, the corn in this period was ground in mortars with pestles and '*upala*' simply means a mortar. H.D. Sankalia thinks that the people of Maheshvar Navda Toli region used two pieces of stone for grinding corn such as wheat and gram and the circular stones were used by Indians about the beginning of the Christian era as a result of their contact with the Greeks and the Romans. See Journal of the Gujarat Research Society Vol. No. 4/84, p. 332.
 172. *Pariveṣṭāraḥ* (servers) Av. IX.6.5.1.
Pakṛ (cooks) Av. 3.17.
Srapayitr (cooks) Sat. Bra. I. 2.2.14.
 173. See Appendix A (pp. 468-469).
 174. Rv. I. 51.6, I.112.14. IV.47.22, VII.3.5. Rv. IV.26.3.
 175. Rv. X. 117.2. Rv. X. 117. 6.
 176. Av. IX. 6. 24.
 177. Av. IX. 6. 13.
 Also see Śat. Brā. VII. 3. 2. 1, Ait. Ar. I. 1.1. Tait. Up. I.2.2, III. 10.
 178. Sat. Bra. XII. 1. 3. 4.

179. Sat. Bra. III. 4.1.2. See Chap. III, p. 456, ref. 72.
180. Chand. Up. VII. 26. 2.
181. Brhd. Up. VI. 1.14. Chand. Up. V. 2.2.
182. Chand. Up. I. 10.4.
183. Ait. Bra. VIII. 8.
184. Tait. Sam. II. 5.1.5-6. Ait. Bra. VII.9.
185. तस्माद् वत्सजातं दश रात्रिर्न दुहन्ति।
186. See Chapt. III. (p. 456, ref. 85), Rv. IV. 18.13.
187. Kaus. Bra. XII. 3.
188. Ait. Bra. VII.29.
189. Sat. Bra. V. 5.4.49.
190. Kath. Sam. XXXI.2.
191. Panca. Bra. XVII. 1.9. XII 3.
192. Rv. I. 187.2.
193. Ait. Bra. VII.29.
194. Sat. Bra. II. 4.2.6. Tait. Bra. II. 4.2.6.
195. Ait. Bra. VII. 11. Also see Sat. Bra. II. 1.4.1.
196. Rv. VI. 30.3.
197. Sat. Bra. X. 5.2.9.
198. Sat. Bra. I. 9.2.12.
199. Gopatha. Bra. I. 2.1-8.
200. Tait. Sam. II. 5.1.3.
201. See Chapter III. (p. 455, ref. 41)
202. Ait. Bra. VII. 29.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe briefly the cereals and pulses used by Indians in the Vedic period and state the food preparations made by them from these in this period.
2. Discuss the importance of milk and its products in the diet of the Vedic Indians.
3. Describe the extent to which meat was consumed as food by Vedic Indians.
4. Discuss how *Soma* juice was the most important beverage of the Vedic Aryans.
5. Elucidate how *Surā* was a popular beverage in the later Vedic Period.
6. Bring out the fact that the Vedic Indian laid great stress on the virtue of hospitality.
7. Bring out the evidence in support of the view that Vedic Indians were of opinion that proper mental make up depended on the purity of food.
8. Describe how some traces of the idea of pollution of food by contact with persons of low caste had developed in the later Vedic Period.
9. How far was the diet of the Vedic Aryans modified by their contact with non-Aryans? Give evidence in support of your answer.

Appendix A
[Page 466, Ref. 173]

1. *Ulūkhalā*—(a mortar) Rv. I. 28. 6., Av. X. 9. 26. XI. 3. 3., XII. 3. 13, Tait. Sam. V. 2. 8. 7. VII. 2. 1. 3., Sat. Bra. I. 1. 4. 6.
2. *Vanaspatī*—(a pestle) Tait. Sam. VI. 2.8.4., Av. IX. 3.11. Later it was called *Musala* Av. IX. 6. 15. X. 9.26. etc, Tait. Sam. I. 6.8.3., Sat. Bra. XII. 5.2.7., Jaim. Bra. I. 42. 44.
3. *Titau*—(a sieve)—Rv. X. 71. 2.
4. *Dhmātṛ*—(a blower) Rv. V. 9.5.
5. *Gharma*—(a pot for heating milk)—Rv. III. 5. 3.14, V. 30.15. etc., Vaj. Sam. VIII. 61., Av. 73.6., Ait. Bra. I. 18.22.
6. *Pachana*—(a vessel for cooking food)—Rv. I. 162. 6., Sat. Bra. VI. 5.4.3., XIV. 1.2.21. etc.
7. *Ukhā*—(a cooking pot)—It was generally made of clay. (Tait. Sam. IV. 1.5). Its hooks were called *Aṁka* (Rv. I. 162.13). Rv. I. 162. 13. etc., Tait. Sam. V. 1.63., Vaj. XI. 59., Av. XII. 3.23.
8. *Charu*—A cauldron which was heated on fire. (Rv. VII. 104.2). It had a cover (*apīdhāna* Rv. I. 162.2). Later it was made of iron or bronze (Sat. Bra. XIII. 3.4.5.), Rv. I. 7.6, VII. 104.2., Av. IV. 7.4., IX. 5.4., Kath. Sam. V. 6., Mait. Sam. I. 4.4.9., Tait. Sam. I. 6.12.1., Sat. Bra. IV. 7. 41., Ait. Bra. I. 1.
9. *Ladles* :
Juhu—Rv. I. 145.3., VIII. 43. 10., X. 21.3.
Upasecanī—Rv. X. 21.2., X. 205.10.
Sruva—Brh. Up. III. 9. 18., VI. 3.13.
Sruc—Rv. V. 41. 12. Vaj. Sam XVIII. 21., Av. V. 27.5, IX. 6. 17.
- Darvī*—(wooden ladle) Rv. X. 105. 10., V. 6. 9.
10. *Pieces of stone used for pressing Soma*.
Grāvan—Rv. X. 76. 94, 76. 175.
Adri—Rv. X. 175. 3., IX. 11.5.
11. *A Piece of stone used for pounding rice*.
Dṛṣad—Rv. VII. 104, 22., VIII. 72.4., Av. II. 31.1., Sat. Bra. I. 1.1.22. etc.
12. *Strainers* :
Pavitrā—(a strainer made of sheep's wool)—Rv. IX. 6. 3., IX. 37. 1., IX. 109. 36., Av. IV. 124. 3., IX. 6. 16. etc.
Kārotara—Rv. I. 116. 7., Vaj. Sam. XIX. 16., Sat. Bra. XXII. 9. 1. 2., Kaus. Bra. II. 7.
13. *Vessels used for storing Soma juice* :
Amatra—Rv. II. 14. 1., V. 51.4., VI. 42. 2., X. 29. 7.
Aśvattha—(made of wood) Rv. I. 135. 8.
Āhava—Rv. I. 34. 8., VI. 7. 2., X. 101.5. etc.
Kośa—Rv. III. 32. 15., IV. 17.6. etc.
Dru—Rv. I. 161. 1., V. 86. 3. etc.
Kalaśa—Rv. I. 117. 12., IV. 27. 1. 22., XI. 59. etc. Tait. Sam. I. 1. 8. 1., Vaj. Sam. I. 22., XI. 59. etc.
Camu—Rv. VIII. 2. 82., IX. 20.6., IX. 62. 16. etc.
Droṇa—(a wooden tub) Rv. VI. 2. 8. IX. 28. 4. IX. 98. 27. etc.
14. *Drinking cups* :
Pātra—Av. IV. 17. 4., VI. 142. 1., Tait. Sam. V. 1. 6. 2.
Camasa—Rv. I. 20, 6., X. 16. 8., Vaj. Sam. XXII. 13.

- Av. VII. 73. 3., Sat. Bra. VII. 2. 11. 2. etc.
Graha—Rv. X. 114. 5.
Kāṁsa—a cup made of metal. Av. X. 10.5., Ait. Bra. VIII. 10 etc.
15. *Kumbha*—A pitcher generally made of clay.
 Rv. I. 116. 7., VII. 33. 13., Av. IX. 5. 5. etc.
16. *Udāñcana*—A bucket for drawing water.
 Rv. V. 44. 13., Ait. Bra. VII 32., Sat. Bra. IV. 3. 5. 21.
17. *Dṛti*—A leather bag for holding milk.
 Rv. V. 83.9., VIII. 5. 19. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 19.1., Vaj. Sam. XXVI. 18., Av. VII. 18. Panc. Bra. V. 10.2.
18. *Śūla*—A spit used for roasting fish.
 Rv. I. 162. 11., Sat. Bra. XI. 4. 2. 4., Chand Up. VII. 15.3. etc.
19. *Svadhiti*—A knife to dissect the sacrificial animal.
 Rv. I. 162. 13., I. 18. 20.
Sūnā—A knife. Rv. I. 162. 13.
20. *Āsecana*—A vessel for holding liquids.
 Rv. I. 162. 13., Sat. Bra. II. 1. 9. 5.
21. *Aṅgāravakṣayaṇa*—Tongs Brh. Up. III. 9. 18.
22. *Dhavitra*—A fan generally made of the skin of a deer with a handle made of bamboo or Udumbara wood. Tait. Ar. V. 9. 2., Sat. Bra. IX. 3. 1. 20.
23. *Śūrpa*—A wicker work basket for winnowing.
 Av. IX. 6. 16., X. 9. 26., Tait. Sam. I. 6. 8. 3. etc.
24. *Sthāli*—A cooking pot usually of clay. Av. VIII. 6. 17., Tait. Sam. VI. 5. 10. 5., Vaj. Sam. XIX. 86. Ait. Bra. I. 11. 8.
25. *Piśila*—A wooden dish. Sat. Bra. II. 5.3.6.
26. *Upamanthanī*—a churning stick. Brh. Up. VI. 3.13.
27. *Śarāva*—A cup usually of clay. Tait. Bra. I. 3. 4. 5., Sat. Bra. V. 1.4.12.
28. *Nināhya*—A water jar which was buried in the ground. Sat. Bra. III. 9. 28.
29. *Parīśāsa*—An instrument to lift the kettle off the fire. Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 3. 1. etc.

Chapter 4

Food and Drinks

(800 B.C. to 300 B.C.)

In this chapter an attempt has been made to make a survey of the food habits of Indians during the period C. 800 B.C. to C. 300 B.C. But the chapter has been divided into two sections, one describing the picture as presented by the Sūtra literature and the other by early Buddhist and Jain works. It is necessary because the authors of Sūtra literature had different ideals in respect of food and occupied a different region from that of the Buddhists or the Jains. The Sūtras represent the Brahmanical point of view. In the Buddhist and Jain works we have a tradition which is non-Brahmanical if not exactly Kṣatriya as contended by Pargiter and some other writers.

SECTION I (THE SŪTRAS)

Cereals and Pulses

Of the food grains barley and rice continued to be the most important. The daily offerings to the gods consisted of barley from the barley harvest till the rice harvest and of rice from the rice harvest till the barley harvest.¹ An inferior variety of barley is also mentioned in addition to common barley.²

Some new preparations are mentioned by Pāṇini. Barley gruel (*Yavc̄gū*) was a favourite food of the people residing in the Alwar-Bikaner region.³ It had two varieties one of which was licked and the other was drunk.⁴ *Yāvaka* was prepared by pounding barley with pestle and mortar to remove the chaff and then boiling the pearl grain in water or milk.⁵

Wheat had not yet become very popular as it is not mentioned in the Sūtras.

Besides barley, rice seems to be common. A fine variety of rice, *śāli*⁶ is distinguished from the ordinary variety *Vrihi*.⁷ These two varieties had many subkinds.⁸ Pāṇini mentions two fine varieties one of which ripend in sixty days and the other was grown on the banks of the river Devikā.⁹ Boiled rice was taken with curds, honey, meat and milk. It was also cooked with pulses.¹⁰ Parched rice, *Apūpa*, *Prthuka*, *Kṛsara* and *Puroḍāśa* were very popular.¹¹ Probably cakes made of powered rice were called *Piṣṭakas*.¹² Some inferior cereals such as wild rice (*Nivara*, *Priyāngu* and *Śyāmāka*) were eaten by foresters.¹³ Of the pulses besides *Māṣa*, *Mudga* and *Kulattha* (horesegram) had come into use.¹⁴ Of the pulse preparations the most common was a soup (*Sūpa*). Small round cakes (*Vaṭaka*) were also prepared.¹⁵ *Kulmāṣa* continued to be eaten by poor people and ascetics.¹⁶

Dairy Products

Besides food grains cow's milk and its products were in common use.¹⁷ Cows as now, were milked in the morning and in the evening.¹⁸ Milk of a pregnant cow, a cow in heat, and one which suckled the calf of another cow was forbidden. Beastings were as before not taken for the first ten days.¹⁹ Besides, milk-rice which continued to be popular, a favourite preparation of curds was *payasyā*. Some fragrant spices and crystal sugar were used

in its preparation.²⁰ Preparations mixed with ghee seem to have been greatly relished.²¹

Meat Diet

The writers of the Sūtras consider it meritorious to kill an ox or a goat to feed a distinguished guest.²² Flesh of various birds is prescribed even for a child at the time of its first feeding.²³ Meat preparations were common in a *Śrāddha*, but if one could not afford meat one was allowed to use vegetables.²⁴ Many animals continued to be killed at sacrifices and their meat was partaken by the sacrificers.²⁵ The archaeological evidence also shows that humped bull, buffalo and sheep were slaughtered for food.²⁶

The notion of the clean and unclean meat was well developed in the Sūtras. It is laid down that one should not take meat which has been cut with a sword.²⁷ Eating flesh of a dog, a man, a village cock, a boar and a carnivorous animal is considered a sin.²⁸ The meat of one hoofed animals, of camels, of *gayāla*, of village pigs, locusts, of cattle, of animals having a double row of teeth or excessive hair or of those which have no hair and eating of fish was forbidden.²⁹

But in times of distress even unclean meat was permitted if only to save life. The general feeling of the time about meat eating seems to be that it should be used in extending hospitality to guests, as offering to gods and manes but animals should not be killed otherwise.³⁰ No doubt on these occasions the house-holders partook of the meat preparations and of these occasions there were many.

Sweets

Honey was extensively used in many ceremonies in the Sūtra period,³¹ and was invariably used in welcoming guests, the common preparation used for the purpose

being a mixture of honey with curds or ghee (*Madhuparka*).³² Its use was not allowed to the students even in this period.⁴³

Besides honey another source of sweet ingredients was sugarcane.³⁴ *Guḍa*, inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled to thick consistency (*Phāṇita*) and probably sugar were prepared from it.³⁵ Of new sweet preparations *Pālala* was prepared with sesamum and *guḍa* or sugar and *Samyāva* with wheat flour fried in clarified butter and mixed with milk and *guḍa*. Sometimes cardamom, pepper and ginger were added to make it more tasteful.³⁶ Ears of barley or wheat were parched and beaten with a pestle and after being cleaned were mixed with *guḍa* to make *abhyūṣa*.³⁷ Sweets called *Svastika*, *Modaka* and *Nandyāvarta* are also mentioned.³⁸

Salts and Spices

For the purposes of seasoning food in addition to salt³⁹ some other spices such as long pepper, black pepper and asafoetida were used.⁴⁰ Saline preparations were not allowed to students, widows and to a newly married couple for three nights.⁴¹

Oil and Oilseeds

Sesamum was the most important oil seed⁴² used in *Śrāddha* and other ceremonies.⁴³ Its oil was regarded as a substitute for clarified butter.⁴⁴ *Āpastamba* lays down that a person should avoid oil cakes when observing a vow.⁴⁵ We find mustard mentioned; perhaps its oil may also have been used.⁴⁶

Fruits and Vegetables

The Sūtras do not mention the names of many fruits but fruits formed an essential part of the diet of the Aryans.⁴⁷ Besides the three varieties of jujube,⁴⁸ *udumbara* fruit (Indian

fig) and *Śaphaka* (trapabispinosa) were the common edible fruits⁴⁹ but Pāṇini also mentions rose apple (*Jambū*)⁵⁰ and mango.⁵¹ Leafy vegetables⁵² were eaten and some of them were cooked. Some roots such as radish and ginger, which aid digestion were munched after meals.⁵³ Garlic, onions and leeks were avoided by respectable people.⁵⁴

Intoxicating Drinks

Drinking was common in the days of Pāṇini as he mentions words meaning a vintner, a distillery and liquor.⁵⁵ The ingredients were first formed into a ferment. When the fermentation was complete the ingredients were called *Āsavya*.⁵⁶ The sediment which was left after distillation was called *Viniya*.⁵⁷ From the *Sūtras* we learn that strong liquor was served to the guests when a person entered a new house,⁵⁸ it was served to women when a bride arrived at the bridegroom's place⁵⁹ and it was served to the wives of forefathers in the *Ānvaṣṭakya* rite.⁶⁰ Women who performed a dance at the time of marriage were also served *Surā*.⁶¹

But the evil effects of drinking were not unknown to the authors of the *Dharmasūtras*.⁶² They regard drinking as a heinous crime and forbid the use of liquors particularly for *Brāhmaṇas* and students.⁶³

Besides *Sutrā*⁶⁴ which was generally prepared with barley or rice flour there were some other intoxicating drinks. *Kilāka* was a sweet drink prepared from cereals.⁶⁵ In the preparation of *Māsara* a mixture of a mess of rice or *Syāmāka* with some spices was allowed to ferment for three days. This mixture was purified with the help of a filter and then used as a beverage.⁶⁶ A spiced liquor *Maireya* prepared with *Guḍa* or sugar has also come into use.⁶⁷ Wine imported from *Kāpiśi* (north of Kabul) was known as *Kapiśāyani*.⁶⁸ Pāṇini

refers to two other varieties of wines *Kālikā* and *Avadātikā*.⁶⁹

Soma juice continued to be used in *Śrauta* ritual but is not mentioned in the domestic rites.⁷⁰ This probably means that it was no longer a common drink. The scarcity of the plant may have been one of the reasons as *Ādāra* a substitute is mentioned in the *Āp. Śr. Su. XIV. 24. 12-13*. *Parisruta* was another beverage.⁷¹ Some decoctions (*Kaṣāya*) of rice meal and flowers were also used as intoxicating beverages.⁷²

It appears from the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* that the *Brāhmaṇas* were prohibited from drinking any kind of intoxicating drinks.⁷³ The *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* could, however, take liquors prepared from honey, *madhūka* flowers and *Guḍa* but not spirituous liquors distilled from flour.⁷⁴

Drinking Water and other Beverages

Āpastamba lays down that it is the duty of the householder and his wife to see that the water vessels in the house are never empty.⁷⁵ This shows the importance which was attached to drinking water in this period. It was purified in a filter before use.⁷⁶ Waters from rivers and reservoirs having sweet smell, colour and taste were probably considered good for drinking.

The Art of Cooking

The art of cooking⁷⁷ was well developed. This is clear from the fact that the various stages in the preparation of *Sthālīpāka* (boiled rice fit for offering) are described in detail. Rice grains were washed by sprinkling water over them, husking them.⁷⁸ They were then cooked with clarified butter. The preparation of *Puroḍāśa*, *Apūpa*, stuffed *Apūpas*, *Kṛsara* and *Samyāva* shows great skill in culinary art. An idea of the size of *Puroḍāśa* can be had

from the fact that it is stated that four cups of ground grains were required to make one cake.⁷⁹ Cooks were sometimes called according to the quantity of food stuff they handled.⁸⁰ A distinction has also been made between solid (*Bhaksya*) and liquid food.⁸¹ Meat, pulse soup and vegetables are regarded as solid foods. Some food stuffs such as *guḍa*, clarified butter and sesame were mixed for different dishes.⁸² Fried wheat flour was used as a stuffing and salt and curds were mixed with food preparations.⁸³

Some of the common cooking implements were a cooking pot (*sthālī*), a ladle (*Sruva*), and a spoon (*Darvī*).⁸⁴ Cups (*Śarāva*) were used for measuring food stuffs and a grindstone and a mortar were regarded as very important.⁸⁵ Vessels of copper, iron and stone were in common use besides earthenware. Sometimes gold vessels and those made of wood were also used.⁸⁶ A piece of broken jar (*kapāla*) was used for baking cakes.⁸⁷ The omentum of a victim was grilled in a vessel (*Vapāśrapaṇi*) and meat was roasted on spits (*Hṛdayaśūla*). An earthen utensil was used only once. If it has to be used again it was fired afresh. Metallic utensils were cleaned with ashes and wooden ones by scraping.⁸⁸

Rules of Diet and Etiquette

In the Sūtras hospitality becomes one of the five daily duties of a householder.⁸⁹ It is considered improper for an Arya to take his meals without offering food to gods, Brāhmaṇas and guests.⁹⁰ A preceptor, a sacrificial priest, the father-in-law and a king were considered specially deserving of hospitality⁹¹ but even a Śūdra guest was to be provided with food. Besides gods, Brāhmaṇas and guests a householder was expected to set apart some food for small creatures.⁹² New corn was not eaten without making offerings in fire.⁹³

Besides hospitality much emphasis was laid on purity of food. Both in the morning and in the evening every respectable person (*Ārya*) was expected to take his meals after cleaning his hands, feet and mouth.⁹⁴ The Śūdras were expected to shave their hair and beard, pare their nails and bath before being permitted to cook food for the higher castes.⁹⁵ Grain was well washed before being cooked.⁹⁶ Food articles which had stood overnight, which had turned sour or which were cooked twice were regarded as unfit for food,⁹⁷ probably because they were considered unhygienic. But articles, which did not get spoilt such as roasted rice grains, porridge prepared with curds, roasted barley, groats, vegetables, meat, flour, milk preparations, roots fruits and herbs could be eaten even the next day.⁹⁸ To maintain purity of food it was laid down that one should not eat flavoured or prepared food bought from the market, but raw meat, honey, salt, oil or clarified butter could be bought from the market. It is also laid down that one should use unclean oil and ghee after purifying them with the addition of water.⁹⁹ One is also advised not to eat that food in which there is a hair or any other unclean substance, which has been touched by an unclean substance, in which one finds an insect living on impure substance, excrement or limbs of a mouse. Food touched by foot, the hem of a garment, a dog or those persons who are not allowed to eat from one's utensils, brought in the hem of a garment or brought by a maid servant or brought at night was also to be avoided.¹⁰⁰ Even food brought through a back door is prohibited.¹⁰¹ Food which was smelt by human beings and impure animals such as cats was also avoided.¹⁰²

But ideas of cleanliness appear to have been tempered with by sound commonsense. It was probably realized that it would be difficult to throw or discard food articles when prepared

in bulk on the occasion of some religious ceremonies or marriages even if they were touched by dogs or crows. So the lawgivers prescribed that such food articles could be used after removing the defiled portion and sprinkling water on the remainder. Even food, left after a cat had eaten from it, was regarded as pure.¹⁰³ Vasiṣṭha lays down that even stale food could be eaten after pouring over it curds or clarified butter.¹⁰⁴

It is laid down that one should leave off eating if during his meal he is touched by a Śūdra. He should not dine with unworthy people. It was considered improper to dine with one who gives his leavings to his pupils or gets up while others are eating.¹⁰⁵ But it was customary for a wife to eat food left in her husband's plate.¹⁰⁶

But some rigidity seems to have come with regard to the acceptance of food from various castes, for while some law givers of the period lay down that food offered by people of any caste could be accepted, provided they follow the laws prescribed for them.¹⁰⁷ Others thought that this rule did not apply to a Śūdra unless he was *Dharmopanata*.¹⁰⁸ Food articles such as water, roots, milk, curds, roasted grain, small fish, venison and vegetables offered by a member of any caste could be accepted.¹⁰⁹ Uncooked and unflavoured boiled food could also be accepted.¹¹⁰ In times of scarcity a Brāhmaṇa could eat even the food offered by a Śūdra but he is advised to leave the practice as soon as he obtains lawful livelihood.¹¹¹ The food of a herdsman, a farmer, an acquaintance of the family, a barber or a family servant could, however, be eaten without any hesitation.¹¹² Āpastamba clearly allows Śūdras to cook food under the supervision of an Ārya.¹¹³

It is also laid down that food offered by an association, by a general invitation, by an artisan, by a person who lives by the use of

arms, by those who let out lodgings, by a physician, a usurer, should not be taken.¹¹⁴ Food served by a eunuch, the professional messenger of a king, a Brāhmaṇa who offers substances unfit for a sacrifice, a spy, a person who has become a hermit without observing the proper laws, a learned Brāhmaṇa who avoids everybody or who eats the food of anybody or who neglects the daily study of the Vedas and one whose wife is a Śūdra should also be avoided.¹¹⁵

It is also laid down that a Brāhmaṇa student who has completed his Vedic studies should, as a matter of course, accept the food offered by a Brāhmaṇa. Such a student should not accept the food offered by members of any other caste. If a person is observing a penance the student should accept food only when the rites are over.¹¹⁶

Food supplied by a drunkenman, a mad man, a prisoner, he who learns the Veda from his son, a creditor who sits with his debtor hindering the fulfilment of his duties and vice versa was also avoided.¹¹⁷ Food, touched by a woman during her courses was, as before, considered impure.¹¹⁸ Food of those families where a death had taken place was avoided for ten days as also of those where a woman had not come out of her confinement chamber after parturition or where a corpse lay inside the house.¹¹⁹ Food, according to Āpastamba touched by a high caste person, who was impure, could be eaten but brought by an impura Śūdra could not be eaten.¹²⁰

These law givers give long lists of those Brāhmaṇas who sanctify the company of diners and of those who defile such company. In the first category are mentioned those persons who comprehend the meaning of the Vedas, students, liberal donors, and persons who have attained the age of hundred years.¹²¹ In the second category are persons suffering from leprosy, baldmen, persons guilty of adultery,

Brāhmaṇas who follow the profession of arms and the son of a Śūdra with a Brāhmaṇa mother.¹²²

The authors of the Sūtras also lay down that one should not eat food which is given after reviling nor should one revile food while taking one's meals.¹²³ Vasiṣṭha lays down that one should praise food, show one's delight at it and not find fault with it when it is served.¹²⁴ Baudhāyana also lays down that a person should, while taking food, keep himself free from lust, anger, hatred, greed and perplexity.¹²⁵

Another important rule which we find in the Sūtras is that the food should suit the age and stage in life of a man. The food of children consisted of boiled rice with curds, honey, clarified butter or water. Some times they were given some meat preparations.¹²⁶ Students were advised not to take food which was offered at a sacrifice probably because it consisted of meat preparations and exciting dishes consisting of pungent condiments, salt and honey.¹²⁷ Ordinarily they were expected to go out for begging alms because, according to the authors of the Sūtras is made them humble. But there was no restriction on the quantity of food a student should take.¹²⁸

A householder is also advised to take two full meals consisting of 32 mouthfuls so that he may be able to perform his work efficiently.¹²⁹ Āpastamba also allows partaking of roots and fruits between the two principal meals.¹³⁰ A newly married couple was, as already stated, not allowed to use pungent or saline food for three days after marriage.¹³¹ When a householder performed a sacrifice he was expected to take only fast day food in which meat and other exciting food stuffs were avoided.¹³² He was expected to eat only once in the afternoon and that too not to satiety when observing a fast.¹³³

Hermits generally lived upon roots, fruits, leaves, straws or gleanings of corn.¹³⁴ They could include clarified butter and curds in their food, but not stale food, pungent condiments, saline preparations or meat.¹³⁵ Many ascetics subsisted only on milk and barley gruel.¹³⁶ All the Sūtras lay down that the foresters should practise moderation in food. They should only take as much food as was necessary to maintain life.¹³⁷

We also find some rules of etiquette in the Sūtras. It is laid down that one should eat sitting on a piece of ground which has been purified by the application of cowdung etc. He should not eat in a boat or on a wooden platform.¹³⁸ It is prescribed that he should sit with his face towards the east or towards the south. But facing the south is not allowed if the diner's mother is alive.¹³⁹ A person should have his sacred thread as also his upper garment when taking his meals.¹⁴⁰

Some other rules of etiquette were that a person should not make a sound with his mouth and should not speak while taking his meals.¹⁴¹ Biting off pieces from a cake with teeth¹⁴² and drinking water standing or bending forward were also considered unmannerly.¹⁴³ Eating in the company of one's wife and¹⁴⁴ serving fats, salts and condiments in the hand were considered improper.¹⁴⁵ Declaring the qualities of food was considered unmannerly.¹⁴⁶ In a party one was not to begin eating before others and was not to leave the party while others were taking food. All others were expected to abstain from eating after anyone had left.¹⁴⁷

Āpastamba forbids the use of dark grains such as *Māṣa* beans in a Śrāddha.¹⁴⁸ Eating garlic, onions, mushroom, turnips and *Śleṣmātaka* fruit is also forbidden. The use of red sap flowing from incisions made in the bark of trees and of food preparations which have turned sour is interdicted.¹⁴⁹

It appears that generally warm food fried in ghee was liked.¹⁵⁰ Some people observed fasts while some were gluttons.¹⁵¹ The custom of feeding domestic servants seems to have been common.¹⁵² The leavings of food (*Śarāva odana*) were perhaps given to scavengers. Food left in the vessel from which it was served (*Mallaka odana*) was probably given to the barber and food left behind in the cooking pot (*Kārpara odana*) to the cooks.¹⁵³

At the time of *Upanayana* ceremony a common dinner was given to the playmates of the boy who was to be invested with sacred thread.¹⁵⁴ When a householder entered a new house people feasted themselves with liquor, curds, honey, ghee and barley preparations.¹⁵⁵ When a bride was brought to her husband's house some women enjoyed a feast with food articles, vegetables and liquor and performed a dance. Green or ripe fruits were given as a present to the bride.¹⁵⁶

In connection with a *Śrāddha* the *Brāhmaṇas* were informed two days before, reminded the next day and again requested to grace the occasion on the actual day of the ceremony.¹⁵⁷ *Vasiṣṭha* lays down that the invitation should be extended to three ascetics or three householders who are well versed in Vedic studies, are not very aged and do not follow forbidden occupations. But *Baudhāyana* prescribed that ordinarily two *Brāhmaṇas* should be fed in a sacrifice and three in a *Śrāddha*. They were made to sit on seats made of grass.¹⁵⁸ The food preparations were generally mixed with ghee and included sesamum and meat. In the absence of meat and ghee, vegetables and oil were used by poor people. But *Āpastamba* prohibits the use of oil cakes, wine, meat, dark grains and food obtained from a *Śūdra*.¹⁵⁹ The custom of offering a ball of flour to the manes seems to be very old as it is mentioned in the *Nirukta* and the *Lāṭyāyana Sr. Su.*¹⁶⁰

Baudhāyana mentions drinking liquor as a peculiar custom of the *Brāhmaṇas* in the north and taking food cooked overnight and in the company of their wives or uninitiated persons as a peculiar custom of the inhabitants of the south.¹⁶¹

To sum up, in the *Sūtras* rice occupies the same important place among the foodgrains as barley. Some fine preparations such as *Pṛthuka* and *saṁyāva* were used. Of the pulses, besides *Māṣa*, *Mudga*, *Kulaththa*, *Āḍhakī* and gram had come into use. *Vaṭakas* and *Parpaṭas* were also prepared with pulses. Aryans were fully acquainted with the process of making sugarcane products in this period. Meat of animals, which were considered unhygienic, was avoided. Perhaps drinking was common but *Brāhmaṇas* avoided all intoxicating drinks while the *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas*, only those prepared from cereals. Much stress was laid on the practice of the virtue of hospitality and purity of food. The notion of food getting defiled by contact with persons not leading virtuous lives or following low professions was much developed in *Madhyadeśa*.

SECTION 2

(EARLY BUDDHIST AND JAIN WORKS)

Cereals and Pulses

In the Buddhist and Jain works food has been classified into four categories—soft food such as boiled rice, hard food such as roots and fruits, beverages and relishable articles.¹⁶² But the food grains, particularly rice was the staple food of the people in the north eastern India.¹⁶³ Rice was also provided at the public rest houses.¹⁶⁴ Both the varieties of rice *Vṛhi* (common variety) and *Śālī* (fine variety) were equally popular.¹⁶⁵ But it appears that *Śālī* rice with its three famous varieties *Raktaśālī*, *Kalamaśālī* and *Mahāśālī* was the favourite food of the rich.¹⁶⁶ *Kalamaśālī* was cultivated in *Magadha* and is recommended as the best

food in the Uva.¹⁶⁷ Rice was cooked with choicest flavours.¹⁶⁸ A mixture of rice and sesamum was very popular.¹⁶⁹ Boiled rice was generally liked hot.¹⁷⁰ Next to boiled rice the favourite preparation of rice was a gruel (*Yāgu*) which is highly praised both in the Buddhist and the Jain works.¹⁷¹ Parched rice was sweetened before eating. Besides *Prthuka* and ordinary cakes (*apūpa*) delicious ones (*Śaṣkuli*) were prepared from rice.¹⁷² Sometimes cakes were prepared from broken rice grains. Scum of boiled rice was also used as food.¹⁷³

Besides rice, barley and wheat were also used but they were not so popular.¹⁷⁴ Barley continued to be parched and ground into meal.¹⁷⁵ Cakes of wheat are frequently mentioned.¹⁷⁶ Some other inferior cereals such as *Kodrava*, *Śyāmāka*, *Cīnaka* and *Priyāngu* were used by poor people and ascetics.¹⁷⁷ Cakes prepared with some inferior grains are mentioned in the Buddhist and Jain works as the food of the poor people.¹⁷⁸ Of the pulses the most popular were *Mudga*, *Māṣa*, *Masūra*, (lentil), *kulāttha* (horsegram), *Kalāya* (pea) and *Ādhakī*.¹⁷⁹ Some other varieties are also mentioned.¹⁸⁰ The most common preparation was a soup (*Yūṣa* or *Sūpa*) but round balls of pulses fried in clarified butter were common. These round balls were made sour by fermentation. *Parpaṭas* (very thin cakes) were also prepared with pulses.¹⁸¹

Dairy Products

Besides food grains, milk and its products were important articles of food both for the Buddhists and the Jains.¹⁸² The Buddha himself allowed them to his followers.¹⁸³ Sometimes some pungent drugs were added to milk so that it might be used as a cure for cold.¹⁸⁴ In addition to the milk of cows and buffaloes that of camels and goats was also used.¹⁸⁵ Milk rice a favourite food¹⁸⁶ and the

Jains used dried pieces of cloth moistened with milk, for drinking water mixed with this dried milk.¹⁸⁷

Of the milk products curds were the most important.¹⁸⁸ From curds was prepared the favourite dish *Śikhariṇī* by mixing crystal sugar and some pungent spices.¹⁸⁹ Fresh butter and clarified butter were much used.¹⁹⁰ In the Uva, cow's ghee is regarded as the best especially its creamy part (*Maṇḍa*).¹⁹¹ Butter milk and a preparation of it called *Sāga* were in common use.¹⁹²

Meat Preparations

From the Buddhist works we know that the number of non-vegetarian people was considerable.¹⁹³ We read of a meat market in Mithila,¹⁹⁴ and of slaughter houses¹⁹⁵ and fishermen selling fish at other places.¹⁹⁶ Venison was sold at cross roads outside Banaras¹⁹⁷ and there were some villages inhabited by hunters.¹⁹⁸ Then meat and fish are frequently mentioned with other eatables in the Buddhist works.¹⁹⁹ Venison, pork and flesh of fowls seem to be very popular²⁰⁰ but flesh of oxen, *godhā* and birds was also used as food.²⁰¹ Some people killed sheep, goats, poultry and swine in sacrifices²⁰² but flesh of monkeys, pigeons and beef was also eaten.²⁰³ Kings killed many animals in hunting and enjoyed their flesh.²⁰⁴ Thus it seems that both the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas had no objection to taking meat. We know that some ascetics lived on snippets of hides.²⁰⁵ We also learn from the Jain sources that many birds, fish and animals were killed and their flesh served on festive occasions.²⁰⁶ Some people even took beef and eggs.²⁰⁷ We read also of ascetics who lived on the flesh of elephants.²⁰⁸ In certain circumstances even the Jains, who are so particular about the protection of life, took meat. In the country of Sindhu many people lived on flesh diet.²⁰⁹

Flesh roasted on spits is frequently mentioned.²¹⁰ Meat of sheep dressed with salt and pepper and fried in oil is mentioned in the Sūtra.²¹¹ Venison, partridges and fowls were roasted on live charcoal.²¹² Meat soup was also common.²¹³ Ghee, curds, and spices were used in cooking meat.²¹⁴ The flesh of a *Godhā* dressed with spices and vinegar was considered a delicious dish.²¹⁵ Meat cooked with rice seems to have been a favourite dish of the Brāhmaṇas.²¹⁶ Sometimes a meat soup was prepared with *Rohita* fish and eaten with great relish with *Śāli* rice.²¹⁷ There are many references to seasoned meat both in the Buddhist and Jain works.²¹⁸ Meat fried in oil and salted and spiced with pepper is frequently mentioned in the Jain literature.²¹⁹ Some other preparations of meat are mentioned in the *Vipāka*.²²⁰

The Buddhists did not believe that purity comes through food.²²¹ It is stated that those who take life are at fault but not the persons who eat flesh.²²² Meat and fish are invariably included in the eatables in the Buddhist works.²²³ Buddha preferred non-violence to violence.²²⁴ He condemned animal sacrifices,²²⁵ but he did not insist on his followers being strict vegetarians. He wanted to restrict the killing of animals,²²⁶ so he advised his followers not to take meat preparations if an animal or fish was killed expressly for them.²²⁷ No follower of his was allowed to kill an animal for food in normal times²²⁸ but meat of wild animals could be cooked in times of distress or in some extraordinary illness.²²⁹

Jain monks did not accept any food article which involved *himsā*.²³⁰ It was for this reason that they always avoided taking meals at night.²³¹ Jinadatta is said to have avoided meat preparations even when they were prescribed

by a physician.²³² But in extreme distress some of them had no objection to taking them.²³³

The Buddha and Mahāvira impressed upon their followers the need of avoiding slaughter of animals and succeeded to such a great extent in changing the attitude of the people that even Brāhmanical works such as the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusmṛti* prescribe sacrifices where no slaughter of animals is involved.²³⁴

Sweets

Honey was in common use.²³⁵ It had three varieties—of small bees, of big bees and of a third variety called *Kuṭṭiya*.²³⁶ But sugarcane was the most important source of sweet ingredients.²³⁷ Juice of sugarcane was also extracted with a machine and was used in plenty.²³⁸ Puṇḍravardhana was noted for its sugarcane crop.²³⁹ We learn that flour and ashes of dried sugarcane were used in preparing *guḍa* from the juice of sugarcane.²⁴⁰ It was so important an article of food that even the Buddha included it among the food articles which he allowed to his followers.²⁴¹ *Phāṇita* and sugar were other important products of sugarcane which were in common use.²⁴² Sugarcandy (*Matsyaṇḍikā*) is also mentioned in the Jain canon.²⁴³

Of the sweet preparations sweet fried rice (*Madhulāja*) and sweet balls (*Madhugolaka* or *Modaka*) were in common use.²⁴⁴ In the Jain works we come across some fine sweets such as *Maṇḍaka* (cakes stuffed with molasses and ghee), *Madhuśirṣaka* (also a kind of sweet cake), *Gulalāvaṇiya*, *Ghayapuṇṇa* (the modern *ghevara*), *Sihakesara* and *Moraṇḍaka* (sweets prepared from inspissated milk and shaped like the eggs of peacock).²⁴⁵ Some of these may however, be later preparations as they are not mentioned in the early Jain canon nor in the contemporary Brāhmanical or Buddhist literature.

Salts, Spices and Condiments

The Vinaya Piṭaka mentions five varieties of salts—sea salt, black salt, rock salt, kitchen salt and red salt.²⁴⁶ Sea salt was prepared by boiling sea water.²⁴⁷ The Jain works mention two other varieties—*Sauvarcala* and *Pāṃśukṣāra* (earth salt).²⁴⁸ Other spices used in seasoning food were pepper, long pepper, cumin, asafoetida, myrobalan, dry ginger and turmeric.²⁴⁹ Mustard and cloves were also used.²⁵⁰ Some condiments were also used as the word *Vyañjana* is frequently mentioned.²⁵¹ A dish prepared with fruits is called *Śāḍava* in the Vinaya Piṭaka.²⁵² Vinegar and sour gruel were in common use.²⁵³ Some delicacies of food were taken after the meals and are called *Uttaribhaṅgam*.²⁵⁴

Oils and Oilseeds

Of the oilseeds sesamum was the most important article of food.²⁵⁵ Cakes of *tila* seed (*Śaṣkuli*) were very much liked.²⁵⁶ Some of the monks were so fond of cakes prepared with sesamum that once a Buddhist monk specially requested a householder for it and had to express his regret for doing so in the assembly of monks.²⁵⁷ Sesamum powder and sesamum *Parpaṭas* were also used.²⁵⁸ Sesamum oil was used by poor people.²⁵⁹ Mustard and its powder were also used.²⁶⁰ Its oil may also have been used. Oil was also extracted from castor seed, linseed and safflower.²⁶¹ Oil cake was also used as a food article by some ascetics.²⁶² Besides vegetable oils, animal fats were also used as food. The Buddha himself allowed to the monks the use of the fats of a bear, a fish, an alligator, a pig and an ass in case of illness.²⁶³

Fruits and Vegetables

The Buddha allowed his followers to eat fruits and appointed a distributor of fruits.²⁶⁴

Four methods of ripening green fruit, described in Jain canon, were covering them with straw, heating them, mixing them with ripe fruit and allowing them to ripen on the tree.²⁶⁵

Some of the common fruits were jujube, mango, rose apple, bread fruit, *Śṛṅgātaka* (*trapabispinosa*), *Āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan), plantain, cocoanut, dates, *Bilva*, palm fruit, *Priyāla*, *Kapittha*, *Tinduka* (*Disspyros Embayopletres*), grapes, *Parīṣaka*, *Karmarda* (*carissa carandes* Lim.) and citrus.²⁶⁶

We know from the Buddhist works that vegetables were sold at the gates of Uttara Pāñcāla.²⁶⁷ The Buddha himself allowed leafy vegetables to his followers.²⁶⁸ Stalks and roots of lotus, long bottle gourd, brinjal, cucumber, radish, catmint and mustard stalks were eaten as vegetables.²⁶⁹ The use of garlic and leeks is prohibited because the foul smell deprived the eater of garlic of the company of others. But the Buddhist monks were allowed to use it in case of illness.²⁷⁰

Intoxicating Drinks

From the Buddhist and Jain works we learn that liquor was manufactured and consumed on a large scale.²⁷¹ Taverns and drinking shops are frequently mentioned.²⁷² At the time of festivals, feasting and drinking were resorted to and friends were invited.²⁷³ It is stated that Caṇḍa Pajjota drank for three days continuously when Vatsarāja Udayana was brought alive.²⁷⁴ Jain sources also mention drinking to excess. King Duvaya is said to have entertained the members of a marriage party with many kinds of liquors and wines.²⁷⁵ From the Jātakas we learn that even women and hermits drank hard on some occasions.²⁷⁶

But people were well acquainted with the evils of drinking.²⁷⁷ The princes of Baravai, it is stated, were ruined because they were

addicted to drinking Kādambarī wine.²⁷⁸ Even dealing in strong liquors is forbidden.²⁷⁹ The Buddha and Mahāvīra did not allow their followers especially monks indulgence in wines.²⁸⁰ The Jain canon does not even permit monks to reside at a place where jars of wine are stored.²⁸¹ But both the followers of the Buddha and Mahāvīra were allowed to use wine in cases of illness.²⁸²

Strong liquors are called *Madya* but the general word for all kinds of intoxicating drinks prepared from cereals is *Surā*.²⁸³ The Vinaya, mentions five kinds of *surā*—prepared from rice meal, from cakes, from boiled rice, from ferment and with spices.²⁸⁴ *Maireya* (spiced wine) seems to be very popular at this time.²⁸⁵ *Vāruṇī* (a strong liquor), the wine prepared from *Madhūka* flowers (*Basia Latifolia*), *Prasannā* (a variety of *surā*) and *Sīdhu* (prepared with the juice of sugarcane) were other intoxicating drinks in use.²⁸⁶ From the Jain canon we learn that liquors prepared from palm fruit, *Jāti* flowers, *Kodamba* fruit were also used.²⁸⁷ A strong intoxicating drink did not lose its true nature even when diluted a hundred times, is called *Śatau*.²⁸⁸ Some other varieties are also mentioned.²⁸⁹

Drinking water and other Beverages

Cool water brought from mountain springs was used for drinking purposes.²⁹⁰ Buddhists used eight kinds of strainers to purify drinking water as they were not allowed to drink water full of insects.²⁹¹ The Jains regard rainwater as the best²⁹² but water of springs, frost, wells, tanks and dewdrops was also used for drinking.²⁹³

In this period many syrups were prepared from fruits etc. The Buddha allowed eight kinds of beverages to his followers. Syrups were prepared with ripe mango juice, rose apple, plantain fruit, grapes, edible root of waterlily, honey, *Parūṣaka* fruit and

cocoanut.²⁹⁴ Sometimes syrups prepared with *guḍa* and sugar were also used.²⁹⁵ All these beverages were used in the evening as the followers of the Buddha did not take their meals in the evening.²⁹⁶ The Jain works mention some other syrups such as those prepared from dates, pomegranates, green bamboos, jujube, myrobalans and tamarind.²⁹⁷

The Jain monks were not permitted to drink water used for washing rice, sesamum, chaff or barley as also that used for preparing dough. Sour gruel was also not allowed to them.²⁹⁸

The Art of Cooking and Utensils

The Buddhists, generally had a separate dining room and a store house for food stuffs.²⁹⁹ Food was also available on the shops in the market.³⁰⁰ The rich no doubt had their expert cooks. The Buddha appointed a separate officer to distribute food.³⁰¹ The art of cooking was so developed that it is considered one of the twenty five prominent occupations of the period.³⁰² Eighteen kinds of solid foods are referred to in a *Jātaka*,³⁰³ and the process of flavouring cooked preparations with cumin and asafoetida (*Dhūpana*) was well known.³⁰⁴ The Jain sources mention eighteen kinds of seasoned food (*Vyañjana*)³⁰⁵ and a number of sweets such as *ghṛtapūra*, *khajjakas* and *Moṇḍakas*³⁰⁶ and saline preparations such as small round balls prepared with pulses and *parpaṭas*.³⁰⁷ The preparation of all these delicacies shows a high stage of development in the culinary art.

Buddhist monks generally used utensils made of copper, wood or clay.³⁰⁸ Utensils made of gold, silver and precious stones were used only by the rich, while the common people used copper, wooden or skin vessels and the poor used only leaf pots and earthenware.³⁰⁹ When earthen vessels were broken Buddhist monks were allowed water vessels of three

kinds—brass pots, wooden pots and skins.³¹⁰ In the Cullavagga it is considered improper to store salt in a horn vessel because by keeping salt in a hollow horn the Buddhist monks acquired a possession.³¹¹

The common implements used by the Buddhist monks were a water jar, a drinking cup, a water bag, a basket, a cooking pot and a pan.³¹² A round tub like vessel for keeping soft food was called *Ālindā* and a basket for keeping solid food *gopitaka*.³¹³ A cover for alms bowl was called *Piṇḍopadhāna*.³¹⁴ In the Jaina works we also have such implements as a knife, a sieve, a mortar, big and small jars, kettle for cooking, tumbler and jars having necks like that of a camel.³¹⁵ The earliest reference to a spittoon is found in the Mahāvagga of the Vinayapitaka.³¹⁶

Rules of Diet and Etiquette

The Buddhist works lay down hospitality as a duty and state that alms giving cleanses the mind from the dirt of the sins of selfishness and cupidity.³¹⁷ Wherever the Buddha went the laity were anxious to feed the whole order.³¹⁸ The Jains clearly advocate that even a *Cāṇḍāla* guest should be fed with honour.³¹⁹

Both the Buddhists and the Jains were very particular about the purity of food. The Buddha allowed food to his followers only when they had cleaned their teeth with a tooth stick.³²⁰ They are not permitted to drink water before it is cleaned by a strainer.³²¹ The Jains were not expected to take any fruit or vegetable before they had fully satisfied themselves that it did not contain any living being.³²² For the same reason eating food at night is condemned.³²³ Both the Jains and the Buddhists did not believe that food was defiled by the touch of a person if he was born in a low caste.³²⁴ Whosoever be the giver they were expected to accept and eat their food with respect,³²⁵ even if it be coarse food.³²⁶

The Buddha laid great emphasis on eating food obtained by lawful means. According to him the leavings of a householder or a dog were better than food obtained by unlawful means. A monk was not allowed to dine with the order if he committed a sin.³²⁷ We learn from the Jātakas that Brāhmaṇas had no objection to taking food with Kṣatriyas but they generally avoided the leavings of others and if they did not do so they were excommunicated.³²⁸ A Brāhmaṇa repents for eating the food of a *Cāṇḍāla*,³²⁹ and a Kṣatriya refuses to dine with his own daughter because she was of a Śūdra wife.³³⁰ Brāhmaṇas are excommunicated for using water mixed with the rice which the *Cāṇḍāla* had used.³³¹ In the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra there is a story stating that Brāhmaṇas refused to give food to a *Cāṇḍāla* ascetic.³³²

The Buddha laid down several rules to see that his followers practised moderation in food. They were not allowed to take midday meal in the afternoon.³³³ No monk was allowed to take quantity of food more than what was necessary to sustain life.³³⁴ They were not allowed to store food in ordinary times.³³⁵ But some food stuffs, which were given to the convalescent monks as tonics such as ghee, butter, honey, oil and sugar, could be preserved for a week.³³⁶ At a time the monk could not accept more than three bowls of food.³³⁷ The Jains also insist on eating as much food as is necessary to sustain life,³³⁸ and believe that the body is purified by keeping fasts.³³⁹

Some idea of the food of children can be had from a Jātaka.³⁴⁰ The food of the students consisted chiefly of rice and rice gruel. On being invited to dinners, however, they were served with sugar, jaggery, curds and milk.³⁴¹ They were expected to avoid rich food (*Praṇīta*) as it did not suit their stage in life. They are advised to be moderate in eating and drinking.³⁴²

Both the Buddhists and Jains lay emphasis on simplicity of food for monks. The Buddhist monks were advised to avoid a meal to be taken by three persons together (*Tīkabhojana*) as also a group meal (*gaṇabhojana*) because they might get fond of well cooked and sweet things.³⁴³ The Buddha prescribed that a healthy Bhikkus should not request a householder to provide such rich food stuffs as ghee, butter, oil, honey, sugar, fish, meat, milk and curds.³⁴⁴ The Jain monks were not allowed to take highly nourishing food such as milk, curds, ghee, oil, etc. because such nourishing food makes one overstrong and desires rush upon him as the birds rush upon a tree laden with sweet fruit.³⁴⁵ The Jain monks were expected to visit only those places where coarse food such as *Kulmāṣa* was provided.³⁴⁶ Jain monks should not take too much interest in the food preparations.³⁴⁷ They were not expected to declare the qualities of food for the same reason.³⁴⁸ An ideal monk according to the Buddha, does not kill any animal for food, accepts one course, does not take food at improper times. He does not accept uncooked foodgrains or meat.³⁴⁹ The Buddha did not allow the monks the use of stuffed couches and chairs when taking food.³⁵⁰

It appears that the diet of the Buddhist monks consisted of milk rice in the breakfast, rice and curry at lunch and slight repast consisting of ghee, butter, oil, honey or molasses in the afternoon. They did not eat anything at night.³⁵¹ We learn that other ascetics generally lived on leaves, bulbs, roots such as radish, lotus stalks, fruits such as jujube, myrobalan, honey wild rice and black mustard.³⁵² Some naked ascetics took food in a standing posture, they licked their hands clean and refused to accept any invitations. They abstained from fish, meat and strong drinks and lived on pot herbs, wild rice, leather, paring, *haṭa* (a water plant), scum of

boiled rice, broken pieces of rice, oil cake, grasses and such fruits as fell from the tree themselves.³⁵³ But it appears that some ascetics had no objection to taking meat preparations.³⁵⁴ Some monks were fond of eating mangoes, some of onions and some others of garlic.³⁵⁵ The Buddha laid down that not more than three Bhikkhus should visit a house on one day. They should also not visit a house in the afternoon, for it might cause inconvenience to the householder.³⁵⁶ The Buddhist monks were allowed to take molasses, ghee, butter, oil, honey, fish, flesh, milk and curds but were not allowed to drink *Surā* or *Maireya*.³⁵⁷

The Jains were expected to take their meals at a place which was free from insects and green plants, was covered with some piece of cloth and was surrounded with walls.³⁵⁸ From the *Jātakas* we know that people took food in dining halls and sat on benches while doing so.³⁵⁹ Some of them also used cushions.³⁶⁰ The Buddha laid down rules of etiquette for the monks. He laid down that while eating, the whole hand should not be thrust into the mouth. A person should not talk with rice in his mouth, eat tossing up balls of food, stuff his cheeks with rice, shake hands, scatter lumps of rice, put out his tongue, make a hissing sound, lick his fingers, or bowl or accept a drinking cup with a hand soiled with food.³⁶¹ He also insisted that the same food should be served to all and that even the eldest monk should not begin taking his meal until the cooked rice had been served to all. Eating delicious dishes (*Uttaribhaṅga*) alone was also considered improper.³⁶² It was also laid down that the monk who came back first from his round for alms in the village should make preliminary arrangements for the dining of the whole fraternity such as getting ready the seats, water for washing and drinking, towels etc. He, who came last, was to clean the dining

room after he had taken his meals.³⁶³ We also have interesting details about the customs prevalent at that time. In times of scarcity food was distributed to the monks at Rājagṛha by tying tickets with each share.³⁶⁴

It appears that the food of the poor people generally consisted of such coarse preparations as cold cakes, *Kulmāṣa*, fried beans such as *Mudga* and *Māṣa*, shrivelled grain (*Pulāka*), scum of boiled rice (*Ācāma*), barley mess, barley water, sour, gruel or butter milk, salt and oil.³⁶⁵ The rich on the other hand enjoyed delicious rice gruel, cakes of eighteen kinds and food having a number of flavours. They also took some delicacies (*Uttaribhaṅga*) at the end of their meals.³⁶⁶

The Brāhmaṇas were feasted with meat and rice preparations.³⁶⁷ From the Ambaṭṭha Sutta we learn that they lived on boiled *Śāli* rice, pulses from which black specks had been sought out and removed and flavoured with meat sauces and curries (*Vyañjana*) of various kinds.³⁶⁸

The Samājas afforded occasions for big feasts. Feasts were also arranged on such auspicious occasions as the birth of a son. These feasts took place in dining halls where people sat on excellent comfortable seats.³⁶⁹

On some routes it was difficult to get food stuffs so the Buddha allowed his followers to take some food for journey (*Pātheya*) such as rice, *mudga*, *māsa*, salt, *guḍa*, oil and clarified butter.³⁷⁰

The food habits of people naturally differed from region to region. The Kambojas of Uttarāpatha were in the habit of eating insects, moths and some kinds of snakes, and frogs.³⁷¹ While the people of Koṃkaṇa were fond of fruits and flowers.³⁷²

To sum up in the early Jain and Buddhist works, rice occupied a more prominent place than barley or wheat. Some fine preparations

from cereals such as *Ghayapunnaka*, *Moraṇḍaka* and *Khajjakas* and from pulses *Vaṭakas* of many kinds and *Parpaṭas* were made. Milk products and fruits and vegetables of all kinds were widely used. Fruit syrups seem to have been very popular. In the east meat and fish were common articles of food but some people eschewed meat diet as a result of the teachings of Mahāvīra and the Buddha. Drinking on festive occasions was common but the followers of the Buddha and Mahāvīra were expected to avoid it. The Jains were very particular about non-killing of living creatures, hence they used only strained water and avoided all food articles in which there was a possibility of the existence of any insect. The Buddha allowed all food articles necessary to sustain life but the Jain monks were advised to abstain from all food as a last stage in spiritual advancement. It is quite probable that the rules about diet current among the Jains may have come from the code of the Ājivikas.

References

1. Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 6.21., Gobhila Gr. Su. I. 4. 28., Khadira Gr. Su. I. 5. 40.
2. Yava—Pāṇini V. 1. 7., V. 2. 3., Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 16. 22. Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15. 3, Manava Gr. Su. I. 11.2, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, Khadira, Gr. Su. I. 5. 39.

Yavānī (inferior variety of barley) Pāṇini IV. 1. 49.

The old preparations of barley were in common use :—

Dhānāḥ (Parched barley grains) Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.6., 1.7; Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 3.6, Vas Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

Karambha (Parched barley flour with clarified butter or curds) Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3. 6., Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 19 Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

Saktu (Parched barely meal) Pāṇini VI. 3. 59, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 19. Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7. 22, Vas. Su. XIV. 37.

3. Pāṇini IV. 2.136, Asv. Sr. Su. II. 3, Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20.
Śālva—Alwar-Bikaner Region (Pāṇini (H), p. 121).
4. *Uṣṇikā* (Pāṇini V. 2.7.) was a *péya* variety while *Nakhampacā* was the one which was licked, because it scorched the fingers' ends. (Pāṇini III, 2.34).
5. Pāṇini IV. 3.25.
6. Pāṇini V. 2.2. *Śālī* was grown in winter while *Vṛibi* was grown in autumn. See Chapter VI.
 Rice was probably the staple food grain in the south as it was exported to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. The Greek word for rice *Oryza* is from the Tamil word *Arisi*. T.R. Sessa Iyengar—The Ancient Dravidians, p. 136.
7. Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5. 39, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.22, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3., Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 6.21, Manav, Gr. Su. I. 11.2.
 It is not white when husked according to the *Bhāvaprakāśa*.
8. *Kṛṣṇavṛihī* was black rice (Katya. Sr. Su. XV. 3.14).
Mahāvṛihī was a fine variety (Pāṇini VI. 2.38).
Hāyana (red rice) (Pāṇini III. 1.48).
Yavaka—A variety of rice (Pāṇini V. 4.3).
9. *Ṣaṣṭika*
 —Pāṇini V. 1.90., Pāṇini VII, 3.1.
10. *Odana*—Asv. Sr. Su. II. 3, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 3.5, Pāṇini IV. 4.67.
Bhakta (boiled rice)—Pāṇini IV. 4. 10.
Payodana—Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 8.2.
 Rice taken with curds, honey or clarified butter. Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 2.5., Asv. Gr. Su. I. 14.14.
Kṣīraudana (with milk) and *Sūpaudana* (with pulses).
 Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.54.
Māmsaudana (rice cooked with meat) Pāṇini IV. 4.67.
11. *Lājāḥ* (Parched rice grains) were used at the time of marriage in the *Sūtra* period.
 Manav. Gr. Su. I. 11.11, Gobh. Gr. Su. VII. 3.6, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 4.36, I. 16.34.
 Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 4.25., Khadir Gr. Su. I. 3.19., Asv. Sr. Su. II. 6.8.
 Parched rice flour (*Mantha*) was taken with curds, honey and water (Pāṇini VI. 3.60)., Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.3.
Apūpa—Pāṇini also mentions *Apūpas* in which wheat flour fried in clarified butter and mixed with sugar was used as stuffing (*Cūrṇitāḥ apūpāḥ*). Pāṇini IV. 4.23, Kh. Gr. Su. III. 29., Asv. Gr. Su. II. 4.4., Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 29. *Prthuka*, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 16.34., Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.19.
Kṛsara—(Preparation of rice and sesamum)
 It was given to a barber. Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 4.4., Commentator on Kh. Gr. Su. II. 2.27., Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.7.
Puroḍāśa—Asv. Sr. Su. II. 6.8., Ap. Sr. Su. I. 25. 4.
12. Pāṇini IV. 3. 147.
13. *Priyaṅgu*—(panic seeds) Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 3.
Nivāra—Pāṇini III. 3.48.
Śyāmāka—Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.22, Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.
14. *Māṣa*—Pāṇini V. 1.7, V. 2.4, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 6.6.
 In a *Śrāddha*—Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.23.
 In the ceremony of tonsure, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3., Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.
Mudga—Pāṇini IV. 4.25, Par. Gr. Su. I. 15.4, Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.
Caṇaka—Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.
Kulāttha—It was avoided by a man observing a vow (Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.2).
Ādhakī—Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.
15. *Sūpa*—Pāṇini VI. 2.128.
Vaṭaka—(small round balls prepared with pulses). Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 29.
16. *Kulmāṣa*—(Ghughri in Hindi) (some inferior grain boiled with a little water, *guḍa* and oil) Pāṇini V. 2. 83.
17. *Gavya* or *Payasya*—(Pāṇini IV. 3.160.)
Payah (Milk)—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20. Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7.
Dadhi (curds)—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7., Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13.
Navanīta—(Butter) Ap. Gr. Su. I. 15.9., Ap. Sr. Su. I. 3.7.8.
Haiyaṁgavīna (butter churned from the curds of previous day's milk)—Pan. V. 2.23.
Sarpi—(clarified butter) Indians seem to be fond of preparations mixed with clarified butter., Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.17.18, Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.24.
 Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20, Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7, II. 1.7, 1.18.

18. Kātya. Śr. Su. IV. 2.38.
19. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 22-24.
Cf. Baudh. Dh. I. 5.12. 1-19, Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII.
24. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 34-35.
20. Pāyasa (Milk rice)—Kh. Gr. Su. III. 1.38. IV.
2.18, Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.22.
Prṣadājya means a mixture of curds and
clarified butter in this period., Asv. Gr. Su. IV.
1.13.
Payasyā—Asv. Sr. Su. VI. 8.
21. See. p. 476, ref. 17.
22. Pāṇini also refers to meat in IV. 4.35. and IV.
4.67. He calls a guest *goghna* i.e. a person for
whom a cow was killed (III. 4.73). Roasted
meat was eaten (Śūlya IV 2.17).
Asv. Gr. Su. I. 21.28., Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2. 53-
54., Vas. Dh. Su. IV.
Cf. Sankh. Gr. Su. II. 15.2, Ap. Dh. Su. II. 3.74,
Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2. 53.
23. Paraskara Gr. Su. I. 19.7-13., Asv. Gr. Su. I.
14-2.6.
24. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 18-19., Ap. Dh. Su. II.
7.16. 26-27., Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17. 1-3., Baudh.
Gr. Su. II. 11.53-54., Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 31.
25. Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.15., Baudh. Gr. Su. II.
7.4., Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 7.26.
Cf. Kh. Gr. Su. III. 4, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 10.16,
Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.51., Hiran. Gr. Su. II.
15.1, Vaikhahasa. IV. 3, Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 9.10,
Sankh. Sr. Su. IV. 17.1, V. 15.1.
26. Excavations at Hastinapur (1950-52). Anciet
India No. 10 and 11. (1954) and 1955) by
B. B. Lal, pp. 115.117.
27. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.16.
28. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7. 21. 14-15., Vas. Dh. Su. XXIII
25.
29. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 29-37., Vas. Dh. Su. XIV.
30-37.
Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 5.12.5., Gaut. Dh. Su.
XVII. 16-31.
30. Vas. Dh. Su. VI. 6.
Cf. Viṣṇu Dh. Su. IV. 6, Śāṅkh. Gr. Su. II. 16.1.
31. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 4.6., Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1. 12.,
Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 3.23-24, Parask. Gr. Su. II.
5.12, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 117.19-23.
32. Asv. Gr. Su. I. 21.5.
33. Manava. Gr. Su. I. 1.1.2., Kh. Gr. Su. II. 5.11.
Cf. Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 3.23-24, Paras. Gr. Su. II.
5.12. Gobh. Gr., Su. III. 117. 19-23.
34. Sugarcane plantations (*Ikṣavana*) are
mentioned. Pāṇini VIII. 4. 5.
35. Guḍa—Pān. IV. 4.103, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 10.11.
Phāṇita—(Inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled
to thick consistency) Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.19.
36. The old preparations in common use were :
Apūpa—See p. 476, 11 above
Kṛsara—See p. 476, 11 above
Pāyasa—See p. 476, 11 above
Pālala—Pan. VI. 2.135.
Saṁyāva—Cūrmā in Hindi (Pāṇ. III. 3.23.)
37. Abhyūsa—is mentioned in the *Apūpādivarga*
in Pāṇini.
38. Manav. Gr. Su. II. 6.4.
39. Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 49.
40. Pippali—(long pepper) Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.12.
It was exported from South India From the
earliest times.
The Greek word peperis is taken from the
Dravidian word *pippali*.
Marica—(black pepper) Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.12.
Hingu—(asafoetida) Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 32-
33.
The common words for seasoning were
Upasecana and *Vyañjana*., Pān. IV. 4.26., Gobh.
Gr. Su. IV. 4.20.
41. Students—Manava. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.
Widows—Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 49.
Newly married couple—Kh. Gr. Su. I. 49.,
Manav. Gr. Su. I. 2.21.
42. Pāṇini V. 1.7, V. 2.4.
43. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 16.22, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, I.
7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.21, Asv. Gr. Su. I.
15.3, Baudh. Gr. Sesa Su. I. 16-17, Baudh. Gr.
Su. II. 1.64., Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3., Baudh. Gr.
Su. II. 1.64.
44. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 18-19.
45. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8. 18.1.
46. Sankh Sr. Su. IV. 15.8, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.17.
47. Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8.8.
48. Kātyāyana Śr. Su. XV. 10.11.
49. Udumbara—Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 22.8.
Śaphaka—Ap. Sr. Su, IX. 14.14.
50. Jambū—(rose apple) Pāṇini IV. 3. 165.
51. Āmra—(mango). Pan. VIII. 4.5, Ap. Dh. Su. I.
7.20.3.
Unripe fruits were called *Śatau* (Asv. Gr. Su. I.
12. 4.)

52. *Śāka*—(uncooked leafy vegetables)—Ap. Dh. Su. I. 17-19.
Bhājī—(cooked vegetables) Pāṇini IV. 1.42.
Śrāṇa—(cooked vegetables) Pan. IV. 4. 67.
53. *Upadamśa*—(Digestive roots) Pāṇini III. 4.47.
54. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 1. 5. 17. 26.
55. *Śaunḍika*—(Vintner) Pāṇini IV. 3.76.
Āsūtī—(distillery) Pāṇini V. 2.112.
 A Sūtra refers to people who could even take the sediment of liquor. Pāṇini I. 4.66.
Madya—Pāṇini III. 1. 100.
Surā—Pāṇini II. 4.25.
56. Pāṇini III. 1.126.
57. Pāṇini III. 1.117.
58. Paras. Gr. Su. III. 4.9.
59. Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11.5.
60. Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.6-7.
 Cf. Parask. Gr. Su. III. 3.11.
61. Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.5. Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11.5.
62. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.21.
 Cf. Vas. Dh. Su. I. 20.
63. Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25.
 Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.21.8.
64. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.21.8, I. 5.17.21, Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25, Vas. Dh. Su. I. 20.
65. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.21.
66. Mahīdhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14., Kātya. Sr. Su. XIX. 1. 20-21.
67. Pāṇini VI. 2.70.
 Cf. Manva. Gr. Su. II. 14. 28.
68. Pāṇini IV. 2.99.
69. Pāṇini V. 4.3.
70. Kātya Śr. Su. XIV. 1. 14.
71. Ibid and XV 10.9.
72. Pāṇini VI. 2, 10.
73. Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25.
 Cf. Kath. Sam. XII. 12.
74. History of Dharmasāstra Vol. II. Part II. p. 795—Kane.
75. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 1.1.15.
76. Kāty. Śr. Su. XIX. 2.12.
77. *Pakti*—Pāṇini III. 3.95.
78. Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.4-5.
 Cf. Asv. Gr. Su. II. 319.
79. Ap. Sr. Su. I. 25.4.
80. Pāṇini V. 1.53., Pāṇini V. 1.55.
81. Pāṇini VII. 3.69., Pāṇini II. 1.35., Pāṇini IV. 2.16.
 Also see India in Pāṇini (H), pp. 115-116.
82. Pāṇini VI. 2.128.
83. Pāṇini IV. 4.23., Pāṇini IV. 4.24., Pāṇini IV. 4.25.
84. *Sthālī*—Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.
Sruva—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19.
Camasa—Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.6.
Darvī—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19.
Ukhā—(fryingpan) Pāṇini IV. 2.17.
Śūrpa—(winnowing basket) Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.9.
85. *Śarāva*—Āsv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3.
Ulūkhala (mortar)—Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.8.
86. Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.1, IV. 3.19, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 9-12., Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.7, Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 24.3., Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.6.
87. Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.7, Kh. Gr. Su. III. 3.30, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.
88. Ap Dh. Sn. I. 5.17. 9-12.
89. The five daily duties of a householder were prayer to God (*Brahmayajña*), offerings to gods (*Devayajña*), offerings to spirits of the deceased (*Pitryajña*), hospitality to the guests (*Atithiyajña*) and offerings to animals and birds (*Bhūtajajña*).
 Asv. Gr. Su. II, III. 1-3. 1-2, Paras. Gr. Su. VI. 1.4.1., Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5.39.
90. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.8. 3-5.
 Cf. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 19, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 3.5.18.
91. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.8. 7-9., Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.65.
92. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.3.12., Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 10.11.
 C.f. Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5.22-25.
93. Asv. Sr. Su. II. 9.
94. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.1., Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 2.8-9., Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.9.
95. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 23.1-6.
96. Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.5.
 Cf. Kh. Gr. Su. II. 10-12.
97. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 17.20.
 Cf. Gaut. Dh. Sh. XVII. 14-16. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 28-29.
98. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.19.
 Cf. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 3. 7-38, Manu. V. 25. V. 10, V. 24, Yaj. I. 167-68.
99. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 14-16.
 The process of separating impurities from clarified butter by the addition of cold water is followed to this day.
 Cf. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 26.

100. Ap. Dh. Sv. I. 5.16. 23-32.
Cf. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 23, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.12.6. Mbh. Anu. 161.100.
101. Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 5. 7.
102. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.5.
103. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 25-27.
104. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 24.
105. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.33.
Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.11-13.
106. Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3.22., Kh. Gr. Su. I. 4.11.
107. Gaut. Dh. Su. XII. 1.
108. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 13-15.
Cf. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 1, XVII. 5, Vas. Dh. Su. XX. 19.
109. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 2.
In case of a sacrifice, however, Baudhāyana does not allow a Śūdra even to milk a cow. (Baud. Sr. Su. XXIV. 31).
110. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 1-4.
Ugra—a person whose father is a Vaiśya and mother a Śūdrā.
111. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6. 18.6.
112. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVIII. 6.
113. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.4.
114. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 16-22.
Cf. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 2-21.
115. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 28-33.
Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.19.1, Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 17-18, XV. 18.
116. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 9-12.
117. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.19.1.
118. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 10.
Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 27 and 29, Vas. Dh. Su. V. 7.
119. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 18-20.
120. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 21-22.
121. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 17-22.
122. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17.21.
123. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 3.6.19., Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.4.,
Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.6.
Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.7.
124. Vasistha Dh. Su. III. 62-63.
Cf. Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19, Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.3.11, Vishnu. Dh. Su. 68.42.
125. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 3.5.21.
126. Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 3.5.
Cf. Ap. Gr. Su. 6.16, Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 24.3, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.1, Paras. Gr. Su. I. 19.8.
127. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 1.2. 22-23.
Ap. Dh. Su. I. 4.6., Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 13, Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 3.23.24, Parask. Gr. Su. II. 5.12,
Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 117, 19-23, Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1. 12.
128. Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1.2.
Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 2.4.7., Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 2.52., Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.8., Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 17.10.
Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.9.13.
129. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 1.1.2, II. 8.19.10, II. 4.9.12-83,
Vas. Dh. Su. VI. 20-21, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.10,
Gaut. Dh. Su. 9.59, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 2.9.,
Khadira Gr. Su. I. 5.20.
130. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.10.
131. Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3.15.
132. Khadira Gr. Su. II. 1.4.
Katya. Sr. Su. II. 1.8.
Cf. Sankh. Sr. Su. III. 8.18.
133. Kath. Sr. Su. II. 1.10.
Cf. Suhita Pan. II. 2.11. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.9.
134. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.23.2., Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.22.10.
Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 2.15.
135. Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 2.22.
Cf. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 13.
136. Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 7.8.
137. Ap. Dh. Su. III. 4.9.13, Vasistha. Dh. Su. 6.20.21, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7. 31-32, II. 7.13.2.
138. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.8., Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 6-7.
The skin of an ox was used as a seat in this period. Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 4.6.
139. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8. 191-92, I. 11.1.31, Vas Dh. Su. XVII. 18.
Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.1.
140. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.16.
141. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.10., Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.9-10.
Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.4. 22-23, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.6.
142. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.17.
Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7-8.
143. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.1.
144. Vas. Dh. Su. 12.29.
145. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 26.
146. Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 29-30.
147. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.3., Gaut. Dh. Su. 17.19.
148. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.2.
149. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 28-29.
150. Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 29. Ap. Gr. Su. III. 7.15.
151. Vrata—Pan. III. 1.31.
Audarika—Pan. V. 2.6.7.
Ghasmara
Admara
—Pan. III. 2. 160.

152. *Odanika*, *Śrāṇika*, *Āpūpika*.
 153. Pān. Ag. (H), p. 129.
 154. Baudh. Gr. Su.
 155. Par. Gr. Su. III. 4.
 156. Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11.4., Gobhila Gr. Su. II. 4.8.9.
 157. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17.11-13.
 158. Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 15., Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.16.
 159. Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.11, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 8.8, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.64., Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.24., Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 17-19., Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18. 1-2., Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.64., Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.65.
 160. Nirukta III. 4.
 Lātya. Sr. Su. II. 10.4.
 161. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 1.2. 3-4.
 162. Digh 30 (Lakkhana Sutta).
 Soft food (*Bhojaniya*)^a in the Buddhist works includes boiled rice (*odana*), boiled mixture of barley and beans (*kummāsa*), parched barley meal (*saktu*), meat (*māmsa*) and fish (*maccha*) while hard food (*khādaniya*)^b includes roots, stalks, leaves flowers and fruit.
 (a) Vin. IV. 92, J. 127, J. III. 349, J. 339.
 (b) Vin. Mahāvagga VI. 16, Bhikkhu. Pati V. 35, Bhikkhuni Pati IV. 120.
 In the Jain works the four categories of food articles are called *asana* (soft food), *Khāima* (hard food), *Pāna* (beverages) and *Sāima* (relishable articles).
 Aca. II. 1.228, 523, Nisi. III. 1, Naya. I. 72, Vipak. I. 38.
 163. *Śāli* and *Vihī*—Majjhima I. 57, Panna. I. 23.40, Brhatk. Su. II. 1, Bhag. XIV. 7.13, I. 340, 115, 543, Thera G. 381.
 In the south also rice must have been the staple food grain as it was exported from India to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. The Greek word *Oryza* is from the Tamil word 'Arisi' (rice).
 T.R. Sesh Iyengar—The Ancient Dravidians, p. 136.
 164. Milind. I. 10, II. 5, J. 31.
 165. *Vrihi*—J. I. 340, 115, 543, Thera. G. 381.
 Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XXI. 2-3.
Śāli—J. 325. 512. III. 144. Milind I. 157.
 Thera. G. 381. Digh. I. 105, II. 293, Vin. IV. 264.
 Majjhim. I. 57, Ang. IV. I. 32.145, III. 49, IV. 108.
 Brhatak. Bha. I. 828, Sutra II. 1, Panna. I. 23-24., J. III. 144.
 166. *Rakṣāli* (red variety) J. 73, Brhatak. Bha. II. 3301, Milind. 252 calls it *Sālihitaka*.
Kalamaśāli—It was cultivated in Magadha. (Thera G. 208).
 Cf. Uva. I. 8.35, Sutra II. 18.30.
Mahāśāli—Brhatak. Bha. 3301.
Gandhaśāl—(Fragrant variety) Brhatak. Bha. II. 3301.
 167. Uva. I. 35.
 168. J. 450., J. 496.
 169. *Tilodana*—J. III. 425.
 170. J. 212.
 171. Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 24.5., Vin. VI. 17.1.
 Cf. Vin. Mahavagga (H) VI. 4.3, Vin. Mahavagga. I. 298.10, VI. 25.3, 33.3, J. 109.
Kaṭṭhapijā was some good variety of gruel as it is recommended in the Uva.
 Uva. I. 33.
 According to the commentary it was a decoction of some pulses such as Mudga or other corn or of rice fried in ghee.
 172. *Jhāmabhatta*—(parched rice), J. 254.
 Cf. J. IV. 214, 281.
Madhulāja (Parched barley sweetened with sugar), J. 339., J. 476.
Piiva—(sweet cakes) J. 252.
 Pinda. Nir. 557.
Pihuya (*Prthuka*), Aca. II. 1. 527.
Sakkuli (*Śaṣkuli*), Aca. I. 45. 566.
 Brhatk. I. 2.8, Das. V. 71.
 173. *Kaṇapūva*—(cakes prepared from broken rice grains) J. 109.
Āyāma—(scum of boiled rice) Uttara XV.
 174. Barley, Uttara IX. 49.
 Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XIV. 7.13, J. I. 373, II. 110, III. 216. IV. 580.
 Wheat, Vin. (Mahavagga) VI. 16.33.
 Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XIV. 7.13, Brhatk Bha. I. 828.
 175. *Saktu*—Ava. Cu. II. 317.
Mantha—Aca. II. 1.527.
 176. *Khajjaka*—Cakes prepared with wheat flour. Sometimes they were coated with sugar. It seems they were very much liked. J. 109., J. 194., Uva. I. 34.
 177. *Kodrava*—(*Paspalum scorbiculatum*). It was generally eaten by the poor. Vin. Ma. II. 211.14, Bhag. XXI. 3, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.
Śyāmāka—Digh. I. 166., Majjhima. I. 78, Angu. I. 295, II. 206. Sutt. Np. II. 1, J. 346, S.B.B. V.

110. Vin. Mahavagga. II. 211. 14, J. III. 144, Samyutt. N. II. 2.1.
Cinaka—(*Panicum miliacium*). Vin. Mv. II. 211.14.
 Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.
Priyangu—J. 546, Vin. Mahavagga. II. 211.14., Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XXI. 3.
Varaka—a variety of *Priyangu* is also mentioned. Bhag. XXI. 3, Sutra. II. 2.
178. *Kummāsa*—J. 415, Ghatika Sutta 81, Raṭṭhapāla Sutta. 82, S.B.B. V. 177, Vin. Mahavagga. II. 269.15, 277.18, Majjhima. II. 176.
 Cake prepared with inferior grains were also used., J. 415.
179. *Mudga*, S.B.B. V. 176.
 Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, J. 115, Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.
Māsa—Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, J. 546, Bhag. XXI. 2, Su. II. 1., Vin Mahavagga. VI. 16.33.
Masūra—Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.
Kulattha—Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.
Kalāya—S.B.B. V. 176, J. 176, From J. I. 176 we learn that it was given to horses.
Āḍhaki—Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.
180. *Caṇaka* (gram)—Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.
Hareṇu (a kind of pea)—S.B.B. V. 176, Vin. Mahavagga. I.245, J. V. 405, VI. 537.
 Other food grains mentioned in the Jain works are :
Akuṣṭhaka (modern kuttu) Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40. Ibid
Sapa (*Linum usitatissimum*) Ibid
Nippāva (*Nisipāva*) Ibid
Alisaṇḍaga—a grain coming from Alexandria (a variety of chickpea). Ibid
Atasī (linseed) Ibid
Pālimanthaka Ibid
Kusumbha (safflower) Ibid
Rāлага (the resin of *Shorea Rubusta*) Ibid
 Sutra II. 18.30.
 Panna. I. 23-40.
181. *Yūṣa*—
 Vin. Mv. I. 298.1.
Sūpa—
 Uva. I. 36., Vin. Mv. VI. 33.3.
- Cooked pulses were also called *Aparanna*. Anguttara. IV. 112.
Parpaṭa—Mmk. 147.4, Aca. II. 1. 527, Panna. I. Aca. 614.
Vaṭaka—(round balls). Uva. I. 40.
 Cf. Uva. I. 38.
182. Digh. N. Potthapāda Sutta. 54.
 Vin. Mv. (H) VI. 6.3, Vin. I. 243, II. 301, Majjhima. I. 343, Ang. II. 207, Puggala Pannati 56, Ang. II. 95, Digh. I. 201, Dhamma. Ti. 198, Vin. Mv. VI. 34.21, J. I. 296, 388, 457.
183. The milk products which the Buddha allowed to his followers were milk, curds, butter milk, butter and ghec. Mahavagga (H) VI. 6.3. Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21.
184. J. 127.
185. Av. Cu. II. 319.
186. Sudhābhojana J. No. 535.
 J. I. 162, III. 205, Nisi IX. 511.
187. *Kholas*.
 Brhatk. Bha. I. 2882, 2892.
188. Brhatk. Su. I. 2.8.
 Digh. Potthapāda Sutta 54, Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21. J. 123.277, Aca. II. 1, Nisi. VIII. 18.
189. Aca. II. 1.4. 247.
190. Nisi. VIII. 18.
 Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21.
191. Uva. I. 37.
 Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21., Vin. Culla. IV. 45, J. 106, 130, 154, 186, 277, Nisi. III. 18.
192. *Sāga*—A preparation seasoned with butter milk such as *dahibadā* etc.
 J.C. Jain, p. 123.
193. J. 537.
 J. IV. 370, V. 489.
194. J. 408.
195. Vin. Mv. VI. 10, Vin. Culla. V. 104, J. V. 408, VI. 62, 546.
196. J. 292.
 Ang. N. III. 301-303, J. 21, 34, 114.
197. J. III. 49, V. 458, VI. 62.
198. J. II. 182, IV. 252. 334, 337, 341, V. 41.
199. J. 339, 418, 436.
 Mahāvagga (H) VI. 4.4.
200. Venison—J. 420.
Pork—Nyagrodha J. 12, Kumṛga J. 21, J. 186.
Fowls—J. 254.
 Sri J. 248, Nyagrodha J. 444.
201. Oxen—J. 144.
Godhā—J. 138.

- Birds—A captured bird cries 'what fate for one caught in a net except the cruel spit. J. 33. J. 537.
202. J. 50, J. 142, 489, 362.
203. Monkeys—Mahākapi. J. 402.
Pigeons—J. 277.
Beef—Languṣṭha J. 144, Cahapati J. 199.
204. J. 537.
205. Kassapa Sihanāda J.
206. Sutra II. 18.21, Aca. II. 1.4.245, 247, Bhag. I. 8.46.
Uttara XII. 7, XIX. 64, Panna. I. 33, Vipaka. VIII, 46, 47,
Vipaka. VIII. 10.
Suriyapannati. 51. p. 151.
207. Uva. VIII. 12.
Vipaka. VIII. 10., Vipaka. III. 18.
Vipaka. VIII. 46.47, Uttara XXII. 14.
208. Sūtra. II. 6, X. 92.
209. Bhag. XV., Nisi. Cu. 134, at 16.
210. Uttara. XIX. 70.
Cf. Sutra II. 6., J. 316.
211. J. 33, 539.
212. J. 512.
Cf. Vipaka. II. 14, III. 22.
213. Sūpa or Upasecana. J. I. 420., Vin. Culla, VI. 4.1., J. 398.
214. J. I. 325.
Cf. J. I. 420.
215. J. 138.
216. J. 545, VI. 238.
217. J. 292.
218. J. III. 100, 378, VI. 62, Vipaka. II. 14, III. 22.
219. Vipaka. II. 14, III. 22, Sutra. II. 6, 19.
220. Saṅkhaṇḍiya, Vaṭṭakhaṇḍiya, Dihakhaṇḍiya, Rahassakhaṇḍiya, Himapakka, Jammapakka, Vegapakka, Māruyapakka, Kāla, Heraṅga, Mahiṭṭha.
Vipāka, III. p. 46.
221. Vin. MV. I. 80.
222. Suttanipāta II. 2. 3-9, J. 246.
223. Vin. IV. 83, J. 339, 418, 436.
224. Bhikkhu. Patimokkha V. 61. Samyutta. III. 1.9.
225. Dhammapada. 270. Sutta. Nipata. II. 7.27.
Cf. Vin. Mv. I. 56.
226. Even in this period, it appears that animals were not killed in Sabbath day (*Uposatha divaseṣu*). J. 220, Vin. III. 58.
227. Vin. Mv. VI. 31. 141.
- Buddha considered *dṛṣṭa* (seen), *śruta* (heard) and *parisaṃkita* (suspected) meat inedible. Jivaka Suttānta. 55.2.1.5.
Cf. Vin. Culla. VII. 3. 15, Majjhima (H) 55.
228. Vin. Mv. VI. 31.
229. Vin. III. 58, Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 1.10, 23.10, 23-14.
Vin. Mv. VI. 23.3., Vin. Mv. VI. 23.10.
Scholars are not unanimous about the meaning of the word *Sūkaramaddava*, the food article, which caused Buddha's death. But there seems to be greater likelihood that it was a fungus liable to poison the human body than boar's flesh.
(A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXIII).
230. Aca. II. 1.3., Aca. II. 1.525.
231. Dasa. VI. 25-26.
232. Av. Cu. II. p. 202, Sutra, II. 6. 37. 42.
233. Aca. Ti. II. 1.4.247, cf. I. 9.274.
Bṛhatk. Bha. 1.12.39, Das. V. Su. V. 1.73. Nisi. Cu. 16, p. 1034.
Mahāvira himself is said to have taken the flesh of a pigeon. (Bhag. XV.)
234. This may also have led to a considerable improvement in the preparation of vegetarian dishes.
See B.C. Law, Mahāvira, p. 55.
235. Vin. Mv. IV. 17, J. I. 154. 334.
236. Av. Cu. II. 319, Aca. II. 1.4, Uttara. XIX. 70.
237. Vin. IV., Anguttara. III. 76, IV. 176, Milind, 46.
Dhamma Ti. IV. 199, Petavatthu Ti. 124, J. I. 339, IV. 114, 406. Uttara. Ti. II, p. 23.
238. J. I. 339, II. 240, IV. 160-61, VI. 539, Vin. Mv. VI. 35.6, Uttara. XIX. 53, Bṛhatk Bha. Pi. 575, Bhag. XXI. 5.
239. Tandula Ti., p. 2(a).
There were two kinds of sugarcane *Punḍra* (pale yellow) and *Kajalī* (dark purple). The former gave its name to *Punḍradeśa* (Bengal to the east of the Ganges) and the latter to *Kajolaka* (Bengal to the west of the Ganges).
See Arch. Survey of India Report 1879-80, Bihar and Bengal Vol. XI, p. 38, quoted by J.C. Jain, p. 91.
240. Vin. Mv. VI. 16.1.
J. I. 123, Av. Cu. II. 319. Vin. Mv. VI. 25-27.
Also see Appendix II.
241. Vin. Mv. VI. 199.

- The Buddha allowed *Guḍa* to sick persons and water of *Guḍa* to healthy persons.
Mahavagga (H) VI. 4.6.
Cf. Aca. II. 1.4.
242. *Phāṇita*—
Vin. Mv. VI. 199., J. I. 334.
Cf. Vin. II. 177, Digh. I. 1.41, Vimana. 35-40, J. I. 340, 386, Aca. II. 1.4.
Śarkarā, J. 442.
Cf. J. I. 154, III. 110, IV. 114, 379, V. 384, Naya. XVII. 203, Panna. XVII. 227.
243. *Nisi*. VIII. 18.
Cf. Naya. XVII. 203, Panna. XVII. 227.
244. *Madhulāja*—See p. 128.
Madhugolaka—Vin. Mv. I. 43, VI. 25.3.
245. *Maṇḍaka*—*Nisi* Cu. II, p. 695.
Madhuśīrṣaka—Mmk. 48.8.
Gulalāvaṇiya—*Golpāpadi* in *Gujrati*.
(see J.C. Jain, p. 123).
Ghayapuṇṇa—Uva. I. 34.
Sihakesara—*Antagadodasao*, p. 10.
Moraṇḍaka—*Bṛhatk. Bha.* I. 3281.
246. Vin. Mv. VI. 8.
247. *Loṇakāra*—J. VI. 206.
Storing salt in a horn vessel was not permissible.
Vin. Culla. XII. 1.1.
248. *Daśavaikalika*. Su. III. 8.
249. Long pepper (*pippalī*). Aca. 602.
Cf. Vin. Mv. VI. 6, J. I. 325, Jiva. III. 37.
Pepper (*marica*). J. 277., J. 512.
J. 325, 455, 512, 277, Vin. I. 201, Vin. Mv. VI. 6, Aca. II. 1.8. 268.
Cumin (Jiraka)—J. I. 274.
J. I. 244, 274, 42, II. 363, 225, V. 12, VI. 536, Pinda Nir. 54. *Dryginger (Śṛṅgavera)*—Vin. Mv. VI. 201.
J. I. 274, 375, 42, Vin. Mv. VI. 3, Bhag. VIII. 3, Panna. I. 23.31, 43-44.
Asafoetida (Hiṅgu)—Vin. Mv. VI. 7., Vin. I. 201.
Turmeric (Haridrā)—Vin. Mv. VI. 3, Vin. I. 201, Anguttara. III. 230, 233, J. V. 89. *Majjhima* I. 127, *Samyutta*. II. 101, Pinda Nir. 54.
250. Mustard (*Sarṣapa*). J. 375.
Aca. II. 1.8.268.
Cloves (Lavaṅga)—Pinda Nir. 54.
251. Vin. Mv. VI. 33, 17, Vin. Culla. VI. 4.1, VIII. 4.5, Anguttara. III. 49, Vin. II. 214, J. 42, 212.
252. Vin. IV. 2.59.
253. *Vinegar (ambila)*—J. I. 244, 304, II. 263, III. 255, IV. 2.1.
Sourgruel (Kāñjika)—Vin. I. 203. It is also called *Soviraka*, Vin. I. 210, *Samyutta* II. 3, J. 254, J. 42., Vin. Mv. VI. 16.3.
254. Vin. II. 214, III. 160, IV. 259, Culla (H) IV. 2.1, VIII. 2.2.
255. Vin. Mv. VI. 16.33, *Samyutta*. I. 170, Anguttara I. 130, IV. 108, J. 167, 195, 423, II. 248-301, 325, III. 425, 503, 537, 53, VI. 325, J. 546, Vin. Mv. VI. 34, Culla. IV. 45, I. 183, *Thera Ga.* I. 927., *Brhatk.* II. 1, Bhag. XXI. 2, *Sutra*, II. 2, *Nisi*. III. 18, *Brhatk. Bha.* I. 828, Panna. I. 23-40, Aca. II. 1. 527.
256. Culla. I. 183, J. 546. *Dhammapada* Ti. II. 7.5, Aca. I. 15, 132,
257. Culla. I. 183.
258. *Tilapiṭṭha* and *Tilapappaḍa*—Aca. II. I. 527.
259. Culla. IV. 45., J. I. 340, 325, Vin. Mv. VI. 16, VI. 34.21.
260. *Sarṣapa Suttanipāta* 625, 631, p. 122, *Dhamma*. I. 93. *Samyutta* II. 137, J. VI. 174, 536.
Sarṣapakuṭṭa—Vin. I. 205, II. 151.
261. *Eraṇḍa* (castor seed) J. I. 109, 423, II. 44, V. 354, 417, VI. 529. *Atasī* (Linseed)—Bhag. XXI. *Kusumbha* (Safflower)—J.C. Jain, p. 91.
262. S.B.B.V., p. 10 (*Kassapasihanādasutta*).
263. Vin. Mv. VI. 1.2.
264. Vin. Mv. VI. 21.
The Buddha allowed five kinds of fruits e.g. mango fruits the skin of which had been removed by fire, of which the skin had been removed with a knife or nails, one without a kernal stone and one having a kernal stone.
Culla. V. 7.3.
Culla. (H) VI. 6.7.
265. Jagdish Chandra Jain, p. 93.
266. *Jujube*—J. II. 260, 547, S.B.B. V. 56.
Mango—J. 537., J. 466., Aca. 605.
J. I. 54, 124, 344, 186, 255, 545, III. 98, IV. 264, 265, Das. Bra. J. 495, Panna. I. 23.12.7, Aca. II. 1.82.66, Tha. X. 736, Raya. III. 12.
Rose Apple (Jambū)—J. 124, 294, 536, 541, IV. 545, VI. 529, Daśa Bra. J. 495, Panna. I. 1-3.

- Panasa* (Bread fruit)—J. 57, 123, 466, 450, II. 160, V. 46, J. 547, Panna. I. 23.12.7, Aca. II. 1.8.266, Tha X. 736.
J. 547.
Sṛṅgātaka (Trapabispinosa) Aca. II. 3.3 350.
Āmalakā (emblic myrobalan)—J. I. 450, II. 160, V. 465, J. 495, 512, Vin. Mv. I. 20.10, Vin. I. 201, 278, Panna. I. 23. 12-17, Aca. II. 1.8. 266, Tha. X. 736.
Kadalī (plantain)—J. 466, 514, Panna. I. 23, 12-17, Aca. II. 1.8. 266, Tha. X. 736.
Cocanut (*Nālikera*)—J. 466, 514, 537, 547, Sutra. I. 44.
Dates (*Kharjūra*)—J. 547.
Bilva—J. I. 306, 495, VI. 578, Saṃyutta. I. 150, Sutta. N. 125, Anguttara. IV. 170, Apādāna III. 346.
Palm fruit (*Tāla*)—J. 160, IV. 158.
Prīyāla—J. 495., J. 503.
Ṭiṇḍuka—J. 177, 495, 541, II. 53, IV. 270, V. 38, Digh. I. 178, V. 99., Aca. 613.
See above. J. 503.
Grapes (*Drāksā*)—J. 547, 183.
Parūṣaka—Vin. I. 246, 7. VI. 278.
Citrus (*Mātulīṅga*) Daśavaikālika V. 2. 25-26.
Some other fruits are mentioned.
Cf. Panna. I. 1-3.
Nyagrodha—J. I. 298, 324.
Kāśmārya—J. 503, 540.
Kakuca—J. 495.
Āmrātaka—J. II. 111, Apādāna. II. 346, Panna, I. 1-3.
Kapittha (wood apple)—J. I. 298, VI. 550, 553, J. 547, 529.
Udumbara—Digh II. 4, IV. 35, Aṅguttara IV. 283, J. I. 298, III. 73, 294, VI. 174, 529, 251.
Pomegranate (*Dāḍīma*)—Panna, I. 1-3, Aca. 605.
267. J. I. 139.
268. Mahāvagga. (H) VI. 6.8, Vin. Mv. VI. 35.
269. Stalks of lotus (*Bisa*)—Aca. II. 1.7.
Roots of lotus (*Śālūka*)—Aca. II. 1.7, J. I. 79, 96, Vin. I. 246, J. VI. 563.
Mustard stalks—Aca. II. 1.7.
Long bottle gourd (*alābū*)—J. I. 3. 12, IV. 445, V. 37, VI. 578, Sutra. I. 4.4., Naya. XVI. 163, Uttara Ti. V. 103.
Brinjal—Panna. I. 23, 18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, Bhag. XXI. 7, Uttara XXXVI. 96, Aca. II. 3.3.350, J. V. 37.
Cucumber—Panna. I. 23.18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, Uttara XXXVI. 96.
Radish—Ibid.
Catmint (*Biḍālī*) J. 496.
Other vegetables used as food were *Piṇḍālu*, *Āluka*, *Elalluka*, (*convolvulus*), *Kadamba* (*convolvulus repins*), *Bidarīkanda*, *Kāravella*, *Pālaka*, *Svastika* and *Mandūkī*. The last three are leafy vegetables.
Panna. I. 23. 18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, Uttara XXXVI. 96., Uva. I. 38., Uva. I. 39.
270. Some Buddhist nuns are said to have pulled out practically all the onions from a field. This shows that some of them were very fond of onions.
(J. 136.)
Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha. Pacittiya (H) 4.1., Culla. (H) V. 6.4. Garlic (*lasuna*) Vin. IV. 259.
Vin. II. 140, IV. 258, Culla. V. 6.4., Aca. II. 3.3.350.
Leeks—Vin. IV. 259.
271. J. I. 116, 251, 268, V. 12, VI. 328, U. 545, VI. 505, Brhatak. I. 2.4. Uttara XIX. 70, Bhag. V. 2.8, Vipaka. II. 19, Nisi. Cu. I. 511.
272. J. I. 116, 251, 268, VI. 328, 545.
Flags were used to distinguish liquor shops from other shops. Brhatk. Bhā. II. 35.39.
273. J. 142, I. 362, II. 240, VI. 161, J. 545, VI. 238.
274. Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā. I. 193.
275. Naya. 16. p. 179.
276. Surāpāna. J. 81, J. 512.
277. Surāpāna. J., Kumbha. J.
278. Uttara. Ti. 2, p. 36 a.
279. Anguttara. III. 208.
280. Dhammapada, p. 247., Bhikkhu Patimokkha. V. 51.
Cf. Vin. Mv. I. 56, Anguttara III. 7.70., Uttara. XIX. 71., Uttara. V. 9., Sutra. I. 7.13.
Cf. Jiva. III. 37, Naya. XVI. 105.
281. Brhatk. IX. 17.
282. Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 1.16, Brhatk. Bha. II. 3413, Naya. V. 80.
283. Patimokkha. 21, Dhammapada 247, J. 466, Naya XVI. 179.
284. Vin. IV. 110.
285. J. 466.
Cf. Dhammapada. 247, Patimokkha. 51.
See Ch. V. for the preparation of *Maireya*.
Vipaka. para. 40., Dhammapada. 247., Daśavaikālika. V. 2.38.

286. *Vāruṇī*—*Dravya Guṇa Vijñāna*. II. p. 33.
J. I. 47, Jiva. III. 37.
Mādhavī (from *Madhūka* flowers)—*Av. Cu.* II. 171.
Prasannā—for preparation see *Ch.V.*
Naya. XVI. 105, *Vipak*. para. 40.
Sīdhu (distilled from juice of sugarcane)
Uttara. XIX. 70, *Naya*. XVI. 105, *Vipak*, para. 40.
287. *Tālakka* (a wine prepared from the palm fruit),
Jambū, XX. 99, *Jiva*. III. 264, *Panna*. XVII. 364.
Jāti (an intoxicating drink from *Jāti* flowers)
Vipaka. II. 19.
Kādambri (distilled from ripe kadamba fruit)
Uttaradhyayana. Ti. II. 36. *Vipaka*. para. 40.
288. J.C. Jain. p. 125, *Jambu*. 20, p. 99. fr. *Jiva* 3, pp. 264a f. *Panna*. 17, p. 364 f.
289. *Candraprabhā*, *Maṇiśilāka*, *Rṣṭabha*,
Jambūphala, *Kālikā*, *Dugdhajoti*, *Mrdvikāsāra*,
Vamśī, *Sovira*, *Kharjūrasāra* and
Supakveksurasa.
(J. C. Jain, p. 125).
290. J. 540.
291. *Bhikkhu Patimokha* (H) V. 20 and 62.
The Buddha also allowed the use of some
stands made of wood, stone or bricks for
keeping water jars.
Culla. (H) V. 2.4., *Pac*. XX.62.
Of the eight kinds of strainers the *Danḍa*
parissavana was a long box, both ends of which
strained water which was poured into the centre
by means of a pipe. The other strainers were a
filter with four pipes (*Oṭṭhanika*), regulation
water pots (*dhammakaraka*), corner of the
upper robe, cross seams, short cross seams,
circular seams and short circular seams. (*Vin*.
III. 102, III. 177, 302, *Culla*. XIII. 2., *Vin*. Mv.
VIII.).
292. *Uva*. I. 41.
293. *Aca*. I. 13. 108.
294. *Vin*. I. 246.
295. *Guḍodaka*—*Vin*. Mv. VI. 27.
Sakkharapānaka. J. I. 281.
Cf. J. 476.
296. *Vin*. Mv. VI. 6.6, *Digh*. Part. I. p. 5, (*Bhāgavata*).
297. *Aca*. I. 599.
298. *Aca*. I. 642.
299. *Upasthānaśālā* (a dining room)—*Cull*.
Sensanakkhandhva VI. *Kappabhūmi* (a store
house)—J. 545.
300. *Odaniyaghara* (shop of a cook)—J. 545, J. III.
287, V. 290, VI. 276, V. 170.
301. *Khajjabhājaka* (a distributor of food)—*Vin*. II.
176, III. 38. 155.
302. *Ājātaśatru* mentioned it to the Buddha.
303. J. 26, J. I., p. 186.
304. *Dhūpita* (Vv. 43)
305. The eighteen kinds of *Vyañjana* are :—
1. *Sūpa* (pulse soup), 2. *Odana* (boiled rice),
3-5. Three kinds of meat, 6. Cow's milk, 7.
Jūsa (water of boiled pulses), 8. *Bhakkha*
sweets, 9. *Gulālāvaṇiya* (*gol pāpaḍi* etc.), 10.
Mūlaphala (bread fruit), 11. *Hariyāga* (Cumin),
12. *Sāga* (vegetables), 13. *Rasālu* (*Śikhariṇi*),
14. *Pāna* (drinks), 15. *Pāniya* (water), 16.
Pānaka (beverages), 17. *Sāga* (*dahibara*)
Tha. III. 135.
J.C. Jain, p. 123.
Cooked food is classified into four categories—
well dressed food in general (*Sukṛtam*), well
cooked food (*supakvam*) such as *Ghṛtapūra*,
flavoured food (*Subhṛtam*) such as soup and
Yavāgu and much sweetened food such as
Modakas.
306. p. 483 and 244 ref. 245
307. See p. 479 Ref. 181
308. *Culla* (H) V. 1.10., *Culla*. (H) V. 74.
309. J. 476.
Culla. (H) V. 1.10, c.f. *Naya*. Ti. I. 42(a) I. 26.
Culla. V. 16, *Uva*. XXXVIII. 173.
Pannaputa (leaf pots)—J. I. 415.
Eighteen kinds of utensils—such as those made
of iron, copper, lead, bronze, silver, gold,
precious stones, ivory, horns, cloth, leather,
stone and conchshell are mentioned in *Nisi*.
IX. 1.
310. *Culla*. V. 16.2.
311. *Culla*. XII. 1.1.
312. *Bhṛigāra* (water jar)—*Digh*. II. 172, *Anguttara*.
IV. 210, J. I. 266, *Uva*. XXXVIII. 173.
Saraka (drinking cup)—J. I. 157, 266, J. 125.
Thāvika (a water bag)—*Culla*. V. 9. 1-4.
Piṭaka (a basket)—*Vin*. Mv. V. 25.
Kumbhi (a cooking pot)—*Vin*. Mv. VI. 25,
Ghaṭikārasutta 81.
Taṭṭaka (a dish)—J. 476.
Pariyoga (a dish)—*Ghaṭikārasutta*. 81.
Kaḍapiya (a pan)—J. 268.
313. *Ālindā*—*Vin*. Mv. III. 15.9, *Uva* VII. 4.
Gopiṭaka—*Vin*. Mv. III. 15.9.

314. M.S.V. I. 84.2.
315. *Sattha* (a knife)—Sutra. I. 4.10.
Suphaṇī (a kettle for cooking)—Sutra. I. 4.12.
Khalaga (a sieve)— Ibid.
Khāragālaṇa (a mortar)— Ibid.
 The Uva. VII. 4 mentions *Karāe* (small jars),
Varāe (big jars), *pihaḍae* (cooking pots),
ghaḍae (water jars), *Adhaghāḍae* (half water
 jars), *Kalāsae* (jars), *Āliñjara*, *Jambuc*
 (tumblers), *Utthiya* (jars having necks like
 those of camels).
316. Vinayapiṭika Ed. by H. Oldenberg 1879, Vol. I.
 p. 271.
 Also see 'History of the Spittoon in India' by
 P.K. Code, A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXVI. Parts III &
 IV. pp. 204-214.
317. S.B.B.I. 3, XIII. 38.
318. Digh. (H) 30 Lakkhaṇa Sutta.
 Generally the invitation to Bhikkhus was issued
 on the previous day.
Majjhima (H) 55.
Supriyā, a follower of the Buddha, is said to
 have cut off the flesh of her own thigh to save
 the life of an ailing Bhikkhu when it could not
 be had it being a holiday in the meat market
 in Banaras. This shows that the spirit of
 hospitality had become a part and parcel of
 Indian social life.
 Vin. Mv. VI. 13.3.
319. Uttara. XII.
320. Culla. V. 5. (Hindi).
321. See p. 150, f.n. (4) above, Pac. XX. 62.
322. Nisi. IV. 21.
323. See p. 485, ref. 291
324. See above ref. 319
325. Bhikkhu Patimokkha. VII. 27, 31, Bhikkhu
 Patimokkha. (H) VI. 27 and 31.
326. Bhikkuni Patimokkha. IV. 30.
327. Culla I. 5.6.
328. J. II. 319-20. J. 179. IV. 388.
329. J. II. 82.
330. J. IV. 144.
331. J. IV. 388.
332. Uttara. XII.
333. Culla. XII. 1.1., S.B.B.V., p. 333, Bhikkhu
 Patimokkha., Mahavagga (H) VI. 6.12.
334. Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H) V. 35-37., *Majjhima*
 (H) 39. (Mahaassapura).
335. Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H) V. 38., Mahavagga
 (H) VI. 5.1., *Majjhima* (H). 53.
336. Mahavagga. VI. 3.4.
 c.f., Uttara. XIX. 30.
337. Culla. VII. 3.13., 34, Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H)
 VII. 29, 30, (H) 36, Bhikkhuni Patimokkha (H)
 VI. 29, 30, 36.
338. Uttara XXXII. 11.
 Uttara. I. 32., Dasa IX. 4.3.4., Dasa IX. 4. 3.5.
339. Uttara XXX. 8.
340. Jātaka VI. 3-6.
341. J. I. 123.
342. Uttara. XVI. 7.
 Uttara XVI. 8.
343. Culla. VII. 13.
344. Bhikkhupatimokkha (H) V. 39,
 Bhikkunipatimokkha V. 5. 222-229.
345. Uttara XXX. 4., Uttara. XXXII. 10., Uttara.
 XVI. 7.
346. Uttara. VIII. 12., Uttara. XV. 13., Dasav. VIII.
 57.
347. Uttara. VIII. 11., Dasav. X. 17.
348. Uttara I. 36.
349. Digh. Part. I., p. 5 (Bhagavata)
 Digha (H) I. 1, Kalpasutra. V. 8, Culla, VII. 3.
 25-37, Mahavagga. I. 56.
350. Culla. VIII. 5.3. V. 19.
351. Mahavagga. I. 25. 8, I. 30. 8, Culla. XII. 2.8,
 Losaka J. 41., Div. 130.2.
352. Bhikkhuparamparā J. No. 496, J. I. 251.
353. Digh. I. 166, Kassapasihanāda Sutta, Bhagavati
 XI. 9.6.
354. Digh. I. 141, Aupapatika Sūtra.
355. Aca. II. 7.
356. Culla. VII. 3.13., XII. 1.1., S.B.B. V. p. 333.
357. Culla. VII. 3.39, 51, Mahavagga. I. 56.
358. Uttara I. 33.
359. J. 31.
Sālā—dining hall.
Āsanaphalaka—Bench.
360. Culla. V. 19, *Āsittakūpadhāna*.
361. Culla. VIII. 4-5, Culla. (H) VIII. 2.2.
 cf. Bhikkhu Pātimokkha (H) VII. 27-56, Bhikkhu
 Pātimokkha VI. 27-56, *Majjhima* (H) 91.
362. Culla (H) VIII. 2.2., Sudhābhajana J. 535.
363. Culla. (H) VIII. 3.1.
364. S.B.B. Vol. V, p. 247., Culla. VI. 20.
365. Mahavagga (Hindi) VI. 5.1, Kassapasihanāda
 Sutta. Uttara XV.
366. J. I. 186.
 J. II. 319.

367. J. 545, VI. 238.

368. Digh. I, p. 88, Digh. (H) I. 5.

369. Kalpa. Su., p. 255.

370. Mahavagga (H) VI. 6.4.

371. Bhūridatta. J. 543, Barua. II. 259.

372. Bṛhatakālpa Bhāṣya. I. 1239.

QUESTIONS

1. On the basis of the *Gṛhyasūtras* discuss the extent to which meal diet was taken by Indians in this period.
2. Mention the new sweet preparations mentioned in the *Gṛhyasūtras*.
3. Describe the intoxicating drinks mentioned in the *Gṛhyasūtras* besides *Surā*.
4. Discuss the evidence available in the *sūtras* which shows that in the *Sūtra* period some rigidity had come with regard to the acceptance of food from various classes.
5. What evidence in the *Sūtras* do we have with regard to the rule that the food should suit the age and stage in life of a man?
6. Describe the various preparations of rice mentioned in the early Buddhist and Jain works.
7. Elucidate the fact that the number of non-vegetarian people during this period was considerable.
8. To what extent did the teachings of the Buddha and Mahāvīra about the need of avoiding slaughter of animals succeed in changing the attitude of Indians?
9. Describe the various intoxicating drinks taken by Indians during this period.
10. Mention the fruits and other ingredients from which different kinds of syrups were prepared during this period.
11. Discuss how the Buddha laid great stress on eating food obtained by lawful means.
12. Distinguish between the food preparations eaten by the poor and those consumed by the rich during this period.

Chapter 5

Food and Drinks

(300 B.C. to 75 A.D.)

For the period 300 B.C. to 75 A.D. we have information from the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the edicts of Aśoka and accounts of Greek historians. Incidentally Patañjali's great commentary, the Mahābhāṣya, also throws some light on the food habits of the Indians. We have utilized all this information in the first section of this chapter. The authorities utilized in the second section are of a date slightly more uncertain.¹

SECTION I

(MAURYA AND ŚUNGA PERIOD)

It appears from the Greek sources that there were two main crops, one ripening in winter consisting of rice and millet, and the other ripening in summer, the chief products thereof being wheat and barley as now.² But from Kauṭilya we learn that there was a third crop which was grown between the two main crops. It chiefly produced beans such as *Mudga* and *Māṣa*.³

Cereals and Pulses

Rice and barley continued to be the staple foodgrains.⁴ Besides the old varieties of rice *Śālī*, *Vrihi*, *Kodrava* and *Priyaṅgu*, two new varieties *Dāraka* and *Varaka* had come into use in Kauṭilya's time.⁵ From Patañjali it appears that *Hāyana* and *Śaṣṭika* varieties of rice were quite popular.⁶ No new preparations of rice are mentioned.⁷ The two varieties of barley, one cultivated and the other uncultivated⁸, were commonly used in preparing a mess, a gruel, groats and cakes.

Gruel was also prepared with an inferior foodgrain called *Gaviḍhukā*. Groats were now eaten with curds.⁹ Wheat now occupied a more important place among the cereals than in the previous period, it being invariably mentioned with barley.¹⁰ Besides the old pulses, pea seems to have become very popular. A soup prepared from it is expressly mentioned by Patañjali. *Rājamāṣa* had also come into use in his time.¹¹ A taboo against the use of *Māṣa* and its preparations is referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya*. *Kulmāṣa* was eaten in this period as well.¹²

Dairy Products

Kauṭilya mentions an officer called *Go'dhyakṣa* assisted by two junior persons in charge of milking cows (*dohaka*) and churning curds (*Manthaka*).¹³ Cows were generally milked twice a day in the rainy season, autumn and winter, but only once in the spring and summer seasons.¹⁴ Besides cow's milk, milk of buffaloes, sheep and goats was used. Clarified butter was prepared from the milk of these animals.¹⁵ Curds and churned curds seem to have been popular, as a person who sold the latter is mentioned.¹⁶ Other products of milk in common use were butter and buttermilk. Kauṭilya lays down that buttermilk should be given to dogs and pigs, solid part of inspissated milk (*Kūrcikā*) to the soldiers with the food, and the liquid part (*Kilāṭa*) to the cows with fodder.¹⁷

Meat Diet

Kauṭilya mentions a superintendent of slaughter houses¹⁸ and permits the sale of the flesh of animals recently killed. He lays down that the flesh of those animals which had died a natural death, were killed outside the slaughter house, were giving out a foul smell or were devoid of head or bones should not be sold.¹⁹ He mentions a vendor of cooked meat and says that for dressing twenty *palas* of flesh, half a *kuḍuba* of oil, one *pala* of salt, two *dharāṇas* of pungent spices and half a *prastha* of curds are required.²⁰ Fish and seasoned meat were also in common use.²¹ Arrian's evidence shows that people in the hills were mostly non-vegetarians.²² Megasthenes states that Indian philosophers generally abstained from animal food.²³

Aśoka's edicts show that thousands of living creatures were killed for food in his kitchen before he issued his decree restricting the practice to two peacocks and one deer.²⁴ Animals were also killed in the *Samājas*.²⁵ From the *Mahābhāṣya* we learn that deer, especially the *Sāraṅga* variety, and sheep were killed in Patañjali's time for food and there were persons who were fond of flesh.²⁶ Flesh of deer cooked with rice and fish were eaten after removing scales and small bones.²⁷ It seems that meat having much fat was relished.²⁸ Flesh of village or town cocks and boars was generally avoided,²⁹ and it seems that the Brāhmaṇas considered it improper to sell flesh.³⁰

Sweets

Honey was in common use³¹ but the products of sugarcane such as inspissated juice of sugarcane, *guḍa*, raw, sugar, sugarcandy and refined sugar were quite popular.³² Even Megasthenes speaks very highly of Indian sugar.³³ Besides the old sweets such as *apūpa*, *śaṣkuli* and *pālala* Patañjali mentions *Modakas*.³⁴

Salts and Spices

Kauṭilya mentions a superintendent of salt³⁵ and six varieties of salt, rock salt from the Sindhu country, sea salt, *biḍa* salt, nitre, *sauvarcala* and *Udbhedaja*.³⁶ Pliny speaks very highly of Indian pepper. The black pepper was considered agreeable to the palate and the white one less pungent.³⁷ Other spices in common use were long pepper, ginger, cumin seeds, white mustard, coriander, cloves and turmeric.³⁸ Four kinds of cardamom white, reddish white, short and black mottled and friable are mentioned but the green variety was much esteemed.³⁹ Some other spices were also used.⁴⁰ Aristobulos states that spikenard, cinnamon and other aromatics were produced in India.⁴¹

Vinegar was prepared from sugarcane juice, *guḍa*, honey, inspissated juice of sugarcane, rose apple and jack fruit. A decoction of *meśaśṛṅgi* and pepper was poured into it. Fruits such as cucumber, pieces of sugarcane, mango and *āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan) were preserved in vinegar.⁴² Sour gruel was also used.⁴³

Oils and Oilseeds

The important oil seeds were sesamum, safflower, linseed and mustard.⁴⁴ The Greek writers state that oil was extracted from sesamum and exported from India.⁴⁵ From Kauṭilya we learn that besides clarified butter and oil animal fats such as scrum of flesh and pith were also used.⁴⁶ Sesamum oil was kept in wooden or earthen vessels and used in frying,⁴⁷ but other oils may also have been used in cooking.⁴⁸ From the *Mahābhāṣya* we infer that it was considered improper for a Brāhmaṇa to sell oil.⁴⁹

Fruits and Vegetables

From the Greek sources we learn that figs, grapes, banana and tamarind⁵⁰ were in

common use, but *Karamarda*, *Parūṣuka*, mango, emblic myrobalan, citrus medica, the three varieties of jujube, rose apple, cucumber, palm fruit and *rājādana*⁵¹ were also eaten. Mango gardens were planted by Aśoka himself.⁵² Patañjali mentions *bimba* (momordica monodelpha), pomegranates and grapes.⁵³ Some of these fruits may have been imported from neighbouring countries.

Among vegetables Kautilya refers to roots, fruits and tubers⁵⁴ as also fruits gathered from creepers.⁵⁵ The roots mentioned are *Pinḍālūka* and *Vajrakanda* (*Sūraṇa*).⁵⁶ Pot herbs are called *Śaka* or *Haritaka*.⁵⁷ Of the flowers *Kavidāra*, and of the beans pea were used as vegetables.⁵⁸ It appears from Patañjali that onions were mostly eaten by non-vegetarians⁵⁹ and sometimes used to flavour liquors.⁶⁰ He uses the word *Śakabhojin* i.e. a consumer of vegetables.⁶¹

Intoxicating Drinks

Megasthenes states that the Indians drank only at the religious ceremonies,⁶² but this does not seem to be the actual state of affairs in view of the account of Kautilya. There was a superintendent of liquors.⁶³ The liquors shops had many rooms provided with beds and seats and other comforts such as scents and garlands.⁶⁴ These shops were situated at stated intervals and liquor was sold to persons of well known character in small quantities.⁶⁵ Manufacture of wine was a state monopoly but on festive occasions the right of private manufacture of beer for four days was recognised on payment of licence fees.⁶⁶ Women were employed to remove the fermented drugs.⁶⁷ From Patañjali we learn that there were some people who could drink a complete jar of wine through a pipe made of reeds.⁶⁸ As stated above sometimes liquors were flavoured with the juice of onions.⁶⁹

According to Megasthenes rice beer was the common drink in India but Kautilya gives

a detailed account of the method and ingredients of various other intoxicating drinks. *Medaka*⁷⁰ and *Prasannā*⁷¹ were manufactured from rice. In an *Āsava* extract of *Kapittha* and inspissated juice of sugarcane were the principal ingredients,⁷² while *Ariṣṭa* was a tincture of medicines.⁷³ *Maireya* was a spiced liquor prepared from the bark of *meṣaśṛṅgi* (*gymnema sylvestre*) and was a favourite drink of the nobles.⁷⁴ Wines from grapes were in common use.⁷⁵ The two famous varieties *Kāpiśāyana* and *Hārahūraka* were imported from Afghanistan.⁷⁶ Kautilya mentions five varieties of *surā*, including *śvetasurā*, *bijottarā* and *sāmbhārikī*. In *Sahakārasurā* the juice of mango fruit and *rasottarā* treacle were the chief ingredients; the other three were spiced liquors.⁷⁷ Palm fruit was also used in preparing liquors according to Greek authorities.⁷⁸ Kautilya observed that the effects of drunkenness are loss of wealth, insanity, absence of consciousness, loss of knowledge, life, wealth and friends, desertion by virtues and suffering from pain.⁷⁹ It appears from the *Mahābhāṣya* that there was a belief among the Indians that a Brāhmaṇa woman who indulged in drinking would be deprived of her husband's company in the next world.⁸⁰

Other Beverages

Other beverages were curds, buttermilk, sour gruel, fruit juices and a syrup prepared from molasses.⁸¹ Aśoka also realised the importance of providing drinking water to his people so he had wells dug at short intervals.⁸²

The Art of Cooking and Utensils

The culinary art was so well developed that Kautilya could specify the quantities of grain which remained after pounding, cleaning, rubbing between stones, grinding and roasting.⁸³ He also states the increase in different grains after cooking and the quantity

of oil which one could get from different oil seeds.⁸⁴ He mentions the quantity of spices and fats required for cooking meat and states that half that quantity if required for cooking pot herbs and double that quantity for cooking dry vegetables.⁸⁵ Grains, moistened and soaked to sprouting condition, are also mentioned. There were cooks expert in cooking vegetables and pulses, in boiling rice, in preparing cakes and shopkeepers who especially sold cooked meat.⁸⁶

Kautilya lays down that the kitchen should be in a safe place and the superintendent of the kitchen should taste every preparation before it is served.⁸⁷ He also mentions the symptoms of poisoned food articles.⁸⁸ The common kitchen implements in use were a weighing balance, weights, grinding stones, mortar and pestle, a winnowing basket, a sieve, a broom, a basket and a small box for spices, etc. The contrivances for pounding rice and splitting pulses had also come into use.⁸⁹

Strabo mentions that copper vessels were most common and the brazen ones were avoided on account of their supposed brittleness.⁹⁰ The common utensils were water jars, water pots, jars for storing grains, cooking pots, bowls, dishes and cups.⁹¹ Bronze vessels were also in use.⁹² Bowls, plates and water-vessels are depicted in Bhārhut sculptures.⁹³

Rules of Diet and Etiquette

The duty of extending hospitality to guests and making offerings of food to gods and forefathers was considered so important that even a book on polity like the Arthaśāstra lays it down among the duties of a householder and a hermit.⁹⁴ Food was also set apart for servants and birds etc., before the householder took his meals.⁹⁵

From the Mahābhāṣya it appears that the Śakas and Yavanas were allowed to take their

meals in the utensils of the three high castes without making them permanently unclean.⁹⁶ A student and a hermit were expected to live on alms, while a forester lived on the roots, fruits and tubers gathered from the forest.⁹⁷ Strabo says that the students avoided meat diet while the householders did not eat the flesh of animals employed in labour. They also abstained from hot and highly seasoned food.⁹⁸ The Brāhmaṇas, well-versed in the Vedas, and the hermits were allowed to take fruits which had fallen themselves and the gleanings of corn.⁹⁹

From the account of Megasthenes we learn that when an Indian was at supper a table was placed before him. On this table a golden bowl was placed in which boiled rice and other dainties were served.¹⁰⁰ This account, no doubt, refers to the rich at whose residences vessels of gold were used daily. The Mahābhāṣya states that all those who took their meals in standing posture were regarded as *Abrāhmaṇa* (not fulfilling the duties of a Brāhmaṇa).¹⁰¹ Dinner etiquette required that the servers should not partake of the meals while the guests were eating.¹⁰²

The meal of a gentleman, according to Kautilya, consisted of one *prastha* of pure unbroken rice, one fourth of a *prastha* of pulses, one sixty-fourth part of a *prastha* of salt and one sixteenth part of a *prastha* of clarified butter or oil. For menial-servants the quantity of pulses prescribed is one sixth of a *prastha* and the quantity of oil or clarified butter half of that prescribed for a gentleman. He lays down that women should be provided with three fourths of the above quantities and children only half of what is prescribed for a gentleman.¹⁰³ Bran was given to blacksmiths and labourers and broken pieces of rice to slaves, servants and cooks who cooked soups, rice and cakes.¹⁰⁴ The rice used by the king was so highly polished that only five parts of

polished rice were considered edible by the king out of twenty parts of unhusked rice.¹⁰⁵

Greek writers attribute the good health of Indians to the simplicity of their food and abstinence from wine.¹⁰⁶ They state that the physicians lived frugally on rice and meal which were freely supplied by the masses.¹⁰⁷

The Mahābhāṣya gives two words for invitation, *Nimantraṇa* and *Āmantraṇa*. The former was an invitation to take food at sacrifices or a *śrāddha*, the acceptance of which was obligatory. If rejected, without a proper cause, it involved a sin. The latter was a friendly invitation and could be rejected freely.¹⁰⁸ Invitations were generally extended to members of one's own caste.¹⁰⁹ There were some Brāhmaṇas who did not accept invitation to obsequial dinners.¹¹⁰ In certain feasts, only one food preparation was served; for example only *Vaṭakas* were served on a particular full moonday.¹¹¹ In Patañjali's time, boiled rice was considered a decent dish to feast Brāhmaṇas and friends.¹¹² There were some persons who ate only rice¹¹³ while in the Śālva country (Alwar-Bikaner region) people were fond of *Yavāgū*.¹¹⁴

To conclude, we may note some new features in the food habits during this period. Only two crops are mentioned in the Sūtras but Kauṭilya mentions a third one, manily consisting of pulses. Some new cereals such as *dāraka* and *varaka* were used and wheat became more popular. To the pulses pea and *rājamāṣa* seem to have been the new additions. Some new vegetables such as *sūraṇa* and *kovidāra* flowers and fruits such as pomegranates and grapes were used. For seasoning, some new spices—corriander, cardamom and cloves—were used but oil was still considered exotic as its sale by Brāhmaṇas is interdicted. Onions were mostly used by non-vegetarians. People in the hills, as stated above, were mostly non-vegetarians. Perhaps there was now a much greater variety

of intoxicating drinks and some people took food in a standing posture probably as a result of contact with the foreign elements which had entered India during the period.

SECTION 2 (THE EPICS AND THE MANUSMṚTI)

There is wide divergence of opinion among scholars about the date of the epics. Dr. Winternitz, for instance, says, "The Mahābhārata cannot have received the present form earlier than fourth century B.C. and later than fourth century A.D."¹¹⁵ But no student of the social aspects of ancient history can afford to neglect the vast material provided by the two epics. Hence, it is proposed to study the conditions relating to food habits in this period in a separate section. A word may also be said for the inclusion of Manusmṛti material in this section. Dr. V.S. Sukthankar, as a result of his research, had come to the conclusion that most probably the credit of shaping the Mahābhārata into the present form belongs to the Bhārgavas and according to a tradition the Manusmṛti is the ancient code of Manu as communicated to mankind by Bhṛgu. It is also recognized that there is an intimate connection between the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti. The opinions of Manu have been frequently cited in the Mahābhārata. All this evidence points to the conclusion that the Mahābhārata in its present form, with all the didactic material in the Śānti and the Anuśāśana Parvas, and the Manusmṛti may be regarded as contemporary works.¹¹⁶

Cereals and Pulses

In the epics, food has been classified into four varieties, hard food, soft food, preparations which are sucked and food stuffs which could be licked such as honey.¹¹⁷ Rice appears to be the staple foodgrain in Ayodhyā as well as in the land of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas.¹¹⁸ Of the rice preparations, parched

rice, boiled rice, milk rice, *Kṛsara* and *Śaṣkuli* were the most common.¹¹⁹ Of the barley preparations, groats, *Yavāgū*, *Dhānāḥ*, *Yāvaka* and *Apūpas* continued to be popular.¹²⁰ *Vāṭya* was a gruel prepared with parched barley.¹²¹ Wheat preparations were not so common.¹²²

Some inferior grains such as *Kodrava* were probably eaten by the poor.¹²³ Of the pulses besides *Māṣa* and *Mudga*, *Kulattha* (horsegram) and (*Chaṇaka*) gram had come into use.¹²⁴ The *Rāmāyaṇa* also mentions a foodgrain called *Bhadraka*; probably it is an inferior grain known as *Bhadain* near Banaras.¹²⁵ *Kulmāṣa*, besides wild rice and broken pieces of rice, was the food of the poor and the ascetics.¹²⁶

Dairy Products

Besides foodgrains milk formed an important item of food.¹²⁷ The *Brāhmaṇas* were not allowed to drink milk of sheep, mare, asses, camels, deer, women and a cow which had recently calved.¹²⁸ Milk rice continued to be a favourite preparation. Honey was used to sweeten it and clarified butter, to make it more tasteful.¹²⁹ Curds¹³⁰ and *Rasālā*, the fine sweet preparation from them, were very popular.¹³¹ Buttermilk and clarified butter were also in common use.¹³² *Manu* lays down that curds and its preparations could be eaten even if they had turned sour.¹³³

Meat Diet

The *Kṣatriyas* generally took the meat of animals which they killed in hunting.¹³⁴ *Rāma* and *Bharata* are said to have taken the meat of various kinds of deer in the forest.¹³⁵ Meat cooked with rice was probably the favourite dish of *Sitā*.¹³⁶ Birds and fish were also eaten.¹³⁷ The food of the *Pāṇḍavas* in the *Kāmyaka* forest consisted of many kinds of deer.¹³⁸ The *Kṣatriyas* were not always in a position to offer it to gods so even unsanctified meat was allowed to them.¹³⁹ *Duryodhana* also

used to eat rice cooked with flesh.¹⁴⁰ *Damayantī* asked her maideservant to bring meat prepared by her husband.¹⁴¹ At the time of marriages many animals were killed and eaten.¹⁴²

As for *Brāhmaṇas* we know that many animals were killed at the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice of *Yudhiṣṭhira*.¹⁴³ In the palace of *Rantideva*, it is said, two thousand animals were killed every day and the meat was distributed probably to the *Brāhmaṇas*.¹⁴⁴ The *Pāṇḍavas* offered the meat of animals to *Brāhmaṇas*.¹⁴⁵ On the occasion of a *Śrāddha* *Brāhmaṇas* were generally fed with meat diet.¹⁴⁶ All this shows that a considerable section of this community had no objection to taking non-vegetarian diet. People belonging to other castes as well used meat for it is said to be the food of the rich. The shop of a meat vendor was crowded by a number of purchasers.¹⁴⁷ But persons observing a vow generally avoided meat diet.¹⁴⁸

Some other people, who were outside the *Aryan* influence, were very fond of meat preparations. They indulged in unrestricted use of them. We read of so many non-vegetarian dishes in the kitchen of *Rāvaṇa* while *Hiḍimba* relished human flesh.¹⁴⁹

Besides meat roasted on spits, sometimes whole animals were roasted on live charcoals.¹⁵⁰ Meat soup was very popular.¹⁵¹ Sometimes it was prepared with the addition of curds and salt.¹⁵² Meat cooked with rice was a favourite dish of some people.¹⁵³ Seasoned meat was also taken. *Guha* offered it to *Bharat*; but its daily use is not recommended.¹⁵⁴

The notion of clean and unclean meat was fully developed in this period.¹⁵⁵ The three upper classes are allowed only clean meat. The flesh of porcupine, hare and tortoise was considered clean.¹⁵⁶ *Brāhmaṇas* are advised to avoid the flesh of many unclean animals.¹⁵⁷

Those who took beef or flesh of dogs were looked down upon in society.¹⁵⁸ Even dealing in meat is considered improper.¹⁵⁹ Some Brāhmaṇas completely avoided meat diet while others took only dedicated meat.¹⁶⁰ But to save life, use of even unclean meat was permitted.¹⁶¹ In some verses of the Mahābhārata it is laid down that animals should be killed only for sacrifices.¹⁶² But later it is said that animals should not be killed even in sacrifices and only food grains should be offered instead.¹⁶³ Now the ideal was that all those who wish to lead a virtuous life should avoid meat diet.¹⁶⁴

In the Manusmṛti we find three views about the use of meat. In some of its portions we find a conditional permission for the use of meat. It could be consumed when the animal was killed for Brāhmaṇas.¹⁶⁵ Animal food was to be used also in *madhuparka*, sacrifices, Śrāddhas and worshipping gods.¹⁶⁶ In the Śrāddhas specially, the use of meat seems to have been common for we are given various periods upto which the fore-fathers remain satisfied with fish and the flesh of goats, gazelles, kids, spotted deer, black antelope, *ruru* deer, boars, buffaloes, hares, tortoises, *vārdhrīṇasa*, rhinoceros and birds.¹⁶⁷ But, as in the Aśokan edicts, there is a list of animals and birds whose flesh was to be avoided.¹⁶⁸ Students were generally not allowed meat diet.¹⁶⁹ Then there are portions of the Manusmṛti in which meat eating is completely prohibited as it involved killing of animals.¹⁷⁰ Meat is called the diet of Rākṣasas.¹⁷¹ The third view in the Manusmṛti strikes a compromise between the two extremes for we are told that meat eating is a natural craving of men but its avoidance brings great merit.¹⁷² According to Buhler the rules against the use of meat diet are a later interpolation but it would be perhaps more proper to say that these new rules came in imperceptibly with the change in the outlook of the people as a

result of the teachings of the Buddha, Mahāvīra and perhaps also Aśoka.

Honey and Sweets

Honey continued to be used especially with parched rice.¹⁷³ But its daily use is interdicted.¹⁷⁴ Sugarcane was used in making *guḍa* which was used in preparation of many sweets.¹⁷⁵ Another product of sugarcane juice in common use was sugar both clarified and raw.¹⁷⁶ Common sweets were *apūpa*, *pāyasa* (milkrice), *saṁyāva*, *kṛsara*, *madhulājāḥ* and *modakas* (sweet balls).¹⁷⁷ Some good quality sweets are called *Khāṇḍava* and *Uccāvacabhakṣya* in the epics.¹⁷⁸

Spices and Condiments

It appears that besides ordinary salt, *sauvarcala*, *viḍa* and black salt were in common use, but the use of *viḍa* and black salt was interdicted in a Śrāddha.¹⁷⁹ It is laid down that a Brāhmaṇa should not deal in salt¹⁸⁰ and people should avoid eating salt in the palms of their hands or at night.¹⁸¹ Other articles used for seasoning food were pepper, cumin, asafoetida, aloes, nutmeg and probably also coriander, mustard and ginger.¹⁸² They were also used in preparing a stuffing (*vesavāra*).¹⁸³ It appears that two condiments, *Sūpa*, and *Niṣṭhāna*, which were prepared with fruit juices, were very much liked in Ayodhyā.¹⁸⁴

Oilseeds and Oils

Sesamum continued to be used as an offering to the fore-fathers¹⁸⁵ and for extracting oil, which was used for frying food articles by poor people.¹⁸⁶ Oilcake was used as an article of food by the ascetics.¹⁸⁷

Fruits and Vegetables

From the epics we know that hermits generally lived on fruits, roots and tubers.¹⁸⁸

The fruits in common use in the forests were jujube, *kāsmārya*, *īṅguda* (*Terminalia catappa*), *bhallātaka* (marking nut), *plakṣa*, *aśvattha* and *pīlu*.¹⁸⁹ In the cities such as Ayodhya, *bilva*, *kapittha*, bread fruit, citrus fruit, emblic myrobalan, plantain, rose apple, pomegranate and mango were used.¹⁹⁰ As stated earlier some of these fruits were used in preparing condiments.¹⁹¹ Stalks and roots of lotus¹⁹² were used as vegetables with other vegetables such as long bottle gourd and *kovidāra*.¹⁹³ From the *Mahābhārata* it appears that garlic, onions and mushrooms were not eaten by respectable persons.¹⁹⁴ It lays down that a man desirous of glory should not eat the fruits of a fig tree, *pippala*, *vaṭa* and *udumbara* trees and the leaves of hemp.¹⁹⁵ The use of long bottle gourd, *Kālaśāka*, *Śleṣmātaka*, *sudarśana*, leaves of bamboo or *karīra* is interdicted in a *Śrāddha*.¹⁹⁶

Intoxicating Drinks

From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we learn that drinking was common in Ayodhyā. After the departure of Rāma, the city has been compared to a tavern deserted by drunkards.¹⁹⁷ The same inference can be deduced from the remark of Bharata on the absence of aroma of *Vāruṇī* after the death of Daśartha.¹⁹⁸ *Sītā* herself enjoyed *Maireyaka* variety of wine¹⁹⁹ and promised to worship the river goddess with a thousand pitchers of wine.²⁰⁰ The non-Aryan tribes of the *Rākṣasas*²⁰¹ and the *Vānaras* were, no doubt, addicted to drinking. The conditions described in the *Mahābhārata* are worse.²⁰² *Kṛṣṇa* is said to have enjoyed drinking freely with *Arjuna*.²⁰³ We are told that the *Yādavas* were killed in a drinking brawl.²⁰⁴ The *Aśvamedha* sacrifice of *Yudhiṣṭhira* has been compared to a sea of liquor.²⁰⁵ Virtuous ladies like *Sudeṣṇā* drank wine.²⁰⁶ Some of them drank so hard that they could not walk straight.²⁰⁷

But even the *Kṣatriyas*, who were so much addicted to drinking, regarded it as an evil. Daśaratha tells *Kaikeyī* that if he banished Rāma, people would look down upon him as they look down upon a *Brāhmaṇa* who was addicted to drinking.²⁰⁸ Bharata also considers it a sin.²⁰⁹ Even dealing in liquor is considered improper for *Brāhmaṇas*.²¹⁰ Drinking is frequently condemned²¹¹ and those who were accustomed to drinking liquor prepared from molasses were looked down upon in society.²¹²

The *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions two varieties of *Surā*, ordinary and the fermented one.²¹³ *Kilāla*²¹⁴ was also used in this period, but *Maireya* seems to be the most popular drink. It was the favourite drink of *Sītā* and was served to guests at a wedding,²¹⁵ and by sage *Bhāradvāja* to the party of Bharata. *Vāruṇī* was prepared from the juice of palm fruits and dates and was a common drink in Ayodhyā, as Bharata was surprised to find the city without its aroma after the departure of Rāma to the forest.²¹⁶ It was a very strong drink as it brought about unconsciousness as soon as it was drunk.²¹⁷ *Āsava* was another intoxicating drink in which the main ingredients were *Kapittha* (*Feronia elephantum*), five hundred *palas* of *phāṇita* and one *prastha* of honey.²¹⁸ Four varieties of *āsavas* are mentioned—one prepared from flowers, the second from fruits, the third from honey and the fourth from sugar.²¹⁹ An *āsava* in which *surā* was used in place of water was called *Surāsava*.²²⁰ The main ingredients of *Prasannā*²²¹ variety are twelve *ādhakas* of flour, five *prasthas* of ferment with some spices and bark and fruit of *Putraka*. *Divyā* was prepared from the bark of *Kadamba* trees.²²² *Sīdhu*, which was the daily drink of the non-Aryans, was distilled from the juice of sugarcane and *dhātaki* flowers.²²³ Another strong drink was prepared with *Madhūka* flowers.²²⁴

Other Beverages

In the Mahābhārata water is considered to be the best of beverages.²²⁵ Drinking water was brought from some natural sources such as water falls, springs or rivers.²²⁶ It was also brought from artificial sources such as wells, reservoirs and tanks.²²⁷ Water, which had the fragrance of lotus of rivers and was clear, cool, health giving and shining like silver was considered good for drinking.²²⁸ It is laid down that one desirous of lustre should not drink water at night.²²⁹ Besides water many other beverages were prepared at the time of feasts. Some of them were prepared from foodgrains or flour.²³⁰ Sometimes fruit juices were used as syrups.²³¹ A preparation of juices from fruits such as pomegranates and raisins was called *rāga* if it was liquid in form, and *ṣāḍava* if the juices were reduced to a thick consistency.²³²

The Art of Cooking and Utensils

From the epics we learn that food was cooked in kitchens by efficient cooks expert in cooking different dishes and was served by waiters, who were well dressed.²³³ The preparations of *Śaṣkuli*, *rasālā*, *rāga* and *ṣāḍava* show a high stage of development in the art of cooking.²³⁴ Lakṣmaṇa used to cook food for Rāma and Sītā in the forest.²³⁵ Royal princes like Bhīma and Nala had attained great skill in the art of cooking. Nala could prepare fine dishes in no time.²³⁶ Meat was also dressed in various ways.²³⁷

The rich generally used utensils of gold, silver or precious stones while the middle class used utensils of other metals and the poor used utensils of clay or leaves.²³⁸ The common utensils were water jars, dishes, pans, pitchers, drinking cups, cooking pots and boilers.²³⁹ Manu prescribes that utensils of stone should be cleaned with ashes, of gold and silver only with water, of other metals with alkaline substances. Wooden implements were cleaned

with warm water and earthenware with another burning.²⁴⁰

Rules of Diet and Etiquette

Great importance was attached to the fulfilment of the duty of hospitality in the epics.²⁴¹ A Brāhmaṇa, who maintained himself on gleanings of corn, starves himself to death to feed a guest.²⁴² In the Rāmāyaṇa even the hermits extend hospitality to Rāma and Bharata wherever they went.²⁴³ Manu goes to the extent of saying that if a Brāhmaṇa stays unhonoured in one's house he takes away all his merit, however self sacrificing he may have been.²⁴⁴ According to him one who cooks for himself is a sinner.²⁴⁵

Besides feeding guests a householder was expected to make some offerings to gods and Brāhmaṇas before he took his meals. Rāma and Sītā both observed this rule in the forest.²⁴⁶ He was enjoined to feed children, old men, servants, newly married girls, maidens, sick persons and pregnant women before he took his meals.²⁴⁷ He should also set apart some food for dogs, outcasts, Cāṇḍālas, persons afflicted with infectious diseases, birds and insects.²⁴⁸ Ancient Indians always washed their hands, feet and mouth before they took their meals. They also sipped water before and after taking their meals.²⁴⁹ It was considered improper to consume the leavings of any person especially liquid foods such as water, milk rice, groats, curds, clarified butter and honey.²⁵⁰

It is laid down that a man should not eat the leavings of women and Śūdras, and also what is eaten by a cat, a crow, a mouse, a dog, an ichneumon, or food into which a hair or an insect has fallen.²⁵¹ The Mahābhārata gives a long list of those persons whose food should be avoided. The list includes a backbiter, a dealer in soma, an acrobat, one who is ungrateful, a potter, a fisherman, an actor, a

goldsmith, a musician, a dealer in arms, a hunter, a dealer in liquors, a washerman, a cruel person, a barber, a physician, a woman who has a second husband, a prostitute and a harlot.²⁵² Manus also lays down that a student, who has completed his Vedic studies, should never eat food given by intoxicated, angry or sick men nor what has been touched intentionally with the foot. He should also avoid food which is given without due respect or that which contains unsanctified meat or the food of an enemy or that given by the lord of a town or that on which anybody has sneezed. But roots and fruits could be accepted from persons of any caste.²⁵³ Food kept overnight or which has turned sour was to be avoided but any preparations of clarified butter and the remnants of sacrificial offering could be taken even if they were kept overnight.²⁵⁴

Food was always eaten with respect and in a happy mood. It was believed that food taken in a happy mood made a man strong. It was laid down that a man should on no account drop a tear, become angry or utter an untruth, nor should he revile food served to him.²⁵⁵

People generally took breakfast in the morning, lunch in the afternoon and dinner at sunset.²⁵⁶ It was considered improper to take any food between the two principal meals.²⁵⁷ Manus lays down that one should not take food while walking nor should it be taken very early in the morning nor very late in the evening.²⁵⁸ One should avoid overeating because it destroys health and bars heaven.²⁵⁹

A student was advised to subsist on alms and to abstain from honey, meat, flavours and all fermented acids.²⁶⁰ The ascetics generally lived on broken pieces of rice, *Kulmāṣa*, oil cake, leaves, barley gruel, groats, roots and fruits or gleanings of corn. The fruits which the foresters used were those which fell from the trees without being plucked.²⁶¹ They were expected to be moderate in food and to eat

only as much as is necessary to maintain life.²⁶²

The general rules of etiquette were that a person should have at least two garments when taking his meals²⁶³, and should not have his head dress and shoes on.²⁶⁴ He should face the east for it was believed that the practice tends to long life.²⁶⁵ He should eat in privacy and silently without making any sound while eating. He should take his meals in a sitting posture and not while walking.²⁶⁶ He should not take food placing it in his lap nor should he be too eager to eat.²⁶⁷ In a party the etiquette demanded that the same dishes should be served to all.²⁶⁸ It was considered improper to eat sweet dishes without sharing them with others.²⁶⁹ Women generally took their meals after their husbands had done so.²⁷⁰ Eating from the same dish with others was considered bad.²⁷¹

We came across almost the same taboos as in the Sūtras. Onions, garlic and all plants growing on an impure piece of land such as mushroom, *Bhūstrīṇa*, *Śigru* and *Śleṣmātaka* were avoided. It is laid down in the Mahābhārata that one desirous of prosperity should avoid the fruit of *Pippala*, *Vaṭa* and *Udumbara* and the leaves of hemp.²⁷² Preparations of sesamum were avoided after sunset.²⁷³

Feasts were generally given at the time of sacrifices. At such sacrifices Brāhmaṇas who sold meat were not invited.²⁷⁴ Generally three noble Brāhmaṇas were issued an invitation to a feast for the manes,²⁷⁵ one day before or on the actual day of the feast. All kinds of dainty dishes were served by waiters who were well dressed with ornaments.²⁷⁶ In the forest Rāma performed these rites by offering fruits such as *iṅguda*, jujube and *bilva*, but generally the food served to the Brāhmaṇas consisted of such stuffs as were eaten by hermits in the forest—milk, *soma* juice and meat which is not prepared with spices.²⁷⁷ It was generally

served hot and prepared with clarified butter.²⁷⁸ The Śaiva festival Samāja is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata. On such occasions, feasts accompanied by drinking were common.²⁷⁹ Some idea of the feasts in these days can be had from the description of the feasts which Vasiṣṭha and Bhāradvāja gave in honour of the visit of Viśvāmītra and Bharata respectively.²⁸⁰

The food of the rich generally consisted of meat preparations, of the middle class people of dairy products, and of the poor of food preparations cooked in oil.²⁸¹ People used to take with them some food when proceeding on a journey.²⁸² From the Sārasvata Upākhyāna in the Śālyaparva of the Mahābhārata we know that the Sārasvata Bhāhmanas had no objection to taking meat diet.²⁸³ The custom of betel chewing after meals is mentioned nowhere in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata probably because it had not yet become a part of the Aryan etiquette.

The inhabitants of the Vāhlika region did not observe all the rules about the purity of food. Their food habits have been condemned in the Karṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata. Their meal consisted of groats, fish, beef and liquor prepared from treacle. Other food articles which they used were parched barley, garlic, onions, cakes, meat of pigs, cocks, asses, camels and rams, and churned curds. They also took the milk of sheep, camels and asses and could take their meals with persons of all castes. They used wooden vessels and earthenware for taking food. Their women were addicted to drinking.²⁸⁴

We have already referred to the non-Aryan people, the Vānaras who subsisted on roots, fruits and tubers of the forest and the Rākṣasas whose meal mostly consisted of meat preparations and strong liquors. In the Rāmāyaṇa the description of Rāvaṇa's kitchen and in the Mahābhārata the account of Hidimba shows that these people were not

affected by the civilizing influence of the Aryans.²⁸⁵

To sum up, in the epics and the Manusmṛiti we have a society divided into three broad strata; the rich, the middle classes and the poor. The rich enjoyed many meat preparations and dainties. The food of the middle classes generally consisted of milk and articles cooked in clarified butter while the poor were satisfied with food articles cooked in oil. The jungle tribes such as the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas lived mainly on roots and fruit, and meat preparations respectively. With the passage of time a feeling of revulsion against meat diet was growing in the Aryan society and it was considered meritorious to live on vegetarian dishes alone. But in Punjab some people relished even beef. Drinking was common in Punjab and in southern India where Aryan influence had not yet fully penetrated. The list of those persons whose food should be avoided has been considerably increased probably to maintain the purity of race. The art of cooking was further developed on account of the keen interest taken by royal princes and grand feasts were more common on such occasions as marriages and sacrifices.

References

1. According to the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, a commentary on the Jñānaprasthāna of Kātyāyanīputra, the Rāmāyaṇa contained only 12,000 ślokas in the first century A.D. instead of the present version which has 24,000 ślokas.
2. Strabo. XV. Frag. C. 290.
3. Kaut. II. 24. 16-18.
4. Kaut. II. 24, McCrindle, p. 127.
5. *Dāraka* (*Paspalum Scrobiculatum*)—Kaut. II. 24.16.
Same as *Uddālaka* in *Caraka*.
Varaka—(*Phraseolus Trilobus*)—Kaut. II. 24.16.
6. *Hāyana*—Patañjali IV. 1.27, p. 223.3.
Saṣṭika—Ibid. IV. 1.93, p. 360. 30.
7. The old preparations mentioned are :—
Odana or *Bhakta*—Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 42, 17.

- III. 1.26, p. 33. 26, McCrindle, p. 74. Frag. 28.
Krsara—Kaut. II. 12. 5., Patañjali VIII. 3.59 p. 439.12.
- Śaṣkuli*—Patañjali I. 1.47 p. 116.23.
- Pūpa*—Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 38.5.
- Apūpa*—Ibid. I. 2.45. p. 217. 13.
- Piṣṭapiṇḍa*—Ibid. II. 1.57. p. 399. 24.
8. *Yava* (cultivated barley)—McCrindle, p. 127.
Yavānī (uncultivated barley)—McCrindle, p. 127., Patañjali IV. 1.49., p. 220.
9. *Siddhapiṣṭa* (Cakes)—Kaut. II. 15.41.
Yāvaka (a mess)—Kaut. II. 15.40.
Yavāgū (gruel)—Patañjali II. 1.36. p. 388. 25.
Saktu (groats)—Patañjali I. 1.57. p. 149. 11.
Yavāgū cooked with *Gavidhuka* Ibid. IV. 3. 136 p. 323.2.
Dadhisaaktu (curds with parched barley meal)—Patañjali I. 1.49 and I. 1.57.
10. McCrindle, p. 27, Kaut. II. 24.18.
11. The old pulses in common use were :—
Mudga—Kaut. II. 24.17.
Māśa—Kaut. II. 24.17.
Masūra—Kaut. II. 24.18.
Kulāttha—Kaut. II. 24.18.
Kalāya Sūpa—(a soup prepared from pea)—Patañjali. V. 1.19, p. 344.18.
Rājamāśa—Patañjali V. 1.20. p. 345. 25.
12. *Mahābhāṣya* I. 127.
Kulmāśa—Kaut. II. 15.
13. Kaut. II. 29.
14. Kaut. II. 29. 29-30.
15. Kaut. II. 29. 34-36.
16. *Dadhi* (curds) is mentioned by Kauṭilya among sour liquid substances (*dravāmlavarga*), Kaut. II. 12.5.
Mathitika—(one who sells churned curds)—Patañjali V. 3.83. p. 425. 18.
17. *Haiyamgavina* (butter prepared from yesterday's milk) Patañjali V. 2.23. p. 375.2, 375.5.
Udaśvit (buttermilk). Kaut. II. 29.25.
Kūrcikā (solid parts of inspissated milk). Kaut. II. 29.26.
Kilāta (inspissated milk) Kaut. II. 29. 27.
18. *Sūnādhyakṣa*—Kaut. II. 26.
19. Kaut. II. 26. 10-14.
20. *Pākvamāmsika* (cooked meat seller). Kaut. II. 33.9., Kaut. II. 15.66.
1 *Pala* - 25 rattis 1 *Dharaṇa* - 2½ rattis.
1 *Kuḍuba* - 22 tolās 1 *Prastha* - 29 tolas.
Kaut. II. 19. 32-36.
21. Kaut. II. 15.22.
Kauṭilya calls seasoned meat *Vallūra* Kaut. II. 4.35.
22. Indika XVI.
23. McCrindle, p. 99, Strabo XVI. 1.59.
24. Rock Edict. I, Pillar Edict, V.
Peacock was the only bird which is forbidden by the authors of Smṛtis but was eaten by Aśoka.
25. Kaut. (Mysore 1919), p. 45., Vinaya IV. 267, Mahāvastu. III. 57, 383.
Cf. Mbh. Virata. II. 7. XIII. 15-16.
26. Patañjali II. 3.1. p. 450-1., Ibid. IV. 2.60 p. 283-20., Ibid. II. 36, p. 437.21.
Māmsaśīla—Ibid. III. 2. 1. p. 95. 18.
27. Ibid. I. 2.39. p. 912.6.
28. Ibid. VIII. 4.16 p. 458. 12.
29. Ibid. I. 1.1., V. 16., Ibid. VII. 3.14., p. 320-22.
30. Kielhorn. I. 25.
31. Honey—Strabo. XV. 491, Patañjali I. 1.1., p. 18-19, Kauṭilya also mentions honey prepared from grapes :
Kaut. II. 15.17.
32. Sugarcane—
Aelian mentions reeds which yielded very sweet milk which did not require honey to be mixed with it.
McCrindle, p. 143.
Kaut. II. 15.24., Kaut. II. 15.15.
Phāṇita (inspissated juice of sugarcane)—Kaut. II. 15.15.
Guḍa (molasses)—Kaut. Ibid., Patañjali I. 4.49 p. 333.3.
Matsyaṇḍikā (sugar candy)—Kaut. Ibid.
Khaṇḍa (raw sugar)—Kaut. Ibid.
Sarkarā (granulated sugar)—Kaut. Ibid., Patañjali IV. 4.83. p. 334.11.
33. Pliny says that the Indian sugar was better than the Arabian sugar (McCrindle, p. 122). Megasthenes thought that the Indian sugar candy was better than that prepared from figs or honey. (Megasthenes X, Strabo XV. 703).
34. *Apūpa*—(sweet cakes)—See ref. 7 above
Śaṣkuli—(sweet cakes)—Ibid.
Pālala—A kind of sweet meat made of *guḍa*, sesamum and sugar, Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 38.6.
Modakas were generally prepared with wheat flour fried in ghee and mixed with sugar—Patañjali V. 1.119, p. 366. 9.

35. *Lavaṇādhyakṣa*—Kaut. II. 12. Clitarchus mentions salt mines in his account of India. McCrindle, p. 99.
36. Kaut. II. 15.16.
37. McCrindle, p. 121.
38. Kaut. II. 15.21.
Cloves are also mentioned by Pliny (McCrindle, p. 122).
39. McCrindle, p. 125.
40. *Coraka, Damanaka, Maruvaka, Śigru, Haritakī, Meṣaśṛṅga*.
41. McCrindle, p. 28.
42. Kaut. II. 15.
43. Kaut. II. 15.20.
44. Kaut. II. 15, II. 24.18.
45. McCrindle, p. 127, Strabo. XV. 491, Indika XV. C. 7.
46. Kaut. II. 15.14.
47. Kaut. II. 15.84.
48. Other substances from which oil was extracted were *nimba, kuśa, āmra, kapittha, madhūka, and Īṅgudī*. Kaut. II. 15. 49-51.
49. Mahābhāṣya Kielhorn (1892) I., p. 25.
50. McCrindle. p. 120. Strabo XV. 492.
51. Kaut. II. 15.19.
Jambū (rose apple), *panasa* (bread fruit), *ciddbhīṭa*, (cucumber), *urvāruka* (a kind of cucumber) are mentioned in Kaut. II. 15., Kaut. II. 12.9.
Tālaphala (palm fruit) Kaut. II. 12.2.
Rājādana Kaut. II. 17.4
Mṛdvikā (grapes) Kaut. II. 24.31.
Cūta (mango) Kaut. II. 12.2.
52. Pillar Edict. VII.
53. *Bimba* (momordica monodelpha)—Patañjali I. 1.58. p. 153.13.
Daḍima (pomegranate)—Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 38.5.
Mṛdvikā (grapes)—Patañjali VI. 3. 42, p. 158.16.
Kuvala (jujube)—Patañjali IV. 3.170, p. 323.5.
54. Kaut. II. 17.11., Kaut. II. 15.22.
55. Kaut. II. 24.31., Kaut. II. 22.4.
56. *Piṇḍāluka*—Kaut. II. 24.31.
Vajrakanda—Kaut. II. 12.9.
57. Kaut. II. 15.22, II. 22.4, II. 24.31.
58. *Kovidāra*—Kaut. II. 12.7.
Kalāya (Pea) Ibid.
59. Patañjali II. 2.36., p. 437.21.
60. Mahābhāṣya, p. 419.4.
61. Patañjali II. 1.69, p. 406.7.
62. McCrindle, p. 27, Strabo. XV. 709.
63. *Surādhyakṣa* II. 25. 1.
64. Kaut. II. 15.12.
65. Kaut. II. 25.
66. Kaut. II. 25.
67. Ibid.
68. The distilling apparatus resembled the trunk of an elephant, hence a distiller was called *Śuṇḍin* (Patañjali IV. 1.52. p. 246-26). *Ghaṭimdhama* and *Nāḍimdhama*—Patañjali III. 2.29, p. 102. 15-16.
69. Mahābhāṣya p. 419.4.
70. In preparing *Medaka* one *droṇa* of water, half an *āḍhaka* of rice and three *prasthas* of yeast cake were used. The ten ingredients mixed with it were *pāṭhā, lodhra, tejovatī, clavaluka, madhu* (honey), *madhūka, dūrvā, priyaṅgu, dāruharidrā*, black pepper and long pepper. Kaut. II. 25.7., Kaut. II. 25.25., Kaut. II. 25.27.
71. In the preparation of *Prasannā* 12 *āḍhakas* of rice flour, five *prasthas* of *Kiṇva* and some other spices were required.
Kaut. II. 25.18.
From Patañjali we know that it had often an oily substance.
Patañjali V. 3.66. p. 421.17.
72. In the manufacture of *āsava* hundred *palas* of the extract of *Kapittha*, 500 *palas* of inspissated juice of sugarcane and one *prastha* of honey were used.
Kaut. II. 25.19., Kaut. II. 25.29.
73. Kaut. II. 25.21.
74. *Maireya* was a decoction of the bark of *meṣaśṛṅgī* (*Gymnema sylvestre*), *guḍa*, powdered long pepper and black pepper or powder of *haritakī, āmalaka* and *vibhītaka* instead of long pepper. Kaut. II. 25.22.
75. Kaut. II. 25.24.
76. Kaut. II. 25.25.
77. *Surā*—Patañjali I. 2.62. p. 242.25.
Same spices were used in the manufacture of *śvetasurā* as are used in preparing *prasannā* variety.
78. McCrindle, p. 126, XIV. C. 16(19).
79. Kaut. VIII. 3.65.
80. Patañjali III. 2.8., p. 99.8.
81. *Dadhi* (curds)—Kaut. II. 15.20.
Dhānyāmla (sour gruel)—Kaut. II. 15.20.

- Guḍodaka* (syrup prepared from molasses)—
Patañjali I. 4.3. p. 310.14.
82. Pillar Edict VII. Rock Edict. II.
83. Kaut. II. 15.26.
84. Kaut. II. 15.27.48.
85. Kaut. II. 15. 68-69.
86. Kaut. II. 15.81.
पाक्वमांसिक, Ref. 20 above
87. Kaut. I. 21. 8-9.
88. Kaut. I. 21. 10-19.
89. Kaut. II. 15.82.
90. McCrindle.
91. Patañjali mentions the following utensils :
Ghaṭikā (a small water jar) I. 1.1. p. 7.13.
Kuṇḍikā (a water pot) I. 4.44. p. 102.12.
Kumbha (a water jar) I. 1.58. p. 153.1.
Kumbhī (a jar for storing grains) I. 3.7. p. 264-2.
Kuṇḍa (a bowl) I. 1.1. p. 38L 5.
*Sthālī** (a cooking pot) IV. 1.1. p. 194L. 17.
Ukhā (A boiler) IV. 1.6. p. 202L. 13.
Piṭhara (a pot pan) I. 4.101. p. 350L. 21.
Śarāva (a small dish) I. 1.72. p. 189. 24.
Tailaghaṭa (a jar for storing oil) II. 1.1. p. 364L. 18.
Charu IV. 2.7. p. 273.12.
**Sthālī* has all along been used in the sense of a cooking pot, hence *Sthālīpāka*, offerings cooked in a cooking pot. It does not mean a dish as explained by Dr. B.N. Puri (India in the Time of Patañjali, p. 100).
92. Patañjali VIII. 2.3. p. 388-12.
93. Cunningham Bhārhut Plate XXVIII Figs. 2. and 3, Plate XL Fig. 3.
94. Kaut. I. 3.9., Kaut. I. 3.11.
95. Kaut. I. 21.9.
96. Patañjali on Pāṇini II. 4.10.
Also see I.H.Q. Vol. XV No. 4, Dec. 1939.
Date of Patañjali Mahābhāṣya—D.C. Sircar.
97. Kaut. I. 3.10., Kaut. I. 3.12.
For a hermit see ref. 94 above
98. McCrindle, 'Ancient India', pp. 98 ff.
99. Kaut. II. 25.41.42.
100. McCrindle, p. 74. Frag. XXVIII.
101. Patañjali on II. 2.6.
102. Patañjali I. 1.2. p. 28L. 14.
103. Kaut. II. XV. 61.65.
20 rice grains - 1 *dharāṇa*
10 *dharāṇa* - 1 *pala* - 25 rattis
- 112 1/2 *palas* - 1 *parastha* - about 29 *tolas*.
104. Here the ideal laid down in the Smṛtis, that the same food should be served to the servants which the householder takes himself, is not adhered to. This statement of Kauṭilya possibly reflects the actual state of affairs. Kaut. II. 15. 80-81.
105. Kaut. II. 15.60.
106. Nearchus Frag. XV., Strabo XV E. 706.
107. Strabo Sec. LX.
108. Patañjali III. 1.161. p. 165 L1.13-15.
109. Patañjali VIII. 1.14. p. 370L. 19.
110. Patañjali III. 2.80. p. 109. L. 10.
111. Patañjali V. 2.82. p. 388. L. 20.
112. Patañjali on I. 1.72. and I. 1.82.
113. Patañjali on II. 3.70.
114. Patañjali on VII. 3.69.
115. Winternitz—H.I.L., p. 465.
116. Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata. Epic Studies VI. (Sukthanker Memorial Edition) 1944, pp. 334-335. Dr. Sukthanker puts the order of the composition as original Bhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata, pp. 336-337.
117. Rama. Ay. 91.20., Mbh. Adi. 222.19.
Mbh. Sabha. 8.6.
118. Rama. Bal. 5.17., Rama. Bal. 14-15., Rama. Bal. 53.3., Rama. Ay. 91.68., Mbh. Asv. 65.12.
119. *Lājā* (parched rice) Rama. Ay. 91.56., Mbh. Asv. 65.5.
Odana (boiled rice)—Rama. Bal. 53.3, Mbh. Asv. 65.12.
Pāyasa (milk rice)—Rama. Ay. 75.30, Mbh. Santi. 36.33.
Kṛsara—Rama. Ay. 75.30, Mbh. Santi. 36.33, Santi. (36.33 ASV 65.12)
Śaṣkuli—Mbh. Anu. 161.43.
120. *Yava* (barley)
Mbh. Van. 190.44.
Cf. Mbh. Anu. 88.3.
Yavāgū—Mbh. Santi. 193.22., Anu. 162.51.
Yāvaka—Mbh. Santi. 36.33, Anu. 161.43.
Apūpa—Mbh. Anu. 53.18.
Mbh. Santi. 36.33; Asv. 65.12.
Saktu—Mbh. Santi. 36.33.
Cf. Mbh. Santi. 215.22; Anu. 161.91.
Karambha—Mbh. Santi. 36.33.

121. *Dhānāḥ*—Mbh. Karṇa. 44.11., Mbh. Karṇa 44.11.
122. *Godhūma* (wheat)—Mbh. Van. 190.44.
123. Mbh. Anu. 91.38.
124. Rama. Ut. 91.20.
Sūpa (cooked pulses) Rama. Bal. 53.3.
Cf. Manu. III. 226.
125. Rama. Ay. 32.20.
126. Mbh. Santi. 215.22.
Cf. Mbh. Santi. 36.33.
127. Rama. Ay. 91.73 : Mbh. Anu. 136.9.
128. Mbh. Santi. 36.25.
Manu prohibits the use of milk of a cow whose milk was not allowed by the Sūtras, Manu. V. 6.9.
129. Rama. Bal. 16.15., Mbh. Asv. 65.4.
Mbh. Sabha. 4.2.
Cf. Rama. Ay. 75.30, 91.72, 91.69, Mbh. Anu. 136.49. Santi. 36.33.
130. Rama. Bal. 53.3., Rama. Ay. 3.16., Mbh. Anu. 136.9.
Rama. Ay. 91.73, Mbh. Anu. 161.99, Asv. 35.22.
131. Rama. Ay. 91.73., Mbh. Asv. 89.40., Vaijayanti.
132. In the Rama. Ay. 91.73. the word *Kapittha* is used for butter milk.
Sarpī, Mbh. Asv. 85.39.
Ājya—Mbh. Sabha. 4.2.
Rama. Ay. 3.16, Mbh. Anu. 136.4, Asv. 85.39.
133. Manu. V. 10.
Cf. Manu. II. 59, III. 226.
134. Mbh. Anu. 116.15., Rama. Ay. 18.37.40.
135. Rama. Ay. 52.102.
136. Rama. Ay. 52.89.
137. Rama. Aran. 73.12., Mbh. Śālyā. 51.39-40.
138. Mbh. Van. 50.7.
139. Mbh. Anu. 116.15, see ref. 134 above
140. Mbh. Sabha. 49.9.
141. Mbh. Van. 75.20.
142. Mbh. Virat. 72.28.
143. Mbh. Asv. 34.88., Mbh. Asv. 41.89.
144. Mbh. Van. 208.9.
145. Mbh. Van. 50.7. See ref. 138 above
146. Mbh. Anu. 18. 5-10.
147. Mbh. Udyoga. 49.34., Mbh. Van. 207. 10-11.
148. Rama. Sundara. 36.41., Rama. Ayo. 20.29.
149. Rama. Sundra. 11.11-18., Mbh. Adi. 152.15.
150. See ref. 131 above Rama. Aran. 73.12, Rama. Ay. 52.88.
151. Rama. Ay. 91.67., Rama. Ay. 91.71., Rama. Sundra. 11-14., Amara. Vaisya. 44.
152. Rama. Sund. 11.13. (see ref. 149 above).
153. See ref. f.n. 138 and above
154. Rama. Ay. 84.17., Mbh. Anu. 61.98.
155. Rama. Ay. 55.33., Rama. Ay. 91.2., Mbh. Anu. 111.14.
156. Rama. Kisk. 17.39.
157. Mbh. Santi. 36. 21-24.
158. Beef—Mbh. Karṇa. 44.11 See ref. 121 above, Rama. Bal. 59.19.
159. Rama. Ay. 75.38.
160. King Brahmadatta was cursed by a Brāhmaṇa for serving him food mixed with meat dishes.
Rama. Uttara. 59.
Mbh. Anu. 115.44.
161. Mb. Santi. 141.57., Mbh. Santi. 141.75.
Mbh. Santi. 141.97.
162. Mbh. Anu. 111.14 see 155 above.
163. Mbh. Santi. 337.5.
164. Mbh. Santi. 337.8.
165. Manu. V. 27.
166. Manu. V. 22, 23, 28, 31. 41-42.
167. Manu. III. 268-272.
168. Manu. V. 11.18.
169. Manu. XI. 158.
170. Manu. V. 48., Manu. V. 53.
171. Manu. V. 95.
172. Manu. V. 56.
173. Rama. Bal. 53.2., Mbh. Anu. 136.5.
See ref. 119 above
174. Mbh. Anu. 161.99.
175. *Ikṣu*—Rama. Bal. 53.2, Ay. 91.56. Mbh. Anu. 136.8., Rama. Bal. 53.4., Rama. Uttara. 92.12.
176. *Śarkarā*, Rama. Ay. 91.73.
177. *Apūpa*—See ref. 119 above.
Pāyasa—See ref. 119 above.
Saṁyāva—See ref. 119 above.
Kṛsara—See ref. 119 above.
Madhulājaḥ—*Ibid*.
Modaka—Rama. Yuddha. 131.38., Mbh. Anu. 53.18.
Rama. Bal. 10. 19-20.
Modakas were generally prepared with rice or wheat flour fried in clarified butter mixed with sugar, some aromatic spices and thin slices of the kernel of cocoanut.
178. Khāṇḍava Rama. Bal. 53.4., Mbh. Anu. 53.18., Mbh. Asv. 41.89.
Uccāvacabhakṣya—Rama Bal. 53.2, Ay. 61.14. Kisk. 33.7, 37.7, Sundara. 62.9.

179. *Sauvarcala*—Rama. Sundara. 11.13., Mbh. Anu. 91.41.
Cf. Mbh. Anu. 91.39.
180. Mbh. Santi. 78.4-5.
181. Mbh. Anu. 161.99.
182. Pepper (*marica*), Rama. Aranya. 35.22-23.
Cumin (*ajāji*)—Mbh. Anu. 91. 39-41.
Asafoetida (*Hiṅgu*) Mbh. Anu. 91.38.
Aloes (*aguru*)—Rama. Aranya. 25.22.
Puṁnāga (nāgakesara in Hindi) Rama. Uttara 42.33.
Nutmeg (*Jāti*) Rama. Aranya. 25.22.
183. Mbh. Anu. 53.17.
184. Rama. Ay. 91.67., Rama. Ay. 61.5.
185. Mbh. Vana. 190.44., Mbh. Anu. 66.7.
Cf. Mbh. Anu. 88.3, 68.18, 136.8, Santi. 345.16.
186. Mbh. Udyoga. 49.34.
187. Mbh. Santi. 215.22.
188. Rama. Ay. 20.29., Rama. Kisk. 17.25., Mbh. Asrama. 26.38.
189. Mbh. Anu. 53.19.
Mbh. Salya. 37.61-62.
Cf. Mbh. Vana. 178.8.
Kāśmārya, Rama. Ay. 94. 8-9.
Mbh. Anu. 53.19, Salya. 37. 61-62.
Īṅguda—Mbh. Salya 37. 61-62.
Vibhītaka—*Ibid*.
Plakṣa—Mbh. Salya. 37. 61-62.
Aśvattha—*Ibid*.
Pilu—*Ibid*.
Sṛṅgātaka—Mbh. Anu. 91.41.
190. *Bilva*—Rama. Ay. 91.30, 94.8, Mbh. Vana. 117.23, Salya 37.63, Vana. 117.23.
Kapittha—Rama. Ay. 91.30.
Panasa (bread fruit)—Rama. Ay. 91.30.
Bijapūraka (citrus fruit)—Rama Aranya 15.
Āmalaka (emblic myroblan)—Rama. Ay. 91.30.
Nārikela—Rama. Aranya. 35.
Kadalī—Plantain, Mbh. Salya. 37.64.
Rama. Kisk. 13, Mbh. Salya, 36.64, Rama. Aranya 1.2.
Jambū—(rose apple)—Rama. Ay. 94.8.
Rama. Ut. 42.5.
Cf. Mbh. Anu. 91.41.
Dāḍima (pomegranate)—Rama. Ut. 42.5.
Priyāla—Mbh. Van. 40. 2-5, Ram. Ay. 98.8.
Mango (*Cūta*)—Rama. Bal. V. 17., Rama. Ay. 91.30.
Āmrātaka—Mbh. Salya. 37.63.
Bhavya—Rama. Ay. 94. 8.
191. See. ref. 184 above
192. Mbh. Anu. 94. 7-8.
193. See ref. 196 above
194. *Palāṇḍu* (onions)—Mbh. Anu. 91.38.
Laśuna (garlic)—Mbh. Anu. 91.38, Karna. 44.17.
Gṛījāna (red garlic)—Mbh. Anu. 91.39.
195. Mbh. Anu. 161.97.
196. *Kūṣmāṇḍa* (pumpkin gourd) Mbh. Anu. 91.39.
Kālaśāka—Mbh. Anu. 88.10.
Śleṣmātaka—Rama. Bal. 14, Mbh. Van. 134. 28., Mbh. 91.39., Mbh. Anu. 91.42
Cf. Mbh. Anu. 91.41. See ref. 189 above.
197. Rama. Ay. 114.14.
198. Rama. Ay. 114.20.
199. Rama. Ut. 42.18.
200. Rama. Ay. 52.89., Rama. Ay. 50.20.
201. Rama. Sundara. 11. 22-23.
202. Rama. Kiskindha. 30.79, 33-39, 33.7.
203. Mbh. Udyoga. 59.5.
204. Mbh. Maus. 16.29.
205. Mbh. Asv. 89.39.
206. Mbh. Virat. 15.10.
207. Mbh. Adi. 222.21.
208. Rama. Ay.
209. Rama. Ay. 75.41.
210. Mbh. Santi. 78. 4-5.
211. Mbh. Santi. 165.10.
Mbh. Adi. 76. 67.
Cf. Mbh. Asv. 51.18, Santi. 165.10, 34.20.
212. Mbh. Karna. 44.11 See ref. 211 above., Manu. XI. 94.95.
213. *Surā*—Rama. Ay. 52. 89, 55.20, 91.21., Mbh. Maus, 16.29, Asv. 89.39, 51.18, Adi. 76.67, Santi. 78-4, 164, 34, Virat. 15.7.
Kṛta surā (fermented *surā*)—Rama. Sundara 11.-12., Rama. Sundara. 11.22-23.
Cream of *surā* is called *Madirā*. (Mbh. Santi. 24.20).
214. Mbh. Van. 257.17.
215. Mbh. Asrama, I. 21.
Cf. Rama. Ut. 42.18, Ay. 91.70, Mbh. Asv. 89.39, Virat, 72.28.
Rama. Bal. 53.2., Rama. Ay. 91.15. Vaijayantī.
216. *Rāmā* Ay. 114.20 See ref. 198 above
217. Rama. Yuddha. 34.8.
218. See Ch. V. Sec. 1, ref. 72 above.
219. *Puspāsava*—generally prepared from *Madhūka* flowers—Rama. Sund. 11.23, Mbh. Virat. 16.3. calls it *Mādhavi*. Mbh. Virat. 16.3.

- See ref. 213 above.
Phalāsava—It was generally prepared from dates—Rama. Sund. 11.23.
Mudhvāsava—It was prepared from honey. Rama. Sund. 11.23, Mbh. Udyoga. 59.5.
Śarkarāsava—It was prepared from red sugar. Rama. Sund. 11.23.
220. *Surāsava*—Mbh. Maus. 16.29 See ref. 204 above.
221. See Ref. 213 above.
 Rama. Sundara. 11.22-23, See Ch. V. Sec. 1, Ref. 71 above.
 Kaut. II. 25.18.
222. Rama. Sundara. 11.23.
223. Rama. Sundara. 11.26., Rama. Sundara. 11.32.
Gauḍyāsava (prepared from *guḍa*) is mentioned in the Mbh. Karna. 44.11.
224. See Ref. 219 above.
225. Mbh. Asv. 44.10.
226. Rama. Ay. 94.13.
227. Rama. Ay. 80.12., Mbh. Anu. 100.3.
228. Rama. Aranya. 73.17-18.
229. Mbh. Anu. 161.128.
230. Rama. Bal. 53.2., Mbh. Anu. 53.17., Rama. Ay. 91.78., Rama. Ay. 54.18., Mbh. Anu. 136.9.
231. Rama. Bal. 53.4., Rama. Ay. 91.67.
232. Rama. Sundara. 11.18., Mbh. Asv. 41.89., Govindaraja quotes 'Pradīpa' on Rama. Sundara. 11.18.
233. Mbh. Maus. 2., Mbh. Asr. 19.1., Rama. Bal. 14.18.
 Cf. Rama. Ay. 12.95, Ut. 92.6.
234. *Śaṣkūli*—See Ref. 119 above
Rasālā—See Ref. 131 above
Rāga—See Ref. 232 above
Śāḍava—*Ibid*.
235. Rama. Aranya. 73. 12-14.
236. Mbh. Virata. 10.17. Mbh. Vana. 75. 395.396.
237. See Ref. 151-155 above.
238. Rama. Ay. 91.72.
 Mbh. 85.30.
239. *Bhṛṅgāra* (water jar)—Mbh. Asv. 65.15.
Ghaṭa (water jar)—Mbh. Asv. 85.30.
Kumbha (a pitcher)—Rama. Ay. 91.72.
Lauhi (iron pans)—Rama. Ay. 91.69.
Pātri (a dish)—Rama. Ay. 91.71., Mbh. 85.30.
Kaṭāha (a frying pan)—Mbh. Asv. 65.15.
Piṭhara (a boiler)—Rama. Ay. 91.71.
Vardhamānaka—a kind of dish.
 See ref. 238 above. Mbh. Asv. 85.30.
- Cf. Mbh. Asv. 65.15.
Karambhi (a vessel for storing liquids)
 See ref. 238 above. Rama. Ay. 91.72.
Karaka (a water pot). Mbh. Asv. 65. 14-15.
Sihāli (a cooking pot) Mbh. Van. 263.24.
240. Manu. V. 111-115.
241. Manu. III. 105., Mbh. Anu. 161.102.
242. Mbh. Asv. 90.
243. Rama. Bal. 52 and 53. Ay. 91.
244. Manu. III. 100, 106.
245. Manu. III. 118.
246. Mbh. Van. 58.8.
 C.f. Rama. Ay. 59.36-37, Aranya. 56.23., Manu. III. 117.
247. Manu. III. 144., Mbh. Anu. 23.82.
 C.f. Manu. III. 105, 117, 119, 152.
248. Manu. III. 92.
249. Mbh. Santi. 193.6., Mbh. Anu. 161.67., Mbh. Anu. 161.59.
 Manu. IV. 76., Manu. II. 53.
 C.f. Manu. V. 138, II. 60.
250. Mbh. Anu. 161.104., Manu. II. 56.
251. Manu. XI. 152, XI. 160. Mbh. Anu. 198. 5,11., Manu. XI. 152.
252. Cf. Manu. IV. 207-222. XI. 95-96, II. 209.
 Mbh. Santi. 36. 26-31., Mbh. Anu. 23. 4-8.
253. Manu. V. 9, 10, 24, 25.
254. Manu. V. 24.
255. Manu. II. 54-55.
256. Rāmāyaṇa. Aranya. 56.25, Sund. 22.9, Sundara. 11.
257. Manu. II. 6., Mbh. Santi. 193.9., Mbh. Santi. 221.10.
 Cf. Mbh. Anu. 161.100., Rama. Sundara. 22.9.
258. Manu. IV. 55., Manu. IV. 62.
259. Manu. II. 57.
260. Manu. II. 177.
261. Mbh. Santi. 215.21., Mbh. Vana. 260.3., Manu. VI. 21.
 Rama. Ay. 20.29, Ay. 28.12, Manu. III. 257.
262. Rama. VII. 9.39., Mbh. Asvamedha.
263. Mbh. Anu. 161.101.
 Mbh. Anu. 161. 71., Manu. IV. 45.
264. Manu. III. 238.
265. Mbh. Anu. 104.57, Manu. II. 52-53., Mbh. Anu. 161.6.
266. Mbh. Anu. 161.65., Mbh. Anu. 163.47.
267. Manu. IV. 63.
268. Mbh. Santi. 193.9., Mbh. Anu. 161.103., Mbh. Anu. 161.95.

269. Rama. Ay. 100.75.
Rama. Ay. 75.34.
Manu. III. 229.
270. Rama. Ay. 59. 36-37, Aranya. 56.28., Mbh. Vana. 58.8., Manu. IV. 43., Mbh. Anu. 161.94.
271. Manu. VI. 14., Manu. V. 5., Manu. V. 19., Manu. VI. 13.
272. Mbh. Anu. 161.97.
273. Manu. IV. 75.
274. Manu. III. 152.
275. Manu. III. 187.
276. Rama. Bal. 14.8., Rama. Ayo. 12.95., Rama. Utara. 92.6.
Cf. Rama. Ay. 12.85, Aranya. 56.24, Sundara. 22.9., Mbh. Mausala. 2.
Manu. III. 226., Manu. III. 227.
Cf. Rama. Bal. 53.1, 54.22, VII. 92.6, VII. 92.11.
277. Rama. Ay. 103.30.
278. Manu III. 257, 236., Manu. III. 236.
279. Hopkins-Epic Mythology, pp. 65.220.
280. Rama. Bal. 52 and 53, Ay. 91.
281. Mbh. Udyoga. 34.49.
282. Rama. Ay. 68.10.
283. Mbh. Salya. 51.
284. Mbh. Karna. 40. 27-28.
Mbh. Karna. 44. 11-37.
Churned curds (*Mathita*) and meat preparations are popular in the Punjab even to this day.
285. See ref. 149 above.

QUESTIONS

1. On the basis of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* and the edicts of Aśoka give a brief account of meat diet of India during the Maurya period.
2. Which important intoxicating drinks were consumed during the Maurya period and state how the state regulated the sale of liquor.
3. Give a brief account of the food of students, hermits and the Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Vedas, during the Maurya period.
4. What light do the *Manusmṛti* and the *Mahābhārata* throw on non-vegetarianism among the Brāhmaṇas during this period.
5. Discuss the evidence in support of the view that drinking was quite common among Indians when the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were compiled in their present form.
6. Mention the persons whose food should be avoided according to the *Mahābhārata* and state the possible reasons for this prohibition.
7. On the basis of the two epics and the *Manusmṛti* give a brief account of the food of the rich, the poor and the middle classes.
8. What light does the *Karna parva* of the *Mahābhārata* throw on the food habits of the residents of the Panjab during this period?

Chapter 6

Food and Drinks

(75 A.D. to 300 A.D.)

For the period 75 A.D. to 300 A.D. our principal sources of information are the medical treatises of Charaka and Suśruta. We may supplement their information by that provided by the two other medical works composed during our period, the *Saṁhitās* of Bhela and Kāśyapa. For the views of the society about inter dining and other rules of diet we have utilised the *Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra* and the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* which were, according to Dr. Kane, composed not later than 300 A.D.

According to the authors of the medical works it is food alone which sustains life. If proper food is taken it brings vitality, refreshes all the limbs, strengthens the sources of life, develops the faculties of memory and intelligence, increases the physical strength and makes the complexion clear. If proper diet is not taken the result is unhappiness.¹ Human body is made of five elements and food articles are also composed of five elements. If the food articles are properly digested, they nourish the respective elements in the body² and the three primary humours, wind, gall and mucus, are not disturbed. If it is not properly digested it deranges one or more of these humours and diseases are caused.³ They have, therefore, paid special attention to the topic of food and drinks and devoted special chapters to discuss the subject.

Food articles have been divided into four categories, beverages, food which does not require chewing, that which requires chewing and that which is taken by licking.⁴ All the food articles consist of six flavours, sweet,

acid, salt, pungent, astringent and bitter. All these flavours increase one or more of the three primary humours of the human body. A proper balance of these flavours keeps man free from all diseases and enables him to lead a happy and healthy life.⁵

Cereals and Pulses

Food grains have been divided into two kinds, those with awns and those having legumes.⁶ Of the first kind the most important was rice with its three main varieties—*Vrihi* ripening in autumn, *Śali* ripening in winter and *Ṣaṣṭika* ripening in sixty days in summer.⁷ The *Vrihi* variety was considered inferior to the other two varieties.⁸ The most popular varieties of *Śali* rice were *raktaśāli*, *mahāśāli* and *kalama*⁹ and of *Vrihi* rice, the black variety called *Kṛṣṇavrihi*.¹⁰ *Ṣaṣṭika* rice was considered very nourishing and its daily use is recommended.¹¹ Some inferior cereals such as *Koradūṣaka*, *Śyāmāka*, *Nivāra*, *Varaka* and *Priyaṁgu* were used by poor people and ascetics.¹² Two varieties of wheat *Madhulikā* and *Nandimukhi* have been mentioned by Suśruta in the list of inferior foodgrains, which shows that wheat had not till then reached its present prominent position.¹³ Barley continued to be the staple food grain besides rice.¹⁴ Many pulses were in use but the most popular were *Mudga*, *Āḍhaki* and *Masūra*.¹⁵ The medical works regard *Māṣa* as the worst pulse because it was difficult to digest.¹⁶ *Kulattha* is prescribed for a feeding mother with a view to increase her milk.¹⁷

Rice was washed and cooked in water or milk with fats, meat, fruits, tubers or pulses.¹⁸ Gruels were named according to the proportion of water they contained. They were either drunk or licked.¹⁹ One of the tasty soups was prepared with parched rice, long pepper, dry ginger and the juice of pomegranates.²⁰

All the old preparations of cereals such as groats, parched barley and rice, *Kulmāṣa*, *Śaṣkuli*, *Pṛthuka*, *Kṛsara* and *Apūpa* were in use.²¹ Groats were also eaten in the form of a paste.²² A new preparation of rice or wheat called *Viṣyanda* is mentioned in the *Suśruta*.²³ A cake of barley flour with a broad bottom and a pointed top with some marks in the middle was called *Svastika*.²⁴ Many sweet preparations were made from powdered wheat flour in this period.²⁵

Pulses such as *Mudga*, *Masūra*, gram and pea were parched and eaten,²⁶ besides being made into soups.²⁷ Beans of *Mudga* or gram when parched in fire were called *Ulumbāḥ*.²⁸ *Parpaṭas* were prepared with flour of pulses, as in the past.²⁹

Dairy Products

Milk was considered a complete diet and is recommended as a most nourishing food.³⁰ Unboiled milk was considered heavy while freshly milked warm milk was considered wholesome. Overboiled milk was considered difficult to digest.³¹ Milk of cows, buffaloes, goats, mares, sheep, elephants, dogs, camels and women was used.³² Milk of buffaloes was considered good for those whose digestive system was good.³³ Beastings were avoided for a few days. *Yājñavalkya* lays down that the milk of a cow in heat, not giving milk at proper time, without her young one or the milk of camels, one hoofed animals, women, animals living in a forest and of sheep should be avoided.³⁴ Milk and ghee of a cow were

considered the best and those of a sheep the worst.³⁵ Milk rice was popular as before.³⁶

The use of curds is not recommended in the autumn, the summer and the spring seasons.³⁷ Cream of milk and of curds, whey, fresh butter, clarified butter and butter milk were all used.³⁸ Milk not fully curdled was considered injurious to health. Beastings and the solid part of inspissated milk were considered heavy to digest.³⁹ Curds churned without water were also used.⁴⁰ Butter was taken out by churning milk as well as curds.⁴¹ Old clarified butter was considered a panacea while condensed upper part of clarified butter was considered good for health.⁴²

Curds were eaten with treacle⁴³ and sweets were prepared with inspissated milk.⁴⁴ Of the preparation of curds *rasālā* or *Śikhariṇī*⁴⁵ was the most popular, but there was another preparation of curds called *Sattaka*. In one variety of *Sattaka*, pieces of cloves and seeds of sour pomegranate were mixed with curds. Camphor was used to make it fragrant.⁴⁶

Meat Diet

Meat was considered a very nourishing diet.⁴⁷ It is prescribed for the weak, the convalescent and the people addicted to wine and women and for those doing excessive physical work.⁴⁸ Meat of goats, *Rohita* fish, tortoises, deer, parrots, quails, partridges, hares, peacocks and alligators was considered good for food.⁴⁹ Other animals whose flesh was eaten were sheep, geese, cocks, porcupines, pigeons, cows, jackals, fish and some birds.⁵⁰

For those whose digestive system was good or who took physical exercise daily the flesh of creatures which dart suddenly on their prey, living in holes underground, in marshy places, in water or walking in water was regarded as suitable.⁵¹ As the digestive system is generally in good order in winter the flesh of these

animals is also recommended for the winter season.⁵²

Dried or putrid flesh as well as the flesh of those animals which were diseased, old, ematiated or poisonous, of those bitten by snakes, of tender in age, of those fed on unnatural food and of those struck with a poisoned dart was avoided.⁵³

Meat soup, prepared with *viḍa* salt, cumin and asafoetida was considered a pleasant tonic.⁵⁴ Flesh was also cooked with fats, curds and sour gruel mixed with some aromatic spices.⁵⁵ Sometimes it was cooked in an oven (*Kandū*) with the powder of black mustard and some fragrant substances.⁵⁶ Boneless flesh was boiled, and ground on a piece of stone to make a stuffing. Some aromatic spices such as long pepper, black pepper and ginger, *guḍa* and clarified butter were also added to it before use.⁵⁷ Two varieties of stuffing (*veśavāra*); one sweet and the other saltish are mentioned.⁵⁸ Seasoned meat, minced meat, meat roasted on spits or charcoal, fried in oil or clarified butter was relished.⁵⁹ But daily use of seasoned meat is not recommended.⁶⁰ Meat was also cooked with rice, fruits and vegetables.⁶¹ An omelet made of clarified butter, rice flour and eggs of crocodile was used by those addicted to excessive sexual indulgence.⁶² Just as in Manu, Yājñavalkya recommends meat diet for maintenance of life and on the occasion of sacrifices for gods or manes.⁶³

Honey and Sweets

Honey continued to be widely used and eight varieties of honey are mentioned in the medical works.⁶⁴ Of these the variety collected by small bees (*māḁṣika*) was considered the best and that by big black bees (*bhrāmara*) was considered heavy to digest.⁶⁵ The use of honey was considered particularly useful in the rainy season.⁶⁶

Many varieties of sugarcane are mentioned.⁶⁷ Of these the thin reed variety called *Vamśaka* was considered the best while that grown in northern Bengal, called *Paundra*, the next best.⁶⁸ The juice of sugarcane extracted by a machine was not considered good.⁶⁹ All the products of sugarcane, *phāṇita* (inspissated juice of sugarcane), *guḍa*, red sugar, unrefined white sugar, crystal sugar and sugarcandy were widely used.⁷⁰ It was believed that these products became cooler and sweeter as their whiteness increased as a result of purifying but became more and more difficult to digest.⁷¹ Sugar was also prepared with honey, *madhūka* flowers and a grass called *Yavāsa*.⁷² *Matsyaṇḁikā* was a variety of sugarcandy, the crystals of which were globular in shape like the eggs of a fish.⁷³

Sweets were prepared with wheat flour, milk and inspissated milk by the addition of honey, *guḍa* or sugar.⁷⁴ Even the old preparations were made more tasteful by the addition of some new ingredients. In the preparation of *Saṁyāva* wheat flour, milk, clarified butter, sugar, cardamom, pepper and ginger were used.⁷⁵ *Ghṛtapūra* was also prepared with these substances but thin pieces of kernel of cocoanut were added to it.⁷⁶ *Madhuśīrṣaka* or *Madhukroḁa* was a sweet which was prepared with wheat flour but had honey or clarified butter inside.⁷⁷ *Pūpalikā* was a small cake of rice or wheat flour fried in ghee with *guḍa* inside.⁷⁸ Sometimes a stuffing prepared with *Mudga* pulse was also used.⁷⁹ Another sweet preparation with rice flour, milk, treacle and clarified butter is called *Utkārikā*.⁸⁰ *Vartikā* was a similar sweet preparation in the form of a roll.⁸¹

Salt, Spices and Condiments

Caraka mentions five varieties of salts⁸²—rock salt, *sauvarcala*, *biḁa*, *audbhida* and sea salt. Suśruta adds some more varieties.⁸³ Of

all these varieties rock salt was considered the best.⁸⁴

A number of spices were used for seasoning but the most common were long pepper, black pepper, ginger, asafoetida, cumin, coriander and cardamom. Some green leaves and fruits were also used in the preparation of various dishes.⁸⁵ The use of onions and garlic is interdicted in the *Smṛtis*.⁸⁶ Of all the aromatic spices long pepper and dry ginger were regarded the best.⁸⁷

Sour gruel was prepared with cooked rice or barley.⁸⁸ Vinegar was prepared with butter milk mixed with *guḍa* or honey. The mixture was fermented by keeping the pot containing the mixture in a heap of corn.⁸⁹ *Dalhaṇa* mentions three varieties of vinegar prepared from *guḍa*, juice of sugarcane and honey.⁹⁰ Vegetables such as radish and gourd were preserved in vinegar.⁹¹

A sweet liquid preparation from the juice of sour fruits such as tamarind, rose apple, *Parūṣakā* and citrus medica was called *Rāga*. Black mustard was used to make it pungent and sugarcandy to sweeten it.⁹² Jellies prepared with fruit juices were called *Śāḍavas*.⁹³

According to another interpretation *Rāgaśāḍava* was a preparation of green mango fruit. The fruit was boiled, the skin removed and treacle added to the juice. It was fumigated with oil and dry ginger and some salt and spices were added to it before use.⁹⁴ A preparation of curds with *Kapittha* and *Cāṅgerī*, pepper, cumin and some other spices was called *Khaḍa*,⁹⁵ but when oil, sesamum and *māṣa* were added to it, it was called *Kāmbalika*.⁹⁶

Oils and Oilseeds

Among the fats used in food Charaka mentions clarified butter, oils and animal fats, *Vasā* and *Majjā*. He recommends the use of

clarified butter in autumn animal fats in spring and oil in the rainy season. Of all the fats clarified butter was considered the best.⁹⁷ Among the oils sesamum oil was regarded as the best medium for cooking or frying but daily use of oils is not recommended.⁹⁸ A number of other seeds are mentioned from which oil was extracted and used in food.⁹⁹

Caraka appears to have been familiar with the early use of oil by the non-Aryans. He states that by using oils the kings of *Daityas* conquered old age, remained healthy, did not feel tired and fought bravely in the battles.¹⁰⁰ But *Suśruta* does not recommend their excessive use because food articles cooked in oils are difficult to digest.¹⁰¹

Fruits and Vegetables

The medical works mention a number of old fruits but add some new varieties and new fruits. *Sauvīra* is a new variety of jujube besides the old three. Oranges (*nāgaraṅga*), *Bhavya* (*Dellenia speciosa*) and *Pārāvata* are some of the new fruits. Two varieties of grapes, pomegranates and *Parūṣakas*, one sweet and the other sour are mentioned.¹⁰²

Among the best fruits *Suśruta* mentions pomegranates, *āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan), grapes, dates, *parūṣakā*, *rājādana*, and *mātuluṅga* (citrus medica).¹⁰³ We learn from Yuan Chwang that peaches and pears were introduced to India by the Chinese in the first century A.D.¹⁰⁴ In the *Bhārhut* railings and *Stūpa* of *Sāñchi* there is a figure of an Indo-Greek king holding a bunch of grapes with a vine leaf attached to it. It indicates that grapes were probably imported from the North West of India.¹⁰⁵ Some dry fruits such as almonds, walnuts, pistachio were also used.¹⁰⁶ All fruits diseased and eaten by maggots, over ripe, unseasonal and unripe were avoided.¹⁰⁷ *Bhela* especially recommends the use of *āmalaka*, *hārītakī* and *vibhītakī*.¹⁰⁸

A number of vegetables were in use.¹⁰⁹ These included flowers, leaves, fruits, stems and bulbs. Of these each succeeding one is heavier of digestion than the one immediately preceding it in the order of enumeration.¹¹⁰ Pot herbs and leaves of edible plants which are found to be rough or purified or worm-eaten as well as those growing in an improper or uncongenial soil or growing out of season were avoided as unfit for use.¹¹¹ Of the pot herbs *satīna*, *vāstuka*, *cuñcu*, *cilli*, green radish, *maṇḍūkapaṇī* and *jīvantī* were regarded as the best.¹¹² Leaves and stalks of mustard were considered to be the worst.¹¹³ *Paṭola* and *Vārtāka* (brinjal) were among the good fruits.¹¹⁴ Daily use of lotus stalk and roots is not recommended probably because they were difficult to digest. Some dry vegetables such as radish were also used.¹¹⁵ Soup prepared with the tender leaves of dot herbs was called *khada*.¹¹⁶ Another preparation of pot herbs was called *sinḍāki*. The pot herb was boiled and water squeezed out of it. Then some aromatic spices such as black cumin and black mustard were added to it and cakes formed of it. It was very much liked in *Suhma* country.¹¹⁷

Intoxicating Drinks

All the medical works prescribe a limited use of wines and consider this habit good for health, especially in the winter season.¹¹⁸ Charaka regards drinking as pleasing, digestive, nourishing and providing intelligence, if it is indulged in a proper manner.¹¹⁹ Excessive use of intoxicating liquors is interdicted, particularly in the summer and rainy seasons.¹²⁰ The *Bhela Samhitā* gives recipes of many beverages which were taken to do away with the effect of excessive drinking. This makes us infer that there were some people who were in the habit of drinking too much.¹²¹

Intoxicating drinks prepared with barley, rice,¹²² sugar boiled and unboiled juice of

sugarcane, *guḍa*¹²³ and *vibhītaka*¹²⁴ were in common use. Sometimes in the preparation of these intoxicating drinks in place of water *surā* was used it was called *surāsava*.¹²⁵ Liquors were also prepared with *madhūka* (*Bassia latifolia*) flowers and honey.¹²⁶ Wine was also used.¹²⁷ *Suśruta* also mentions liquor prepared from dates.¹²⁸ All the varieties mentioned by *Kauṭilya* were in use in this period. Distilled liquors were also used.¹²⁹

In the *Viṣṇudharma Sūtra* (c. 100 A.D. to c. 300 A.D.) we come across a prohibition against the use by *Brāhmaṇas* of ten kinds of intoxicating drinks prepared from *Madhūka* flowers, sugarcane juice, fruit of *kapittha*, jujube, dates, jack fruit, grapes, honey and cocoanut, the tenth variety being *maireyaka*, the spiced liquor. It makes us infer that these were the popular drinks with the non-Brahmanical classes.¹³⁰

Drinking Water and Other Beverages

For drinking purposes the rich, who were accustomed to taking dainties, used pure rain water especially in the rainy season.¹³¹ Other sources of drinking water were wells, rivers, lakes, tanks, waterfalls and springs. It is laid down that in the rainy season either pure rainwater or boiled well or spring water should be used. In the winter season water from lakes and tanks should be used. Water from waterfalls or wells was used in the spring and summer seasons.¹³² It was believed that water of rivers flowing towards the west was easily digestible while that of rivers flowing towards the east was considered difficult to digest.¹³³

Water having small insects or foul smell, thick, dirty or sticky was considered unfit for drinking,¹³⁴ but dirty water could be purified by mixing it with *kataka*, *gomedaka*, lotus root, *śaivālamūla*, pearls or alum and straining it in a piece of cloth.¹³⁵ Hot water was cooled in many ways, by immersing the water pitcher in

cool water, by exposing water to currents of cool breeze, by churning it with a stick, by fanning, by siphoning it by means of a piece of linen, by burying the pitcher underneath a bed of sand and keeping it suspended on a pendent bracket.¹³⁶ Five kinds of stands were used for keeping water pots.¹³⁷

Besides warm and cool water, liquors, soups of cereals, sour gruel and fruit juices, there were some other beverages which were used to aid digestion.¹³⁸ Two kinds of syrups were prepared from treacle, one sweet and the other sour. In the sour syrup, the juice of such fruits as grapes and tamarind was used. Sometimes some aromatic spices were added to make it more tasty.¹³⁹ Syrups were also prepared with grapes, *parūṣaka*, jujube, dates, honey and the juice of sugarcane.¹⁴⁰

The *Bhela Samhitā* gives the recipe of a beverage which was very effective in quenching thirst. It was prepared with pounded berrirs, treacle, black pepper, saffron, cardamom and the juice of *Jāti* flower.¹⁴¹ Another syrup was called *Kāśmaryapānaka*. It was given to a person who drank excessively.¹⁴²

The Art of Cooking and Utensils

The authors of our medical works knew the value of cooking articles of food on a slow fire.¹⁴³ Besides the old preparations of cereals, meat, vegetables and fruit they describe some new dishes such as a soup from parched rice, preparations of boiled pulses or sprouted grains. They also mention some condiments prepared from fruits and vegetables preserved in vinegar. No preparations could be considered good for health unless one knows the properties of various substances and the effect of mixing various substances. For this reason there is a detailed description of these in the medical works. They have a separate section for cooked articles and describe in detail which preparations are easily digestible

and which are difficult to digest. Caraka says that spiced soups are more difficult to digest than unspiced ones.¹⁴⁴ The same writer states that preparations fried in oil or clarified butter are difficult to digest while those parched without these fats are easily digestible.¹⁴⁵

The kitchen was to be clean and uncongested and cooks reliable. Clarified butter was served in a vessel of iron, beverages like meat soups in a silver vessel, fruits and sweets on leaves, seasoned and fried meat preparations in vessels of gold, all kinds of fruit preparations in vessels of stone, boiled milk in a copper vessel, water, syrups and intoxicating drinks in earthenware and *Rāga*, *Saṭṭaka* and *Śāḍava* in vessels of glass or precious stones.¹⁴⁶

Rules of Diet and Etiquette

As in the previous period the practice of offering food to gods, forefathers, dogs, crows and extending hospitality to guests was common. Just as in the *Manusmṛti*, children, daughter, newly married girls, pregnant women, guests and servants were fed before the householder and his wife took their meals.¹⁴⁷ The old practice of cooking a big ox or a big goat for a Vedic scholar is mentioned by *Yājñavalkya*.¹⁴⁸ It is possible that the animals may have been let off after being presented to the distinguished guest for slaughter and not actually killed as was suggested in the *Asv. Gr. Su. I. 24-25*.

Purity in food is emphasised as before, both in medical works and the *Smṛtis*. They lay down that the place where a person takes his meals should be clean. Food should be served in clean utensils by clean servants.¹⁴⁹ The *Smṛtis* lay down almost all those rules which *Manu* has laid for avoiding food having impure substances or offered by undesirable persons. But the list has been amplified in this period by the addition of a person who

does not perform a sacrifice, a miser, a prisoner, a thief, a eunuch, a person who charges a very high rate of interest.¹⁵⁰ Of the Śūdras the food offered by a family servant, a cowherd, a family friend and a family barber could be accepted. Food articles fried in clarified butter could be eaten even if they were kept overnight. Preparations of wheat, barley or milk could be eaten even if they were not cooked in clarified butter.¹⁵¹

The Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra lays down that a person should not eat during an eclipse of the moon or of the sun or when a cow, a Brāhmaṇa or a king meets with an accident,¹⁵² nor must he eat bad food nor from a bad dish.¹⁵³

The practice of washing hands and feet and honouring food was common even in this period.¹⁵⁴ It is also laid down that a person should never revile food served to him.¹⁵⁵ Generally, people took two principal meals and it was considered improper to take a third meal. It is also laid down that a person should avoid the evening meal if he had satiated himself during the day,¹⁵⁶ and that a person should take a meal only when he felt hungry.¹⁵⁷ One should never take too much food nor should he be keen to eat the food of others unless invited to do so with respect.¹⁵⁸ There is a general rule that a person should divide his stomach into four parts. He should fill half the stomach with solid food, one fourth with liquid food and one fourth part he should leave empty for the movement of wind.¹⁵⁹

Another important rule laid down by our medical work is that food articles should change according to seasons. For winter flesh of certain animals, intoxicating drinks prepared from molasses, preparations of milk, animal fats and new rice are allowed as these things are considered difficult to digest and could be eaten in winter when the digestive system is good. All easily digestive articles are not recommended. In summer all these

articles are prohibited and easily digestible articles such as groats with sugar and water, flesh of wild beasts, milk, clarified butter, and rice could be used. Only a little quantity of diluted liquor is recommended.¹⁶⁰

The medical works also give a list of those articles which they consider easily digestible and which could be used daily and a list of those which should not be used daily. *Ṣaṣṭika* rice, *śāli* rice, *mudga*, rock salt, *āmalaka*, barley, rain water, milk, clarified butter, meat of wild animals and honey could be used daily while preparations of rice meal, rice, *pṛthuka*, seasoned meat, dry vegetables, tubers and stalks of lotus, and meat of diseased animals were to be avoided. Preparations of inspissated milk, flesh of a pig, cow, buffalo, fish, curds, barley and *māṣa* should not be used daily.¹⁶¹

Some other rules are laid down to facilitate digestion. A person should take only that food which suits his temperament. The medical works have, therefore, given a list of food preparations which suit the people of different parts of India.¹⁶² The food taken should be warm, should have some fats, should be nourishing. It should be taken silently, slowly and attentively. The food articles taken should vary, the same dishes should not always be taken.¹⁶³ They have also mentioned preparations which should not be taken together. It is laid down that fish or other meat preparations should not be taken with milk.¹⁶⁴ The order of dishes is also mentioned. A person should first take sweet dishes, then acidic, then saltish, then pungent and the rest afterwards. Fruits such as pomegranates should be taken in the beginning, then beverages, then food articles such as boiled rice and confectionery. Lotus stalks, roots and tubers should never be taken at the end of meals.¹⁶⁵

The food suitable for different stages is mentioned in the Dharmaśāstras as before. A

student was not permitted to take only one foodgrain for he might get very fond of it nor was he to take meat, wine, vinegar or leavings of food.¹⁶⁶ The general rules for the householders were the same as in the previous period but the Jains avoided the use of wine, flesh and honey, green ginger, butter, curds and flowers because they contained many germs.¹⁶⁷ An ascetic is permitted eight mouthfuls every day¹⁶⁸ of such food stuffs as leaves, fruits, flowers, vegetables and boiled barley. He is also advised to fast for one day, two days or three days¹⁶⁹ and drink water strained in a piece of cloth.¹⁷⁰ But a Jain monk was to practise fasting by degrees. First he was to give up solid food, then milk and whey and in the end even spiced water.¹⁷¹

The general rules of etiquette were mostly the same as in the earlier period. A person should eat facing east or south. He should leave some solid food but eat all the liquid substances such as curds, honey, clarified butter, milk, groats, meat or sweets. He must not eat in the open, nor with his wife, nor standing, nor in the presence of many hungry spectators. He should not eat in an empty house or in a temple. He should not drink water out of his joined hands.¹⁷² The practice of listening to sweet music and interesting stories while taking food, which is in accordance with the modern fashion, is also found in the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā.¹⁷³ The practice of chewing betel leaves after meals had, by then, become common.¹⁷⁴ People generally took some beverage such as cold or warm water, liquor, a decoction, watery soup, sour gruel or fruit juice. Anyone of these which suited a particular individual and aided his digestive system was used.¹⁷⁵

After drinking a beverage a long walk, a lengthy conversation, singing, sleeping and reading were avoided.¹⁷⁶ Some people used to smoke a cigar after their meals. The Caraka

describes its preparation—a reed was smeared with pastes of sandalwood, nutmeg, cardamom and several other drugs and spices. Then it was dried and the reed removed.¹⁷⁷ These practices are not met with in the earlier periods.

Taboos against the use of meat of unclean animals or unsanctified meat, onions, mushrooms, garlic, *śigru*, red exudation of trees, and other plants and vegetable growing on unclean ground are met with in the Dhārmasāstras of this period as in those of the earlier period.¹⁷⁸ In a Śrāddha even preparations of *Rājamāṣa*, *Masūra*, stale food and factitious salt were not to be served. Viṣṇu also prohibits the use of pepper, the onions called *mukundaka*, *Bhūstṛṇa* (a pot herb), *śigru*, mustard seeds, *Nirguṇḍi*, the fruit or leaves of *Sāl* tree, *suvarchalā*, *kūṣmāṇḍa*, the bottle gourd, the egg plant, *pālakya*, *upodakī*, *Taṇḍuliyaka*, safflower, *piṇḍāluka* and the milk of buffaloes.¹⁷⁹ But the medical works prescribe the use of the flesh of all animals and vegetables including garlic when they regard it as useful for a patient. The Kāśyapa Saṁhitā has a separate section which deals with various uses of garlic and its juice is considered as effective as nectar itself.¹⁸⁰ The use of some fragrant substances such as cloves, camphor, *kakkola*, *jātiphala* with betel leaves is prescribed to do away with its foul smell.¹⁸¹

Feasts were given, as before, at the time of a Śrāddha or other sacrifices. In a Śrāddha the Brāhmaṇas were invited on the previous day.¹⁸² The practice of offering meat preparations is considered better than milk preparations or vegetarian dishes, at a Śrāddha.¹⁸³ Unhusked or well husked boiled rice, rice cooked with sesamum, preparation of meat and fish, intoxicating drinks, radish, cakes, rice with curds, milk rice, mixed with

treacle and *modakas* were served at the time of worship of the god Vināyaka.¹⁸⁴

We can also have some idea of the food habits of the people in various parts of India. People in the north-west liked such substances as butter milk, vinegar, curds, whey, treacle, grapes, groats, juice of pomegranates, rock salt, tender leaves of *Bhūstṛṇa*, the juice of *Trivṛt*, *Vāsaka*, *Kāravṛnta*, *Kuṭhera* and *Mātuliṅga* (citrus medica). Other food articles used by them were groats mixed with ginger, clarified butter, *śāḍavas*, *rāga*, soups, and beverages including intoxicating drinks.¹⁸⁵ Bhela says that they were specially fond of meat preparations and liquors.¹⁸⁶ The residents of *Vāhlika* country generally used spiced warm food, liquid meat preparation¹⁸⁷ and beverages such as sour gruel and wines, while those of *Kāmbhoja* were fond of preparations of *masūra*, barley, wheat, sesamum and *uddāla* variety of rice.¹⁸⁸ The people of the Sindhu country were fond of milk.¹⁸⁹ The people of the east liked fish, *Śāli* rice, oils, and pungent spices.¹⁹⁰ The people in the south were fond of tasty sweets, oils, preparations of foodgrains such as *kaṇḍu*, *āḍhaka*, barley, gram and pea, and roots, tubers and some beverages.¹⁹¹ These people liked fish from the river and the sea.¹⁹² Sour rice gruel is recommended for sea faring men.¹⁹³

It appears that the rich always used meat preparations and intoxicating drinks as they are invariably prescribed with vegetarian dishes in the medical works for patients.¹⁹⁴ The Jains were so particular about Ahimsā that they even avoided all uncooked roots, fruits, leaves, branches, tubers, flowers and seeds in which there was the least possibility of the existence of any living being. For the same reason they did not take their meals at night.¹⁹⁵

To conclude, we may say that during this period the food habits of Indians were considerably changed as a result of the influx of foreign elements in society. The authors of medical works made a scientific study of all the food articles then available. So, many varieties of rice, fruits and vegetables are not mentioned in any earlier work. Suitable diet for different seasons and people residing in different parts of the country was prescribed. Many new preparations of rice and wheat flour came into use. Tasty soups were prepared not only with pulses but also with fruits and vegetables which were available in abundance. Rules about purity of food appear to have been tightened by the authors of the Smṛtis, but people in the north-western region probably attached little importance to them. They had no objection to taking tabooed articles such as onions and garlic, meat preparations, and intoxicating drinks of all kinds were very popular with them. Some new practices such as listening to sweet music at the time of meals are met with in the higher stratum of society and betel chewing seems to have become a common practice throughout the country.

References

1. Kasyapa. Khila. V. 3., Charaka. Su. 25. 31., Charaka. Su. 27. 340.
2. Susruta. Su. 46. 526-527.
3. Charaka. Su. I. 56., Susruta. Su. I. 25.
4. Charaka. Su. 25.36.
5. Bhela. XXVIII. p. 47., Susruta. Su. I. 28., Charaka. Su. 26.66. Charaka. Su. I. 65.
6. *Śūka dhānya* (those with awns)
Śāmi dhanya (leguminous plants)
Charaka. Su. 276.
7. Chakrapāṇi on Charaka. Su. 27.
8. Charaka. Su. 5.10.
9. Charaka mentions fifteen good varieties of *Śāli* rice—*Raktaśāli*, *Mahāśāli*, *Kalama*, *Śakunāhṛta*, *Tūrṇaka*, *Dīrghaśūka*, *Gaura*,

- Pāṇḍuka*, *Lāṅgula*, *Sugandhika*, *Lohavāla*, *Śāriva*, *Pramodaka*, *Pataṅga* and *Tapanīya*. (Charaka. Su. 27. 7-8).
- The five inferior varieties of Śālī rice are *Yavaka*, *Hāyana*, *Pāṁsu*, *Vāpya* and *Naiṣadhaka*. (Caraka. Su. 27. 11).
- Cf. Susruta. 46.4, Bhela. XXVIII. p. 48., Charaka. Su. 25. p. 130., Susruta. Su. 46.6., Bhela. XXVIII. p. 48., Susruta. Su. 46. 332.
10. Susruta. Su. 46.12., Susruta. Su. 46.14.
11. Besides the two varieties of *Śaṣṭika* rice one white and the other black white, Charaka mentions *Varaka*, *Uddālaka*, *Chīna*, *Śārada*, *Ujjvala*, *Dardura*, *Gandhala* and *Kuruvinda* in this category. (Charaka. Su. 27. 13-14).
- C.f. Susruta. 46.8., Charaka. Ci. II. 1.47., Susruta. 46.10.
12. The following varieties of inferior cereals are mentioned—*Pātala*, *Koraḍūsa*, *Śyāmāka*, *Lohitāṇu*, *Priyaṅgu*, *Mukunda*, *Jhīṇṭi*, *Garmūti*, *Cāruka*, *Varaka*, *Śibira*, *Utkāṣa* and *Jūrṇa*. (Charaka. Su. 27. 15-17.)
13. Susruta. Su. 46.21.
14. Charaka. Su. 27.19, Susruta. Su. 46, Bhela. p. 44.
15. Charaka mentions, *Mudga*, *Māṣa*, *Rājamāṣa*, *Kulattha*, *Makuṣṭhaka*, *Caṇaka*, *Masūra*, *Khaṇḍikā*, *Hareṇu*, *Śimbi*, *Ādhakī*, *Avalgujā*, *Edgaja*, *Niṣpāva*, *Kākāṇḍola* and *Ātmaguptā*. (Charaka. Su. 27. 22-23).
- C.f. Bhela XXVIII. p. 48., Charaka. Su. 27.28., Susruta. Su. 46.27., Bhela, p. 46., Susruta. Su. 46.332.
16. Charaka. Su. 25. p. 130.
17. Kasyapa. Sam. XIX.
18. Charaka. Su. 27.256.
- C.f. Susruta. Su. 46.347., Yaj. I. 303-304., Susruta. Su. 46.349.
19. Susruta. Su. 46.345.
- If the quantity of water mixed for cooking was four times that of food grains it was called *Vilepi*, if five times, it was called *Anna*, if six times, *Yavāgū* and if fourteen times *Maṇḍa*. Dalhaṇa on Susruta. Su. 46.
20. Kas. Sam. Su. 53.
21. *Saktu* (parched barley meal)—Charaka Su. 27.263. Groats mixed with clarified butter or cold water neither too thick nor too thin in consistency were called *Mantha*. They were also mixed with sour gruel, treacle, sugar, juice of sugarcane and grapes (Susruta. Su. 46. 385). Charaka Su. 27.262 also mentions groats of parched paddy, *Chakrapāṇi* on Charaka Su. 6.28.
- Dhānāḥ* (parched barley, Caraka. Su. 27.264). Sprouted barley was also parched (*Virūḍha dhānāḥ*)—Charaka. Su. 27.267.
- Porridge of parched barley was also used. (*Vāṭya*). Charaka. Su. 27.265.
- Bhṛṣṭa taṇḍula*—Parched rice was also used in preparing a porridge. Charaka. Su. 27.257.
- Kulmāṣa*—Barley flour slightly boiled in warm, water and made into cakes. Chakrapāṇi on Charaka. Su. 27.260.
- Śaṣṭkūli*—Delicious cakes prepared with fine rice or gram meal mixed with sesamum and fried on oil. Chakrapāṇi on Charaka. Su. 27.265.
- C.f. Susruta. Su. 46.400. Dalhaṇa on Suśruta Su. 46.400.
- Prthuka*, Dalhaṇa
- C.f. Kas-Sam. p. 305, Susruta. Su. 46.415.
- Sūpa*—Susruta. Su. 46.310.
- Kṛsara*—a porridge prepared with sesamum, rice and *māṣa* pulse (Susruta. Su. 46.345). Yaj. I. 173.
- Palalaudana*—Rice cooked with ground sesamum. Yaj. I. 287.
- Apūpa*—Cakes of barley or rice meal—Charaka. Su. 27.265.
22. Susruta. Su. 46.412.
23. *Viṣyanda*—It was either a preparation of rice grains fried in ghee or wheat flour mixed with ghee, milk and treacle. It was neither too thick nor too thin in consistency. (Susruta. Su. 46.398) Dalhaṇa.
24. *Svastika*—Susruta. Uttara. 60.33, Dalhaṇa.
25. *Sāmitāḥ* (preparation of powdered wheat meal) stuffed with boiled and ground *mudga*. Susruta. Su. 46.399.
26. Charaka. Chikitsā. 20.37.
27. *Yūṣa* was generally a soup of pulses prepared with spices (*kṛtayūṣa*) or without them (*akṛtayūṣa*). The Kāśyapa Saṁhitā mentions twenty four varieties of *Yūṣas*. The most common were those prepared with *Mudga* and *Kulattha*. Susruta. Su. 46.379., Kasyapa. Yūṣa. 19.23., Susruta. Su. 46.367., Susruta. Su. 46.372.

28. Suśruta. Su. 46.410. Dalhaṇa.
29. Charaka. Su. 27.272.
30. Bhela. XXVIII. p. 49., Kasyapa. Bhojana. 90., Charaka. Su. 27.322.
31. Susruta. Su. 45. 61-63.
32. Charaka. Su. I. 106.
33. Susruta. Su. 45.55.
34. Charaka. Su. 27., Yaj. I. 170.
35. Charaka. Su. 25 p. 281., Susruta Su. 6.336.
36. Pāyasa (milk rice)—Yaj. I. 303, 173. Susruta. Su. 46.346. It appears from Yaj. that milk rice with *Ṣaṣṭika* rice was considered the best.
37. Charaka. Su. 27.226.
Kasyapa. Bhoj. Kalpa 46, Susruta. 45.65.
Curds prepared from skimmed milk (*asāra dadhi*, Susruta. 45.83) were also used.
38. *Santānikā*—(cream of milk) It was considered a tonic—Susruta. Su. 45.106.
Śara (cream of curds) Cakrapāṇi on Caraka. Su. 227.
Mastu (whey)—It is called *Maṇḍa* in Caraka. Su. 27.227.
Navanīta (fresh butter)—Caraka. Su. 27.229, Susruta. Su. 45.92.
Ghṛtam (clarified butter)—Cow's butter was considered the best. Caraka. Su. 27. 229, Susruta. Su. 45.96.
Takra (butter milk)—Kasyapa Bhoj. 46, Charaka. Su. 27.228, Susruta. Su. 45.84.
39. *Mandadadhi*—Caraka. Su. 27.228, Susruta. Su. 45.67.
40. *Gholam*—Susruta. Su. 45.85.
41. Susruta. Su. 45.93.
42. *Kumbha ghṛtam*—Clarified butter matured from 11 to 100 years.
Ghṛta maṇḍam—Condensed upper stratum of clarified butter.
Susruta. Su. 45.106.
43. *Sagūḍa dadhi*—Susruta. Su. 27.227.
44. *Kūrcikā* (solid ingredients of inspissated milk)—It is called *Kilāta* in Caraka. Su. 27.233.
Its daily use is not recommended. Sweets prepared from it were called *Kūrickā vikṛtāḥ*. Susruta. Su. 46.403. Cakrapāṇi., Caraka. Su. 5.9., Dalhaṇa. on Susruta Su. 45-90.
45. Charaka. Su. 27.276, Susruta. Su. 46.384. Cakrapāṇi.
46. Dalhaṇa.
47. Charaka. Su. 27.86.
48. Charaka. Su. 27.312-315.
49. Charaka. Su. V. 4.
50. Charaka. Su. 25.38., Susruta. Su. 46.333.
51. Charaka. Su. 27.56, 58.
52. Charaka. Su. 6. 11-12.
53. Charaka. Su. 27.311.
54. Susruta. Su. 46.359.61.
55. Susruta. Su. 46.349.
Susruta. Su. 46.352.
56. Dalhaṇa on Susruta. Su. 46.356.
57. Susruta. Su. 46.365-66.
58. Susruta. Su. 46.364.
59. Dalhaṇa on Susruta Su. 46.SI.353., Susruta. Su. 46.356-57., Dalhaṇa on the above.
60. Charaka. Su. 5.10.
61. Charaka Su. 27.266, Susruta. Su. 46.407.
62. Charaka. Chikitsa. II. 28-29.
63. Yaj. I. 178-79.
64. The eight varieties are *Mākṣika*, *Bhrāmara*, *Kṣaudra*, *Pauttika*, *Chātra*, *Ārghya*, *Auddālika* and *Dāla*., Susruta. Su. 45.133.
65. Charaka. Su. 27.242.
66. Charaka. Su. 6, Bhela, p. 25.
67. Susruta. Su. 45. 146-150.
68. Kasyapa Bhojana 103., Charaka. Su. 27.237.
69. Charaka. Su. 27.236., Susruta. Su. 45.158.
70. *Phāṇita*—Susruta. Su. 45.159.
Guḍa—Charaka. Su. 27, Susruta. Su. 45.158, Yaj. I. 303. Old *guḍa* was considered very efficacious as a medicine, Susruta (Su. 45.161). A variety of *Guḍa* called *Kṣudraguḍa* was not considered good. Charaka. Su. 25.
According to Pāṇini the word *guḍa* is connected with *Gauḍa* region (East Bengal).
Guḍaśarkarā (red sugar)—Charaka. Su. 27.240.
Śarkarā (crystal sugar)—Charaka. Su. 27.239, Susruta. Su. 45.162.
Khaṇḍa (unrefined white sugar)—Charaka. Su. 27.239, Susruta. 45.162.
71. Susruta. Su. 45.163.
72. *Madhuśarkarā*—(sugar prepared from honey)—Susruta. Su. 45.166.
Yavāsa Śarkarā—sugar prepared from *Yavāsa* (a kind of grass)—Susruta. Su. 45.167.
Madhūkaśarkarā (sugar prepared from *madhūka* flowers) Susruta. Su. 45.169.
73. Charaka. Su. 27.239, Susruta. Su. 45.162.
74. *Sāmitāḥ*—Sweets prepared with powdered wheat flour.

- Ksīrakṛta bhakṣyāḥ*—sweets prepared milk—
Susruta Su. 46.392.
- Kūrcikāvīkṛtaḥ*—Sweets prepared with
inspissated milk.
- Gaudika*—Sweets prepared with treacle and
wheat flour. Susruta. Su. 46.394.
- The old sweets such as *modaka*, *pūpa* and
phenaka were in common use. (Susruta Su.
46.395-399). Pupās were also prepared with
milk and sugarcane juice (*Ksīrekṣurasa*—
pūpakāḥ).
75. Susruta. Su. 46.392.
Dalhaṇa.
76. Susruta. Su. 46.393., Sṛi Kaṇṭhadatta Vṛnda
Siddhyoga.
77. Susruta. Su. 46. 395., Dalhaṇa., Sṛi
Kaṇṭhadatta. Vṛnda Siddhyoga.
78. Nala quoted by Cakrapāṇi.
79. *Mudga Vesavāra*—Susruta. Su. 46.399.
80. *Uhtkārikā*—Charaka. Ci. 2, Sweets prepared
with milk treacle and ghee.
81. *Vartikā*—Sweets in the form of a roll.
Also see Viśyanda Ref. 23 above.
82. Charaka Su. I. 88-89.
83. The additional varieties mentioned by Susruta
are—*Romaka*, *Vālukaila*,
Śailamūlākarodbhava, *Ūsara*, *Guṭikā*,
Yavakṣāra, *Svarjikākṣāra*, *Pākima* and
Taṅkaṇakṣāra. (Susruta. Su. 46. 320-322).
84. Susruta. Su. 46.336.
85. Charaka. Su. 27. 164-175, 294-297.
Asafoetida is called *Bāhlika* by Bhela which
shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.
86. Yaj. I. 176.
87. Dry ginger is called a panacea (*Viśvabheṣaja*)
in Charaka. Su. 25.37., Susruta. Su. 46.336.
88. Two varieties of sour gruel, one prepared with
the husk of cereals (*tuṣāmbu*, Susruta, Su.
45.213) and the other with grains (*dhānyāmbu*,
Susruta. Su. 45.214) were in use. Sour gruel
was considered good for sea faring men.
Susruta. Su. 45.216.
89. Chakrapāṇi on Charaka. Su. 27.284.
C.f. Kasyapa. Bhojana 46.
90. Dalhaṇa on Susruta. Su. 45.212.
91. Vegetables preserved in vinegar were called
Āsuta. Susruta. Su. 45.211.
92. Kasyapa. Bhojana. 48.
93. Kasyapa. Bhojana. 48.
94. Charaka. Su. 27.
95. Nala quoted by Dalhaṇa.
96. Susruta. Su. 46.381.
97. Charaka. Su. 13.13.18.
98. Charaka. Su. 13.12., Kasyapa. 17.9., Susruta.
Su. 45.130.
99. Bhela mentions sesamum, *eraṇḍa*, *bilva*,
vibhītaka, *keṣi karañja* and *iṅgudī* among the
oilseeds from which oil was extracted—Bhela.
p. 49.
Charaka also mentions *Sarṣapa* (mustard),
Priyāla, *Ataṣi* (linseed), *Kusumbha*
(safflower)—Charaka. Su. 27.281-90.
Charaka. Su. 13.10.
100. Charaka. Su. 27.286.
Probably, on account of its exotic nature,
Patañjali refers to the belief that a Brāhmaṇa
should not sell oil.
Mahābhāṣya Kielhorn Pt. I. p. 25.
101. Susruta. Su. 46.406.
102. Charaka. mentions the following fruits :—
Grapes, date, *phalgu*, *parīṣaka*, *bassia-latifolia*,
āmṛātaka, palm fruit, cocoanut, *bhavya*,
badara, *āruka*, *karkandhu*, *lakuca*, *pārāvata*,
kāśmaryaphala, *tūda* (mulberry), *taṅka*,
kapittha, *bilva*, *mango*, *jambū*, *siñcitikā*
(apples), *gāṅgeruka*, *karīra*, *binbi*, *todana*,
dhanvana, *panasa* (jack fruit), *moca* (banana),
bhārgiphala, *pīlu*, *trīṇaśūnya*, *vikaṅkata*,
prācināmalaka, *iṅgudiphala*, *tinduka*, *āmalaka*,
vibhītaka, *dāḍima* (pomegranate), *vṛkṣāmala*,
amlīka (tamarind), *amlavetasa*, *mātuluṅga*
(citrus medica), *karcūra*, *nāgaraṅga* (oranges),
vātāma (almond), *ābhiśūka* (pistachio), *akṣoṭa*,
mukūlaka, *nikocaka*, *urumāṇa*, *śleṣmātaka*,
aṅkoṭa, *śamīphala*, *karañja*, *dantaśtha*,
karamaradaka, *vārtāka*, *pariyatākiphala*,
ākṣikiphala, *ānupaki*, *aśvattaa*, *udumbara*,
plakṣa, *nyagrodha* and *bhallātaka*.
Charaka. Su. 27. 122-62.
C.f. Susruta. Su. 46, 139, 163, 177, 182, 187,
190-96.
103. Susruta. 49.335.
For condiment and jellies prepared from sour
fruits please see 'Spices and Condiments' I.
Chapter 6 VI. p. 240.
104. Watters. Vol. I. p. 179.
105. Cunningham—Bhārhut, pp. 32-33.
Grindwedel—Buddhist Art, p. 34, Fig. 10.

106. Susruta. Su. 46.187.
 107. Susruta. Su. 46.210.
 108. Bhela. p. 13.
 109. Charaka mentions the following vegetables :—
Pāthā, śuśā, śaṭi, vāstuka, suniṣaṇṇaka, kākamācī, rājakaṣavaka, kālaśāka, amlaçaṅgerī, upodikā, taṇḍulīya, maṇḍūkaparṇī, vetrāgra, kucela, vanatikṭaka, karkoṭaka, avalguja, paṭola, śakulādani, vr̥ṣapuṣpa, śāraṅgeṣṭa, kembuka, kaṭhillaka, nāḍī, kalāya, pea, gojihva, vārtakī (brinjal), tilaparṇī, kulaka, karkaṣa, nimba, parpaṭa, mudgaparṇī, māṣaparṇī, phaṇḍī, cillī, kutumbaka, āluka, kaṭhiṇjara, ṣaṇa, puṣpa, śāmalipuṣpa, karbudāra, suvarcala, niṣpāva, kovidāra, pattūra, cuṇcuparṇīkakumārājīva, loṭṭaka, pālaṅkī, marīsa, kalamba, nālikā, āsurī, black mustard, kusumbha, vr̥kadhūmaba, lakṣmaṇa, prapuṇāda, nalinī, kuṭheraka, lonikā, yavaśāka, kūṣmāṇḍa, avalgujā, yātuka, śālakalyāṇī triparṇī, piluparṇī.
 Leaves of *nyagrodha, udumbara, aśvattha, plakṣa, lotus, vatsādani, gaṇḍīra, citraka, śreyasī, bilvaparṇī, bilvapatra, bhaṇḍī, śatāvārī, balā, jīvanti, parvanī, parvapuṣpī, lāmṅgalakī, urubūka, tila, vetasa, pancaṅgulī, kusumbha, trapusa, ervārūka, alābū, cirbhita, kūṣmāṇḍa, urvārūka, keluta, kadamba, nadimāṣaka, ainduka, utpala, tālapralamba, kharjūra, tālaśasya, taruṭa, śāluka, krauñcādana, kaseru, sṛṅgātaka, aṅkalodya, kumuda, utpala (stalks, flowers and fruits), puṣkarabīja, muñjātaka, vidārikanda, amlīkākanda, sarṣapa śāka, piṇḍālu, chatrāka.*
 (Charaka. Su. 27. 86-121)
 110. Susruta. Su. 46.296.
 111. Suśruta. Su. Śākavarga. 46.297.
 112. Suśruta. Su. 46.334.
 113. Charaka. Su. 25.
 114. Suśruta. Su. 46.337.
 115. Charaka. Su. 510.
 116. Carapāṇi on Cara Su. 13.23.
 C.f. Suśruta. Su. 46.378.
 117. Suśruta. Su. 46.382., Dalhaṇa on the above.
 Suhma = part of Rāḍha country. Districts of Hooghly, Hawrah, Bankura and Bardwan and the eastern portion of Midnapur.
 118. Bhela p. 32.
 119. Charaka Su. 27. 191-193.
 120. Bhela p. 217.
 Charaka. Su. 27-323.
 121. See ref. 161 in Chapter VI
 122. Surā (prepared from barley or rice paste).
 Charaka. Su. 27.188.
 It was also prepared from *madhūlikā* variety of wheat. Other varieties of intoxicating drinks prepared from cereals were :—
 (a) *Prasannā* (cream of *surā*)—Susruta. Su. 45.178.
 (b) *Jagada* (residue of wine)—Charaka. Su. 27.179, Susruta. Su. 45.180.
 (c) *Bakkasa* (solid ingredients of *surā* devoid of liquid)—Susruta. Su. 45.181.
 (d) *Kohala* (prepared from parched barley flour. Susruta. Su. 45.180.
 Dravyaguna Vijñāna Pt. II. p. 3.
 123. Śārkārāsīdhu, Śārkārāsava (prepared from sugar)—Charaka. Su. 27. 183, Susruta. Su. 45. 183.
Pakvarasa sīdhu, (prepared from boiled juice of sugarcane)—Susruta. Su. 45. 184.
Śītarasa sīdhu (prepared from unboiled juice of sugarcane)—Susruta. Su. 45. 185.
Guḍāsīdhu or *Guḍāsava* (prepared from treacle and flowers of *dhātakī*)—Charaka. Su. 27.184.
 124. Ākṣikīsīdhu (prepared from the bark of *akṣa*)—Charaka. Su. 27.184.
 125. *Surāsava*—Charaka. Su. 27. 185. Susruta. Su. 45. 187.
 126. *Mādhavī*—(prepared from *madhūka* flowers)—Charaka. Su. 6.39, 27.185, Susruta. Su. 45.190.
Madhu or *Madhvāsava* (prepared from honey)—Charaka. Su. 27. 187.
 127. *Mārdvika* (prepared from grapes)—Susruta. Su. 45.172.
 128. *Khārjūra* (prepared from dates, Susruta. Su. 45. 147). It was also *Vāruṇī*.
 Dravya Guṇa Vijñāna. II. p. 33.
 129. An intoxicating drink in which the solid ingredients predominate is called *ariṣṭa*, one in which the liquid part predominates is called *āsava* and the liquor in which both are equally important is called *madya* (Susruta. Su. 45. 194). Dalhaṇa.
 130. Vishnu Dh. Su. 22, 83-84.
 131. Susruta. Su. 46.421.
 Pure rain water is called *Gāṅga* while the

- impure one is named *sāmudra* (Susruta. Su. 45.7).
Cf. Susruta Su. 45.3, Charaka. Su. 27.194.
132. Susruta. Su. 45.8.
133. Susruta. Su. 45.21.
C.f. Charaka. Su. 27.207.
134. Charaka. Su. 27, 213-214.
C.f. Kasyapa. p. 358, Susruta. Su. 45. 9-11.
135. Susruta. Su. 45.17.
136. Susruta. Su. 45.19.
137. Susruta. Su. 45.18.
138. Susruta. Su. 46.419., Bhela. XVII. p. 17.
139. Susruta. Su. 46.389., Kasyapa. p. 250.46.
140. Charaka. Su. 27.274.
141. Bhela p. 218.
142. To make this *pānaka* juices of *kāsmarya*, pomegranates, grapes, *madhūka* and *parīṣaka* were mixed with the powder of *kuṭaja*, *madhūka*, *lodhra*, *mañjiṣṭha*, cardamom, pepper and filament of blue lotus and water was added to the mixture. Bhela p. 219.
143. Charaka. Su. 27.270.
144. Charaka. Su. 27, 257.
145. Charaka. Su. 27, 266-67.
Susruta. Su. 46.446.
146. Susruta. Su. 46 and 450-453.
147. Vishnu. Dh. Su. LXVII, Yajna. V. 102, 105, 108, 111.
148. Yaj. I. 109.
149. Kasyapa. Khila. V. 3.
C.f. Charaka. Vimana. I. 30.
150. Yaj. I. 160-167.
151. Yaj. I. 168-169.
152. Vishnu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 1-5.
153. Vishnu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 49.
154. Vishnu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 34-35.
155. Vishnu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 62.
Yaj. I. 31.
156. Vishnu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 48. Kasyapa. Khila. V. 11.
157. Charaka. Vimana. I. 30.
158. Yaj. I. 112., Charaka. Su. V. 2.
159. Kasyapa. Khila. V. 53.54.
160. In the winter season : Charaka. Su. VI. 11-17.
In the summer season : Charaka. Su. VI. 28-29.
161. Charaka Su. V. 9., Charaka Su. V. 6-8., Bhela. p. 4., Bhela. p. 12.
162. Charaka. Su. VI. 49. Susruta. Su. 46.465-467.
163. Suśruta. Su. 46. 491.
164. Bhela. p. 21.
C.f. Charaka. Su. 26, 106-122., Kasyapa, Khila V. 61-62.
165. Suśruta. Su. 46, 460-464.
Cf. Kasyapa. Bhojana Kalpa. 34., Kasyapa. Khila. 5. 52-53.
166. Yaj. I. 32-33.
C.f. Visnu. Dh. Su. XXVIII. 9-11, 33.
167. Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvākācāra III.
168. Visnu. Dh. Su. XCIV. 13.
169. Visnu. Dh. Su. XCV. 6-12.
170. Visnu. Dh. Su. XCVI. 15.
171. Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvākācāra VI.
Bardesanes, a Babylonian writer of C. 200 A.D., gives the following account of the lunch of Indian monks :
'Prayer over, the bell is again rung and the attendants give each monk a bowl of food for two never eat out of the same dish. The bowl contains rice, but if any one wants a variety of food, vegetables and fruits are added.'
172. Visnu. Dh. Su. LXVIII. 40-47, Yaj. I. 138.
173. Kasyapa. Khila, V. 55.56.
174. Charaka. Su. V. 75-76., Kasyapa, Bhojana Kalpa. 39.
Susruta. Su. 46. 279-280., Susruta. Su. 46. 485-486.
175. Susruta. Su. 46.420.
These after potions consisted of cool water, warm water, *Āsava*, some intoxicating drinks, soups of cereals, fruit juices, sour gruel, milk or meat soup. These were taken in accordance with a man's temperament and the food articles he had taken.
176. Susruta. 46. 487-488., Susruta. 40. 490.
177. Charaka. Su. V. 18-23.
178. Yaj. I. 176-180., Yaj. I. 171.
179. Visnu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 17-18., Visnu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 18.
180. Kasyapa. Lasunakalpa. 18-20.
181. Kasyapa. Laśunakalpa. 52-53.
182. Yaj. I. 225-226.
183. Yaj. I. 257-260.
Visnu. Dh. Su. LXXX.
The Visnu. Dh. Su. provides that vessels in which the food is served in a *Śrāddha* should be metallic, preferably made of silver.
Visnu. Dh. Su. LXXIX. 14-15.

184. Yaj. I. 286-288., Aparārka on Yaj. I. 286-288.
185. Kasyapa. Bhojana Kalpa. 46.4.
186. Bhela. p. 22.
187. Bhela. p. 22. Vālhika = Bactria
188. Bhela. p. 22.
Kāmbhoja = region to the east of Kafiristan.
189. Charaka. Cikitsa. 30, 317.
190. Pundra—Between Monghyr and Vaṅga.
Kasyapa. Bhojanakalpa. 49-50.

- C.f. Charaka. Chikitsa 30, 317., Bhela. p. 22.
191. Kasyapa. Bhojanakalpa 51-52.
Paṭṭanavasina—Inhabitants of Masūlipattana
and Viśākhāpattana.
Nārmadeya—People of Narmadā valley.
192. Bhela. p. 22.
193. Susruta. Su. 45. 216.
194. Charaka. Chikitsa. V.
195. Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra VII 141-42.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the physical process how according to ancient Indian medical works if proper food is taken it brings vitality, refreshes all the limbs, strengthens the sources of life, develops the faculties of memory and intelligence, increases the physical strength and makes the complexion clean.
2. Mention all the food preparations from cereals and pulses referred to in the *Saṁhitās* of Charaka and Suśruta and describe the method of at least three new popular preparations.
3. Discuss why medical works prescribe the use of some food articles in a particular season and do not recommend the use of some other articles in that season. Give suitable examples in support of your answer.
4. Mention the food articles used by the people of north western India when the *Kāśyapa Saṁhita* and the *Bhela Saṁhita* were compiled.
5. Why have the medical works invariably prescribed meat preparations and intoxicating drinks with vegetarian dishes for patients?

Chapter 7

Food and Drinks

(c. 300 A.D. to c. 750 A.D.)

The period c. 300 A.D. to c. 750 A.D. was an era of great prosperity in India. The earliest source of information is the *Aṅgavijjā* which gives a long list of vegetarian preparations in the beginning of the Gupta period. Some information about the food habits of the people can be gleaned from the works of *Kālidāsa*, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*. But the first connected account that we have of food during the period comes from Chinese travellers *Fahien*, *Yuan Chwang* and *Itsing*. The medical works of this period, the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha*, the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* and the *Bower Mss.*, repeat a good many details given in the medical works of the earlier period but provide some additional information. The *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛtis* also throw some light on the feasts and rules of diet and etiquette during this period.

Food has generally been classified into the four traditional categories¹ but the Chinese travellers divide it into five solid foods, roots, stalks, leaves, flowers and fruits, and five soft foods, boiled rice, *Kulmāṣa*, groats, meat and cakes.² A number of varieties of rice are mentioned³ but the *Kalama* variety of *Śāli* rice, which was grown in Bengal and was transplanted to attain full growth, was largely used.⁴ *Ṣaṣṭika* rice was considered very nourishing⁵, and *Mahāvīrihi* variety, which was mostly grown in Magadha, was offered to religious persons of distinction and to kings.⁶ The medical works regard the red variety of *Śāli* rice to be the best.⁷ Rice was taken with curds, milk, clarified butter, molasses or

pulses such as *mudga māṣa* and *Kulattha*.⁸ Milk rice was popular but some *Brāhmaṇas* like the *Vidūṣaka* in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* were fond of rice with curds.⁹ Besides the old preparations of rice a new one was *utkārikā*. A variety this cake prepared with rice flour and milk and clarified butter of a goat with some medicines was considered aphrodisiac.¹⁰ *Itsing* prescribes boiled rice and well boiled lentil water for a convalescent person.¹¹ Rice was the staple food of the people in the south.¹² The foresters used some inferior varieties of rice such as *kaṅgu*, *nīvāra*, *kodrava* and *śyāmāka*.¹³ People also seem to be fond of eating sweet parched rice.¹⁴

Two varieties of barley, one superior and the other inferior¹⁵ and two those of wheat called *Nandimukhī* and *Madhūlikā* were used. *Itsing* noted that wheat was abundant in the western parts of India,¹⁶ but it is still mentioned among the inferior cereals by the authors of the medical works.¹⁷ All the old preparations of barley and wheat were in use but *yavāgū* seems to be very popular.¹⁸ Some new preparations such as *vitānaka*, *polikā*, *iṣṭaka*, and *locikā* are mentioned.¹⁹ As before groats were taken in the liquid form as also when they were prepared in a thick consistency.²⁰ People often took groats with them when proceeding on journey.²¹ *Jaūrṇāhva* (*Holcus Sorghum*) is also mentioned among the inferior foodgrains of this period.²² The use of pulses with clarified butter is recommended.²³ Of all the pulses *mudga*, especially the green variety, was considered

the best.²⁴ Daily use of *māṣa* is not considered good on medical grounds as it is difficult to digest.²⁵ *Kulaththa* was widely used.²⁶ Gram was also used for horses.²⁷ The use of *Rājamāṣa masūra*, *niṣpāva* and gram is interdicted in a Śrāddha by the authors of the Purāṇas.²⁸ *Mudga* was also used in preparing stuffing (*vesavāra*) called *Pūrāṇa*.²⁹ Pulses were used in saline preparations such as *yūṣas*, *maṇḍa* and *parpaṭas*.³⁰ Sprouted food grains were also used in food preparations.³¹

Dairy Products

Milk continued to be the favourite beverage in India.³² Even in the South the Brāhmaṇas used to domesticate milk yielding cows.³³ Milk is recommended as a suitable diet for the convalescent, the old, children and ascetics.³⁴ Both Yuan Chwang and Itsing noted that milk and its products were available everywhere.³⁵ Milk of cows was considered the best.³⁶ Other animals, whose milk was used, were buffaloes, goats, elephants, sheep, mares, camels and women.³⁷ Overboiled milk was considered difficult to digest while fresh milk, which was still warm, was considered as wholesome as nectar itself.³⁸ Milk rice continued to be popular³⁹ and beastings were avoided as before.⁴⁰ Curds were taken pure, with rice, with groats and with treacle.⁴¹ Curds when mixed with water in the ratio of 3:1 were called *Takra*, when they were mixed in equal quantities the mixture was called *Udaśvit* and curds churned without water were called *Mathita*.⁴² *Sikharinī* continued to be popular as before.⁴³ A Mixture of warm milk and curds, cream of curds and butter milk were also used.⁴⁴

Fresh butter, butter prepared from the previous day's milk and clarified butter were widely used.⁴⁵ Yuan Chwang states that milk and butter formed important food articles of the students at the university of Nālandā.⁴⁶ Some people were excessively fond of butter.

Urvaśī is said to have lived on butter alone.⁴⁷ Clarified butter was considered a germicide⁴⁸ and a mixture of clarified butter and curds was also used as food.⁴⁹ Besides the milk products mentioned in the earlier period Vāgbhata I mentions *Kṣīraśāka*, *Dadhikūrcikā* and *Takrapīṇḍaka*.⁵⁰

Meat Diet

Side by side with vegetarian diet meat diet was also in vogue. A slaughter house and a butcher boy are mentioned.⁵¹ A piece of meat being roasted on charcoal seems to be a common sight.⁵² At irregular hours a meal consisting of meat roasted on spits seems to be common among the Kṣatriyas.⁵³ Meat and fish formed part of the daily diet of the royal families.⁵⁴ Flesh of various animals was served to Brāhmaṇas at Śrāddhas.⁵⁵ The Kūrma Purāṇa goes to the extent of saying that one who does not take flesh in a Śrāddha is born again and again as an animal.⁵⁶ Brhaspati lays down that only those women whose husbands are away should refrain from meat diet. It expressly permits meat eating in the case of sick persons.⁵⁷ In South India also meat dishes were popular in royal courts.⁵⁸

Flesh of five toed animals, fish with scales, deer, peacocks, partridges, *kapiñjala*, *vārdhrīṇasa*, *dvīpī*, fish called *rājīve*, *simhatuṇḍa*, *pāṭhīna* and *rahita*, goats, hares, gazelle and birds was eaten.⁵⁹ People generally avoided the meat of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, lions, monkeys, frogs, bears and apes. Those who ate the flesh of prohibited animals were looked down upon in society.⁶⁰ In the middle country (*Madhyadeśa*) the peafowl was considered a delicacy,⁶¹ and artisans were beef eaters.⁶²

Some uncivilized people relished meat diet. It is said that the strong smell of flesh made the people residing in the Vindhya region joyous.⁶³ A Śabara youngman presented a

partridge to Harṣa probably because they prized its flesh very much as an article of food.⁶⁴

Meat cooked with rice, meat soup prepared with ghee or oil and some spices, meat roasted on spits or charcoal, seasoned meat, were all used.⁶⁵ Boneless meat ground after boiling and mixed with spices was used as a stuffing.⁶⁶ A soup prepared with some meat and spices such as dry ginger was called *Dakalāvaṇika*.⁶⁷ An acidic gruel cooked with meat and an extract of meat were also used as food articles.⁶⁸

But there seems to have been a good deal of feeling among some sections of society against the slaughter of animals. Fahien states that killing of animals was unknown throughout Madhyadeśa. There were no butchers' shops in the markets. Only the Chaṇḍālas sold flesh outside the city.⁶⁹ It may have been that Fahien saw everything with Buddhist glasses. But the author of *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (prior to 443 A.D.) states that the Buddha himself declared all kinds of meat uneatable for many reasons.⁷⁰ That the Buddhists of the period were against meat diet can be seen also from the example of Harṣa who prohibited taking of life under severe penalties and caused the use of flesh as food to cease throughout the five Indies.⁷¹

A considerable section of Hindu society at that time did not look on meat diet with approval. Even the *Kāmasūtra*, which does not represent the views of religious authorities, states that to desist from eating meat was considered an act of merit.⁷² Bhavabhūti pokes fun at the ancient custom of serving beef to a distinguished guest,⁷³ and a copperplate inscription dated 465 A.D. clearly shows that the slayer of a cow was considered guilty of a heinous crime.⁷⁴ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* in the same strain declares that slaughter of animals is not proper for sacrifices and one should perform sacrifices with cereals.⁷⁵ Itsing also

states that even laymen rarely have the taste of grease or flesh.⁷⁶

Honey and Sweets

The four varieties of honey mentioned in the medical works of the earlier period continued to be used in the reception of guests and other festive rites.⁷⁷ But all the products of sugarcane were widely used as sweetening ingredients in the food preparations.⁷⁸ Of these *Śarkarā* was considered the best and *phāṇita* the worst.⁷⁹ Bāṇa mentions two varieties of sugar, red and white.⁸⁰ Sugar was also prepared with a grass called *yavāsa*.⁸¹ Besides the old sweet⁸² preparations such as *madhulājā*, *kṛsara*, *modakas*, *utkārīkā*, *saṁyāva*, *pūpa*, *phenaka*, *pāyasa*, *abhyūṣa* and *guḍaudana*,⁸³ some new preparations are mentioned. *Moreṇḍaka* was a kind of sweet prepared from inspissated milk. The solid part of it was formed into the shape of the eggs of a peacock, fried in clarified butter and coated with sugar.⁸⁴ *Vimardaka* was a preparation of groats and clarified butter.⁸⁵ Other sweets mentioned are—*locikā*, *iṣṭaka*, *vitānaka* and *polikā*. But as neither Sanskrit dictionaries nor books on food and drinks enlighten us about the way they were prepared it is difficult to say much about them.⁸⁶

Salts, Spices and Condiments

All the varieties of salts mentioned by Caraka were in use.⁸⁷ As before saline preparations were considered exciting hence ascetics and newly married couples were advised to avoid them.⁸⁸ There does not seem to have been any great change in this respect. The common spices used for seasoning were dry ginger, cumin, mustard, coriander, myrobalan, long pepper, black pepper, cloves, cardamom, turmeric and asafoetida.⁸⁹ Black pepper is called *Dharmapattana* in the *Amarakośa*, which shows that it was grown

near Dharmapattana on the sea coast.⁹⁰ Asafoetida is called Bāhlika which shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.⁹¹ The skin of *mātuliṅga* was used with betel leaves for perfuming the mouth.⁹²

Many sauces and condiments were prepared and used. The most common were *kāmbalika*, *khaḍa*, *temana* and sour gruel. Two varieties of sour gruel, one in which husked cereals were used and the other in which unhusked cereals were used, are mentioned.⁹³ Sour gruel seems to be a favourite article of food in *Kāñcī*, *Avantī* and *Sauvīra*.⁹⁴ Jams and syrups prepared from fruits were also used as condiments with food.⁹⁵ Vinegar was prepared as before, from *guḍa* sugarcane juice, cereals, and grapes. Bulbs, roots and fruits were preserved in it.⁹⁶ A new preparation from oil cake, which was acidic in taste, was called *Śrikukkuṭa*. It was in common use in Mālava country.⁹⁷ The *Harṣacarita* mentions a preparation of fragrant mango fruit. Camphor, cloves and some sweet smelling flowers such as *campaka* were also used in preparing it.⁹⁸

Oils and Oilseeds

All the oilseeds mentioned in the earlier period were used for extracting oil.⁹⁹ But besides clarified butter, sesamum oil and mustard oil were in general use as frying mediums.¹⁰⁰ Oil was used in preparing boiled rice and gruel.¹⁰¹ The oil extracted from sesamum was considered the best and that from safflower the worst.¹⁰² Vagbhata II recommends the use of oil chiefly in the winter season.¹⁰³ Oil cake was used as food by hermits but its use is forbidden in a *Śrāddha*.¹⁰⁴ Many condiments were also prepared from it.¹⁰⁵ Of the animal fats, fat of a goat is considered the best and that of an elephant the worst. Other animals, whose fat was used in food, were a fish called *aulukī*, a pig, a cock, and *Pākahaṁsa*.¹⁰⁶

Fruits and Vegetables

Fruits as before, formed a very important part of our diet.¹⁰⁷ Yuan Chwang writes that in the region near Kashmir pears, plums peaches apricots and grapes were planted.¹⁰⁸ Pomegranates and melons were grown everywhere.¹⁰⁹ He states that peaches and pears were introduced by the Chinese into India hence peaches were called *Chināni* and pears were called *China-rājaputra*.¹¹⁰

He himself used to receive one hundred and twenty *Jambiras* (*Citrus medica*) every day.¹¹¹ Bread fruit and cocoanut were cultivated in Assam (*Kāmarūpa*).¹¹² In the Ajanta paintings we can see mango, custard apple, round fruit which looks like a *Bilva* fruit or a lemon and another fruit which looks like a brinjal.¹¹³ Of all the fruits, grapes were considered the best¹¹⁴ and *Lakuca* the worst.¹¹⁵

From the *Vāyu Purāṇa* we learn that the people of *Harivaṁśa* liked the juice of sugarcane, the people of *Hiraṇvatavarṣa* the juice of *Lakuca*, those of *Ramaṇakavarṣa* the juice of the fruit of *Nyagrodha*, those of *Ilavṛtavarṣa* the juice of *jambū* fruit, those of *Gandhamadana* island the juice of bread fruit and the *Siddhas* the juice of *Parūṣaka*. Although we are not in a position to identify all these regions, yet it shows the popularity of fruit juices in the country.¹¹⁶

All the vegetables, which were spoiled by frost, fire, bad breeze, carnivorous animals, eaten by insects or growing under water or not growing in a proper season, very old or dry, were avoided, but dry radish and unripe *Bilva* fruit were used.¹¹⁷ From the *Kāmasūtra* it appears that besides radish, *kūṣmāṇḍa* (pumpkin gourd), *āluka* (an esculent root), *palaṁkī* (a pot herb), *damanaka*, the hogplum (*āmṛātāka*), *ervāruka* (a kind of cucumber), *trapusa* (cucumber), bottle gourd and brinjal were in common use.¹¹⁸ Some other vegetables

such as *sūraṇa*, *śigru* and *granthiparṇa* were also eaten.¹¹⁹ But according to medical works *Paṭola*, *Kūśmāṇḍa*, *sunīṣaṇṇaka*, *jīvanti*, unripe radish and *vāstuka* were considered good vegetables¹²⁰ and leaves and stalks of mustard the worst.¹²¹

Yuan Chwang states that lotus fibres were used as food by the ascetics.¹²² People generally avoided the use of onions and garlic.¹²³ According to Itsing the Hindus believed that onions of any kind caused pain, spoilt eyesight and caused the body to become more and more weak.¹²⁴ But the Bower Mss. prescribe the use of garlic as medicine in the treatment of many diseases. The author prescribes a method by which it could be administered to those Brāhmaṇas who avoided it. He says that a cow should be kept without grass for three nights. She should then be given stalks of garlic with some grass to eat and her milk, curds, clarified butter and butter milk should be given to such Brāhmaṇas.¹²⁵ He also describes how a soup of garlic should be prepared, with some flour, meat, ground *mudga* pulse, some green and dry spices and *Soṇcala* salt. The mixture should be well fried in clarified butter before preparing the soup.¹²⁶

Intoxicating Drinks

From the *Aṅgavijjā* it appears that many varieties of intoxicating drinks were in use.¹²⁷ Kālidāsa's works have similarly many references to drinking.¹²⁸ It was believed that intoxication gave a special charm to women; ladies of royal families, therefore, enjoyed drinking.¹²⁹ Police officers, soldiers, drummers and their friends are represented as enjoying themselves by drinking in the liquor shops.¹³⁰ The statement of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* that in Kaliyuga even women would drink has probably a reference to contemporary habits i.e., to the fourth century A.D. when it was finally redacted.¹³¹ The *Matsya Purāṇa*

describes Kṛṣṇa drinking with sixteen thousand ladies and does not regard him as a sinner. Ajantā painting also depict scenes of drinking such as wines being brought in large jars.¹³² Yuan Chwang states that the Kṣatriyas used intoxicating drinks prepared from the juice of grapes and sugarcane while the Vaiśyas used strong fermented drinks. The Śramaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas drank only syrups prepared with the juice of grapes and sugarcane.¹³³ Cultivation of *soma* plant is referred to in the *Harṣacarita*. It is therefore, probable that Bāhmaṇas may have used *soma* juice as a beverage.¹³⁴ From *Perumpanattaru-pada*i we learn that in the south people other than Brāhmaṇas were addicted to drinking.¹³⁵ Rich liquors imported from the west were served at the royal table and the poor enjoyed country wine.¹³⁶

Intoxicating drinks were generally prepared from grapes, sugarcane, honey and rice.¹³⁷ Wines flavoured with mango juice and *Pāṭala* flowers were also used.¹³⁸ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions an intoxicating liquor called *Kaśya*.¹³⁹ Wines were also prepared from such fruits as *rājādāna* and *madanaphala* and *madhūka* flowers.¹⁴⁰ All the varieties of liquors mentioned in the earlier period were used in this period and the medical works prescribe their moderate use, as in the earlier works.¹⁴¹

Drinking water and other Beverages

Bad smelling and foamy water and that taken from small ponds was not used for drinking purposes.¹⁴² Good drinking water is said to have eight virtues which are, however, not mentioned.¹⁴³ The water from rivers, tanks, springs and wells was, as before generally used for drinking.¹⁴⁴ It was stored in jars hung in windows, receiving cool gusts of breeze which kept it cool by evaporation.¹⁴⁵ In the *Harṣacarita* we find a special officer in charge of drinking water.¹⁴⁶ In the medical works

water is called the very essence of life.¹⁴⁷ Rain water is regarded as the best for drinking, especially, in the rainy season while impure water, if necessary, was used only after straining in a piece of cloth.¹⁴⁸

Milk and its other products such as butter-milk were generally used as beverages. Sometimes earthen pots containing butter milk were cooled by keeping them underground in ice which was brought from the Himālayas.¹⁴⁹ Many syrups were prepared with the juices of fruits such as mango, dates, grapes, *lakuca*, rose apple, *nyagrodha*, bread fruit and *parūṣaka*. Juice of sugarcane, and *guḍa* mixed with water were also used as beverages.¹⁵⁰ Drinks were also prepared with some spices such as dry ginger, *asana* and *jalada*,¹⁵¹ Itsing states that it was a common practice in India to offer one of the eight syrups prescribed by the Buddha to distinguished visitors, teachers, pupils, disciples, strangers and friends.¹⁵² Syrups are frequently mentioned in other works of the period.¹⁵³ Some drinks prepared with plantain, cocoanut, and *paṭola* leaves were used in the summer season. Camphor was mixed in these beverages to make them fragrant.¹⁵⁴

The Art of Cooking and Utensils

The art of cooking was considered so important that it is regarded as one of the sixty four fine arts.¹⁵⁵ The story of Gominī in the Daśakumāracarits shows that proficiency in cooking was considered an essential qualification of brides.¹⁵⁶ Kitchens were generally located in well lighted, clean, quiet and secluded places where strangers might have no access.¹⁵⁷ Cooks expert in cooking pulses, rice, cakes, and sweets are mentioned.¹⁵⁸ There is also mention of a special officer in charge of the kitchen in the Allahabad inscription.¹⁵⁹

The various processes in cooking such as mixing various substances, frying in oils or clarified butter, and fumigation are mentioned in the Amarakośa.¹⁶⁰ The description of Vasantasenā's kitchen is interesting.¹⁶¹ Even in a hermitage like that of Vālmiki such fine preparations as rice boiled with some fruits and vegetables were available. Their fragrance pervaded the whole atmosphere.¹⁶² The Aṣṭ Saṁ. mentions cakes cooked in a fire made of chaff, a pot sherd, a frying pan, an oven, and on charcoals.¹⁶³

As before the rich generally used utensils made of gold or silver, the people of the middle classes—vessels made of other metals and the poor leaves sewn together and earthenware.¹⁶⁴ All the utensils mentioned in the earlier period were in common use.¹⁶⁵ From the account of Yuan Chwang we learn that people used saucepans and stewpans but they did not know the use of a steamer. People did not use spoons or chop sticks.¹⁶⁶ Drinking cups were made of conchshell and were engraved with designs.¹⁶⁷ Oil was stored in leather bags.¹⁶⁸ Spittoons for spitting the juice of betel leaves had come into use.¹⁶⁹

Rules of Diet and Etiquette

As in the early periods a householder is expected to offer food to gods, guests, Brāhmaṇas, spirits and dependents before he himself takes his meals. It is stated that many gods come to the house-holder in the form of a guest so a man should always be anxious to accord hospitality to a guest and he who takes his meals without feeding a guest is a sinner.¹⁷⁰ To provide food and drinks to the blind, the sick, the lame, the poor, and the orphans is considered a sacred duty,¹⁷¹ and it is laid down that one should never cook food only for himself.

The Purāṇas repeat the rules about the purity of food. They prohibit the use of unclean

food and that offered by unclean or dishonest persons for it is stated that one who eats food offered by a sinner himself becomes a sinner.¹⁷²

The duty of taking meals on a clean piece of ground after washing hands, feet and mouth is equally emphasised.¹⁷³ Even a work on medicine like the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* lays down that one should avoid food offered by persons about to die, those maintaining themselves with difficulty, the henpecked, eunuchs, the degraded, hunters, evil doers, associations, enemies, prostitutes, rogues, and a usurer, as also food given in charity to all.¹⁷⁴ The *Matsya Purāṇa* includes atheists, people living in non-Aryan regions, such as Dravida, Konkāṇa and a worshipper of Śiva (*liṅgin*) in the above list.¹⁷⁵ Leavings of food were not used by respectable persons.¹⁷⁶ But Kumārila states that some Brāhmaṇas used to take food of which their friends or relatives had already partaken. He also mentions that the Brāhmaṇas in the north used to eat from the same plate with their wives, children and friends.¹⁷⁷ But all these rules could be waived in times of scarcity. From the *Kādambarī* we learn that in times of need the people of the high castes could use food and water offered by a Chāṇḍāla.¹⁷⁸ Food was taken in a happy mood without reviling it and the practice of washing hands and mouth after meals was observed. Those who did not observe it were looked down upon in society.¹⁷⁹

There were generally three meals. According to Śabara Devadatta's morning meal consisted of cakes, midday meal of various food preparations and afternoon meal of sweets such as *modakas*. It seems that there was generally no evening meal.¹⁸⁰ But this may not have been the general rule for every one. Some people, it seems, also took evening meal.¹⁸¹ The times of taking meals seem to be well regulated on medical grounds and the

transgression of the appropriate time was adjudged a bad habit by physicians.¹⁸² Taking meals at midnight, at noon or when one was suffering from indigestion was considered improper.¹⁸³ The old rule of dividing the stomach into four parts—two for solid food, one for liquid and one for wind etc. is repeated.¹⁸⁴

The necessity of changing food according to the temperament and not eating the same preparations day after day was fully recognised.¹⁸⁵ As before, medical works prescribe food articles suitable for different seasons¹⁸⁵ and give a list of articles which could be used daily and of those which should only be used rarely. Easily digestible articles are recommended for daily use while those difficult to digest are considered unfit for daily use.¹⁸⁷ It is laid down that articles difficult to digest, sweet and fatty should be taken in the beginning, acidic saline preparation in the middle and other flavours in the end.¹⁸⁰ As before the medical works also mention preparations which should not be taken together.¹⁸⁹

The general rules of etiquette were mostly the same as in the earlier period. People were generally expected to eat facing the east, sitting on a seat and not on a cot, in proper utensils, at proper time and at a proper place.¹⁹⁰ They were also expected to take off their head dress and shoes before taking meals.¹⁹¹ A person was not advised to eat in darkness, in a temple or with his wife. He was not to eat from a broken vessel or from the lap or from the palm of his hands,¹⁹² nor should he drink water by joining his hands together.¹⁹³ A person was not to take sweets when others did not partake of them.¹⁹⁴ He was not to eat all the solid food served to him but was to leave some for departed spirits and birds.¹⁹⁵ But it was considered improper to leave liquid articles of food such as honey,

curds and clarified butter as also delicious cakes called *Śaṣkuli*.¹⁹⁶ People generally avoided preparations of sesamum at night.¹⁹⁷

Itsing states that sitting crosslegged side by side and to have meals stretched out was considered improper. The priests sat on separate small chairs. The chair was about seven inches high by a foot square and its seat was made of wicker. They place their feet on the ground and trays were placed before them.¹⁹⁸ First one or two pieces of ginger with some salt were served. Then some boiled rice and bean soup were served with hot butter sauce as flavouring which was mixed with fingers with other food. Then cakes, fruits, clarified butter and sugar were served.¹⁹⁹ After the guests had taken their meals tooth woods and pure water were supplied to them for cleansing the mouth. Sometimes a perfumed paste was given to rub hands with before washing in order to make them fragrant and clean.

The practice of drinking some liquid such as cold or warm water, whey, butter milk, and sour gruel is mentioned in the medical works.²⁰⁰ After this liquid, betel leaves, with some fragrant spices, were taken as it was believed that it helped digestion, removed the phlegm and made the mouth fragrant.²⁰¹ The practice of betel chewing was so common that it is mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* in the account of the citizen.²⁰² In the *Harsacarita* we read that *Sudṛṣṭi* had his lips red with betel leaves.²⁰³ King *Śūdraka* also used to chew betel leaves after his midday meal.²⁰⁴ *Yuan Chwang* received one hundred and twenty betel leaves and twenty betel nuts daily as part of his ration.²⁰⁵ The practice of smoking a cigar prepared with fragrant substances is also mentioned.²⁰⁶ After the meals the rich avoided hard work and indulged in such enjoyments as listening to the conversation of parrots or *sārikās*, seeing the fights between quails, cooks

or rams, or the shows of acrobats and clowns. Sometimes they also slept during the day.²⁰⁷

Children used to take some breakfast in the morning.²⁰⁸ The newly married couple were as before expected to avoid saline preparations.²⁰⁹ The Buddhist monks did not drink intoxicating drinks and avoided taking meals at forbidden hours.²¹⁰ Their breakfast generally consisted of rice water, their lunch of rice, butter milk, fruits and sweet melons and they were permitted to have a light evening meal.²¹¹ *Fahien* also states that liquid food was permitted to monks at irregular hours.²¹² The *Vāyu Purāṇa* lays down that an ascetic should not be fond of taking only one foodgrain nor should he take honey, meat and salt. He should not accept uncooked food.²¹³

A taboo against the use of certain vegetables such as onions and garlic is found even in this period.²¹⁴ The *Purāṇas* declare that *masūra*, *linseed*, *niṣpāva*, *rājamāṣa*, *kusumbhika*, *kodrava*, *udāra*, gram, *kapittha* and *madhuka*, should not be used as articles of food.²¹⁵ The *Kātyāyana Smṛti* lays down that vegetables, meat, *masūra*, gram, *koradūṣaka*, honey, some alkalies and sea-salt should not be used as food on the day of a fast.²¹⁶ Generally rice boiled with *guḍa*, clarified butter, curds or rice alone were regarded as proper articles of food on the day of a fast.²¹⁷

It appears that feasts were common during this period. In the friendly parties people enjoyed various kinds of intoxicating drinks, saline preparations, fruits, vegetables, sauces and condiments.²¹⁸ At the time of the ceremony of laying the foundation of a house *Brāhmaṇas* were fed with clarified butter and milk rice and masters of dramatic art with rice cooked with *guḍa*.²¹⁹ In the royal households the food was as before, examined to see whether it contained any poisonous substance before it was served.²²⁰ *Fahien* states that the kings of the states near Mathura

used to take off their caps when serving food with their own hands to a community of monks and they sat on a carpet on the ground and not on couches.²²¹ In the Śrāddha feasts sesamum, meat of many animals, clarified butter, milk, honey, sugarcane, juices of fruits such as mango, grapes and pomegranate, food grains such as *śyāmāka*, *śālī*, *nīvāra*, *mudga*, and barley were used while *masūra*, *niṣpāva*, *rājamāṣa*, *safflower*, lotus, *Bilva*, *kodrava*, *udāra*, gram, *kapittha*, linseed, milk of goats and sheep, some spices and vegetables were avoided.²²² The same food was served to all and all the relatives and servants were fed in such feasts.²²³ Poor people were permitted to perform these rites with fruits, roots sesamum and water.²²⁴ Gift of uncooked food is permitted by a Śūdra.²²⁵ Generally vessels made of gold, silver, or copper were used in a Śrāddha by the rich.²²⁶

We can also form some idea of the food habits of the people during the period. The inhabitants of the east were mainly rice²²⁷ and fish eaters.²²⁸ They were fond of drinking *surā*,²²⁹ and alkaline substances suited them.²³⁰

The staple food grain of the people in the north was wheat²³¹ and women there drank liquors.²³² The inhabitants of the south enjoyed boiled rice with tamarind.²³³ In the deserts the food of the people consisted of milk, curds and fruit of *karīa* tree. In Sindh fish was much eaten, in the *Aśmaka* country, oils and acidic substances, and in the Malaya region roots and tubers. The people of *Konkaṇa* were fond of fruit juices and the mountaineers of groats. The staple food of the inhabitants of *Avanti* was wheat, of the *Bāl̥hika* region meat roasted on spits with sour gruel and roasted meat, wheat and grapes were the favourite food articles of the Greeks and Scythians.²³⁴ In *Jhang* and *Montgomery* districts (*Uśīnara*) people were fond of drinking milk,²³⁵ while in

Gandhāra people drank decoctions of various kinds.

There were certain people who lived in their homes but led the life of recluses. They did not join community feasts. Some did not take food offered even by the three higher castes. They probably cooked their own food.²³⁶ It shows that restrictions about interdining were sufficiently rigid in this period.

Modakas were offered to the preceptor on the day of initiation of a pupil.²³⁷ All guests such as teachers, pupils, disciples, strangers and friends were offered clarified butter, honey, sugar or one of the eight kinds of syrups which were allowed by the Buddha.²³⁸ Certain rules of etiquette were observed in the dinners of foreigners.²³⁹

In *Kumarila's* time *Brāhmaṇa* women in *Ahicchatra* (modern *Ramnagar* in *Bareilly* district) and *Mathurā* drank wine, the *Brāhmaṇas* of the north ate from the same plate with their wives, children and friends. *Brāhmaṇas* of the south took their meal sitting on couches, *Brāhmaṇas* both in the north and the south had no objection to taking cooked food that remained in pots after their friends and relatives had partaken of it. They had no objection to taking betel leaves touched by persons of all castes and many of them did not sip water after taking their meals.²⁴⁰ Food obtained by begging was considered as unwelcome as death itself while that obtained without begging was regarded as nourishing as nectar.²⁴¹

To sum up the period under review was an era of great prosperity. It resulted in the further enriching of varieties of dishes. Some new preparations of wheat and a stuffing prepared with *mudga* were used. A considerable section of Hindu society had accepted vegetarianism as the normal way of life. Some of the *Purāṇas* prescribe vegetarian dishes even in a Śrāddha

where meat was obligatory before. But the Kṣatriyas relished meat dishes. A tasty meat soup called *Dakalāvaṇika* was prepared. In some regions where civilization was not much advanced, such as in the Vindhyas, people were mostly non-vegetarians.

On account of intercourse with foreigners and general prosperity the moral standards had gone down considerably even in the Madhyadeśa. The rich indulged in drinking. Even respectable women considered drinking wines a necessary, embellishment. But the Brāhmaṇas generally drank syrups. Betel chewing was common. Some articles such as gram, and *masūra* were still considered exotic and onions and garlic were avoided by respectable persons.

References

1. Aṅgavijjā. p. 178, Vayu. 74.31
2. Itsing. p. 43.
C.f. Div. 297. 10-14.
3. The Ast. Sam. VIII. 3-12 mentions the following varieties of *śāli rice* :
Raktaśāli, mahāśāli, kalama, tūrṇaka, śākunāhrta, śārāmukha, dīrghaśūka, rodhraśūka, sugandhaka, puṇḍram puṇḍarika, pramoda, gaura, sārivā, kāñcana, mahiśaśūka, dūśaka, kusumāṇḍaka, lāṅgala, lohavāla, kardama, śitabhīruka, pataṅga and tapanīya.
Other varieties of rice described are :
Śaṣṭika, mahāvrihi, kṛṣṇavrihi, jātumukha, kukkuṭaṇḍaka, lāvaka, pārāvataka, sūkara, varaka, uddālaka, ujjala, cīna, śārada, dardura, gandhana, kuruvṇḍa, yavaka, hāyana, pāmsu, vāpya and naiśadhaks.
शल्यः कलमाद्याश्च
षष्टिकाद्याश्च पुंस्यमी ।
Amar. II. 9.24.
C.f. Angv. p. 164, Ast. Hrd. VI.
4. Raghu. IV. 36-37.
C.f. Karpūramañjarī I. 19, Kirata. IV, Mrch. IV. p. 232.
5. Brhat. 76.8., Ast. Sam. VII. 10., Yaj. I. 303-304.
From Śabara's commentary on Jaimini's Mimāṃsā Sūtra. I.3.1. it appears that parched *śaṣṭika* rice was eaten with milk and parched *śāli rice* was eaten with milk. Rice cooked with *mudga* pulse is also recommended.
6. Beal Si-yu-ki. II. 82.
7. Ast. Sam. VIII. 7.
8. Angv. p. 64, Mrch. Act IV, p. 181. Calcutta 1938.
C.f. Ragh. IX. 42, IV. 37, Kumar. V. 47. Matsya. 268 6-30.
9. Mrch. IV, p. 241.
10. Śaṣṭikūli—Matsya. 268. 6-30,
Pṛthuka—Vayu. 80.47, Amar. II. 9.47.
Kṛsara—Matsya 268. 6.30.
Brhat. Sam. 76.9.
C.f. Div. 500.23.
Cooked rice from which water was not strained was called *Caru* (Śabara on Jaim. X. 142)
11. Itsing. p. 135.
12. A history of South India p. 191, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri.
13. Uttaracarita. IV. 1., Mārkaṇḍeya. Pu. 29.10, Bhavi. 20.3, Ast. Hr. VI. 11-12.
The following inferior grains are mentioned in Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 14-16.
Kaṅgu, kodrava, jūrṇāhva, garmūti, cūrṇapādikā, śyāmāka, toyaśyāmāka, śibira, dārumivāra, barukūbaraka, utkata, madhūlikā, śāntanu, saṇḍi, veṇuparṇi, praśāntikā, gavedhukā, aṇḍalauhitya, todaparṇi and mukundaka.
14. लाजान् मधुयुतान् दद्यात् सक्तून् शर्करया सह । Kurma. XX.
C.f. Matsya. 268. 6-30., Kamandaka. VII. 52.
15. Aṇuyava (inferior variety of barley) Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 52. Veṇuyava (Bamboo seeds) were also used as an article of food. Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 21.
16. Nandimukhi (thin and long variety of wheat)—Ast. Sam. Su. VII.22.
Madhūlikā variety of wheat was considered more wholesome. Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 14-16, Itsing. p. 45.
But the Vayu Purana (Ch.VIII. 153-54) mentions rice, barley, *māsa*, wheat, *aṇu*, *sesamum*, *Priyangu*, and *Kulaththa* among the cultivated grains and *Śyāmāka*, *nivāra*, *jartila*, *gavedhuka*, *kuruvṇḍa*, *veṇuyava* and *markiṭaka* among the uncultivated grains. *Udāra*, *koradūṣa*, *cīnaka*, *mudga*, *masūra*, *niṣpāva*,

- āḍhaki*, gram and *ṣaṇa* were not regarded as sacred grains.
C.f. *Viṣṇu*. Pu. I. 6, 21-26.
17. *Ast. Sam. Su. VII.* 14-16
18. The *Angv.* p. 181 mentions *yavāgu* mixed with clarified butter, oil or vinegar.
C.f. *Kāma*. 174. 15-17.
Dhanāḥ—*Kurma*. II. 17, *Amara*. II. 9.47.
Saktu—The goats of *jujbe* were also used. *Ast. Sam. VII.*
Kaṣambha—*Amara*. II. 9.49, *Vayu*. 80.47
Saiṇyāva—*Kurma*. II. 17.
Apūpa—*Kurma*. II. 17, *Amar*. II. 9.47.
For other preparations of wheat see E.F.A.I. p. 283.
19. *Vitānaka*—*Mstysa*. 268. 6-30.
Polikā—*Ibid.*
Purikā—*Ibid.*
Iṣṭaka—*Vayu*. 80.47, *Vayu*, 80.47
Locikā—a kind of delicious sweet preparation.
Svastika—*Ast. Sam. Su. VIII.* 94.
20. *Ast. Sam. Su. VII.* 61.
21. *Harṣacarita*. p. 217.
22. *Ast. Sam. Su. VII.* 14-16. It is called *jāmaṇāla* in *Tiloyapaṇṇati*.
See *History of Jondhāla's* by Dr. P.K. Code in *B.C. Law Commemoration Volume I*. p. 145-158.
23. *Ast. Sam. Su. VI.* 33-34.
24. *Ast. Sam. Su. VII.* 26.
25. *Ast. Sam. Su. VIII.* 41.
26. *Bower. Mss.* 2.14.
27. *Amarasimha* calls gram—the food of the horses (*harimanthaka*, II. 9-11). Rice cooked with gram is mentioned—*Matsya*. 268. 6-30.
28. *Matsya*. 15. 36-38.
C.f. *Mārkaṇḍeya*. Pu. 29.11.
29. *Ast. Sam. Su. VII.*
30. *Yūṣa* (soup of pulses)—*Kāma Sūtra*. 174. 15-17, *Bharata*. III. 36-39, *Angv.* p. 179, *Ast. Sam. Su. VII.*
Maṇḍa—juice of cereals was considered a light food.
Uttaracarita. IV, 1.
C.f. *Amara*. II. 9.49.
Parpaṭa—*Ast. Sam. Su. VII.*
31. *Ast. Sam. Su. VII.*
32. *Beal Si-yu-ki* p. 88, *Angv.* p. 181, *Raghu*. II. 63, *Kurma*. 22, *Vayu*. 78.17, *Viṣṇu*. III. 16.11.
33. *A History of South India*, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 190.
34. *Ast. Hrd.* VIII. 50.
C.f. *Vāyu*. 16.13.
35. *Beal Vol. I*, p. 88, *Watters Vol. I*. p. 178. Itsing. p. 44.
36. *Khāranāda.*, *Ast. Sam. Su. VI.* 54.
37. *Ast. Sam. Su. VI.* 52-53.
C.f. *Vayu*. 78.17.
38. *Ast. Sam. Su. VI.* 62.
C.f. *Ast. Hrd. Su. V.* 29.
39. *Amar*. II. 7.24.
40. *Ast. Sam. Su. VI*, *Amar*. II. 9.54.
41. *Dadhi* (curds)—*Angv.* p. 181, *Kurma*. 22, *Matsya*. 217, *Ast. Sam. Su. VI.*
Dadhisaktu (curds with groats)—*Angv.* 220.
Dadhyodana (rice mixed with curds)—*Mrch.* VII.
Guḍadadhi (curda with treacle)—*Angv.* p. 220.
42. *Takra*—*Matsya*. 217, *Vayu*. 16.13, *Amar*. II. 9.53, *Ast. Sam. Su. VI.*
Udaśvit—*Amar*. II. 9.53, *Ast. Sam. Su. VI.*
Mathita—*Amar*. II. 9.53.
Trapsyam—*Angv.* p. 220, *Amar*. II. 9.51.
43. *Rasālā*—*Angv.* p. 220, *Amar* II. 9.44, *Vikramorvaśīya*. p. 72 (III. 86).
44. *Śabara* on II. 2.23, *Amar*. II. 7.23.
Dadhiśara (cream of curds) *March. Act I*. p. 47 *Calcutta*, 1938.
Daṇḍāhata (butter milk)—*Amar*. II. 9.53.
45. *Navanīta* (fresh butter) *Malavikgnimitra*. p. 57, *Angv.* p. 182, *Amar*. II. 9.51, *Matsya* 217, *Ast. Sam. Su. VI.*
Haiyaṁgavīna (Butter of yesterday's milk)—*Raghu*. I. 4.5, *Amar*, II. 9.51.
Ghṛta—*Angv.* p. 182, *Kurma*. 22, *Amar*. II. 9.51, *Ast. Sam. Su. VI.*
46. *Beal. Si-yu-ki. Vol. I*. p. 88.
47. *Vayu* 91.11.
48. *Matsya*. 227.39.
49. *Amara. Vaisya.*
Originally '*prṣadājya*' denoted a mixture of curds and minute globules of butter. (*Sāraṇa* on *Tai Sam III*, 2.6.2)
50. The solid part of curds when water has oozed out was called *Takrapīṇḍaka*—*Ast. Sam. Su. VI.* 78-79, *Ast. Hrd. Su. V.*
Ksiraśaka—*Ibid.*
Dadhikūrcikā—*Ibid.*

51. Malavika. II. p. 36, Mrch. IV. p. 237.
52. Mrch. p. 98.
53. Sakuntala. II.
54. Mrch. X. 29. p. 545, Kamasutra. 174 15-17., Bower. Mss. I. 24, Harsa. p. 45, Harsa. VII. 211.
55. Vayu. 82, Matsya. 16, I. 29-36, Kurma. 20.
56. Kurma. 22.
57. Brhaspatismrti. 25.13. p. 194.
58. Porunar. II. 84-93, 102-121.
59. Kurma. 22.
60. Beal Si-yu-ki. p. 89.
61. See Buddhaghosa's Sāratthappakāsanī, his commentary on Saṃyutta Nikāya.
62. Brhaspati. Sm. I. 128-29.
63. Caudavaho. 377.
64. Harascarita, p. 232.
65. *Piśītaudana* or *māṃsaudana* (meat cooked with rice)—Matsya. 268, 6-30.
C.f. Div. 559.1.
Māṃsarasa (meat soup)—Mrch. VIII. 14, X. 29, Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 39-46 Amar. II. 9.45.
Śūlyamāṃsa (roasted on spits)—Śakuntala II., Amar. II. 9.45.
Aṅgārārāśī patita māṃsa khaṇḍam—Mrch. p. 98.
Ballūra or *śuśka māṃsa* (seasoned meat)—Ang. 64, Kāmasūtra. 174. 15.
66. *Vesavāra* (stuffing)—Ast. Hrd. Cikitsa I.
67. *Dakalāvaṇika* (a kind of meat soup)
68. *Amlayavāgu* (acidic gruel)—Kama Sutra. 174.15.
Accharasaka yūṣam (extract of meat)—Ibid.
69. Legge. p. 43.
70. The reasons given are :
 - (a) The animal whose flesh is eaten may have been one's intimate relation.
 - (b) Butchers sometimes bring flesh of unclean animals like dogs.
 - (c) A non-vegetarian sees horrible dreams.
 - (d) Flesh is produced from the semen of a male and the blood of a female hence it is impure.
 - (e) Meat eating causes obstruction in the acquisition of learning.
 - (f) A meat eater is deprived of learning.
 - (g) Meat eating is the characteristic of an *Anārya* (uncultured person).
 - (h) The Buddhist teachings are looked down upon if Śramaṇas take meat diet. See A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XX. parts III and IV.
71. Watters. Yuan Chwang Part. I. p. 344.
72. Kamasutra. p. 12.7.
73. Uttara. carita. IV. 87.
74. C.I.I. III. p. 71.
75. Vayu. Pu. 57.100.
C.f. Matsya. Pu. 143. 12-14.
76. Itsing. p. 44.
77. The four varieties of honey were :
Bhrāmara, *pauttika*, *kṣaudra* and *mākṣika*—Charaka, Su. 27.242, Ast. Sam. VI. 98.
Kumar. VI. 50, VII. 72, Raghu. XI 69, Visnu. III. 11.82, Vayu. 79. 11-12, 105.34, Kurma. 22.
78. Vāgbhaṭa I mentions five varieties of sugarcane—
Paṇḍraka, *vāmśika*, *śataparvaka*, *kāntāra* and *naipāla* and considers the juice extracted with the help of a machine unwholesome. Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 83-85.
C.f. Ast. Hrd. V. 44.
Phāṇita—Angv. p. 182, Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Sam. VI. 86.
Guḍa—Angv. p. 181, Vayu. 105.34, Ast Sam. VI. 86.
Matsyaṇḍikā—Angv. p. 181, Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 88, Malavika II. p. 42, Ast. Hrd. V. 49.
Khaṇḍa—Ast. Sam. VI. 88, Vayu. 105.34.
Śarkarā—Angv. p. 181, Kurma. 25, Amar. II. 9.43, Harsa p. 156.
Sitā (sugarcandy)—Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Hrd. V. 49.
79. Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 98.
80. *Pātala Śarkarā*—(red sugar).
Karka Śarkarā—White sugar—Harsacarita p. 156.
81. Ast. Hrd. V. 50.
82. *Guḍavikāra* denotes all sweets prepared with *guḍa* (Rtusamhāra V. 16) and *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, those with unrefined sugar. Kamasutra. IV. 10.16.
83. *Madhulājāḥ*—Kāmandaka VII. 52.
C.f. Kurma. 20.
Kṛsara—Matsya. 268. 6.30.
Modakas (sweet balls)—were generally prepared with rice or wheat flour mixed with sugar, some spices and slices of the kernel of coconuts—Vikram. III. 65, 75. Angv. Mrch. V.

98. *Malavika*, p. 81, *Sakuntala*. p. 62, *Matsya*. 268. 6-30.
Sainyāva—*Kurma*. II. 17.
Pūpa or *apūpa*—*Mrch.* V. 98, *Amar.* II. 47-48, *Vayu*. 80.48, *Matsya*. 268. 6-30, *Kurma*. II. 17.
Phenaka—*Angv.* 182. Fine sweet cakes prepared with powdered wheat flour.
Pāyasa—*Matsya*. 268. 6-30, *Raghu*. X. 51, 54.
Ghṛtapūra—*Vayu* 80.47.
Abhyūṣa—*Amar.* II. 9.47.
Guḍaudana—*Mrch.* I. 8, *Matsya*, 268. 6-30.
Utkārikā was a sweet preparation with rice flour, milk, treacle and clarified butter.
Angv. 182, *Bharata*. III. 36-39, *Div.* 500-23.
84. *Moreṇḍaka*—*Angv.* p. 182.
85. *Ast. Hrd.* *Uttara*. 39.
86. *Locikā*—*Bharata*. III. 36-39.
Iṣṭaka—*Vayu*. 80.47.
Vitānaka—*Matsya*. 268. 6-30.
Polikā—*Matsya*. 268. 6-30.
87. *Kāmasūtra*. I. 38, IV. 1.28, *Brhat. Sam.* 76.11, *Kurma*. 22, *Vayu*. 74, *Matsya* 217-60, *Raghu*. V. 73, *Angv.* p. 182, *Ast. Hrd. Su.* 12, *Kamasutra*. IV. 1.28, *Matsya*. 84.7.
The *Matsya* (217.60) mentions following varieties of salts :
Saindhava, *ubdhid*, *pātheya*, *pākya*, *sāmudra*, *lomaka*, *kuppa*, *sauvarcala*, *viḍa*, *vālakeya*, *yavāhvaka*, *aurvakṣāra*, *kālabhasma*.
88. *Kama Sutra*. 191.1, *Vayu*. 18.20
89. *Mrch.* VIII. 13, *Amar.* II. 9. 36-37, *Kamasutra*. IV. 1.6, *Brhatsaṁhita*. 76.II.
C.f. *Matsya*. II. 9.36-38, *Kurma*. 20, *Vayu*. 74, *Raghu*. IV. 46, VI. 57, *Kumara*. VIII. 25.
90. *Amar.* II 9.36.
91. *Amar.* II 9.40.
92. *Kamasutra*. I. 4.8
93. *Kamasutra*. IV. 4.38.
Kāmbalika—*Angv.* p. 221.
Khaḍa—*Angv.* p. 221.
Temana—*Amar.* II. 9.44.
Vyañjana—(condiments) *Kurma*. 22.
Kāñjika—(sour gruel) *Div.* 496.5, *Dhanvantri* VI. 294.
Tuṣodaka—sour gruel prepared with unhusked cereals.
Sauviraka—Sour gruel prepared with unhusked cereals.
94. *Amar.* II.9.39.
- Daśakumāracarita*. VI.
Sauvira Lower Sind.
95. *Khāṇḍava* (jams)—*Ast. Sam. Su.* VII.
Rāga (syrups prepared from fruits) *Ast. Sam. Su.* VII.
96. *Ast Hrd. Su.* V.
97. *Ast. Hrd. Cikitsa* 12.
98. *Harṣacarita*, p. 66.
99. *Angv.* p. 232, *Div.* 70.27, *Mārkaṇḍeya. Pu.* 29.9-11, *Amar.* II. 9.7-20, *Sakuntala* p. 94, *Vayu*. 5.2., *Kamasutra*. IV. 1.33.
100. *Tilataila* (sesamum oil)—*Beal Si-yu-ki.* I. 88, *Ast. Sam. Su.* IX.
It was included in untimely (*vikāla*) food. *Watters* VIII. p. 282.
Sarṣapataila (mustard oil)—*Itsing* p. 44, *Ast. Sam. Su.* IX., *Si-yu-ki.* p. 88.
101. *Tailakūra* (boiled rice with oil)—*Angv.* p. 181.
Tailayavāgū (gruel with oil)—*Angv.* p. 181.
102. *Ast. Sam. Su.* VI. 111.
103. *Ast. Hrd.* III. 13.
104. *Vayu*. 16.14., *Kurma*. 2.17.
105. *Tilpañyākavikṛti*—*Ast. Sam. Su.* VI
106. *Ast. Sam. Su.* VI. 113-114.
107. *Angv.* p. 64 and p. 231, *Ast. Sam. Su.* VII. 168-209, *Watters.* p. 277. *Beal Si-yu-ki.* II. 88., *Itsing* p. 45, *Amar.* II. 4.27-168. *Vayu.* 45-46.
108. *Watters* Vol. II, p. 277.
109. *Watters* Vol. II, p. 277.
110. *Watters* Vol. I, p. 292-293.
111. *Beal*—*Lite of Yuan Chwang.*
112. *Beal*—*Si-yu-ki.* II, 195.
113. *Griffith*—*Ajanta Paintings* Cave I plates 102-112.
114. *Ast. Sam. Su.* VII. 168.
115. *Ast. Sam. Su.* VII. 168.
116. *Juice of sugarcane*—*Vayu.* 46.9.
Juice of Lakuca fruit—*Vayu.* 46-9.
Juice of Nyagrodha fruit—*Ibid.*
Juice of Jambū fruit—*Vayu.* 46-12-29.
Juice of Bread fruit—*Vayu.* 43.4.5.
Juice of Parūṣaka—*Vayu.* 38.65.
117. *Ast. Hrd. Su.* VI. 140-43.
118. *Kāmasūtra*. IV. 1.29.
119. *Harṣacarita.* p. 229.
120. *Ast. Hrd.* VIII. 42-43, *Ast. Sam. Su.* VII. 134.
121. *Ast. Sam. Su.* VII. 151
122. *Watters*—*Yuan Chwang.* II. 117.
123. *Watters*—*Yuan Chwang.* p. 178, *Beal Si-yu-ki* II. 88.

124. Itsing. p. 45 and p. 137.
 125. Bower Mss. I. 34.
 126. Bower Mss. I. 31.
 127. The Angv. (p. 64, p. 181, 221) mentions the following varieties of intoxicating drinks :
Apakvarasa, pakvarasa, āsava, ariṣṭa, maireyaka, madhu, godhasālaka, yava, prasannā, ayasa, śvetasurā, āsavāsava, niṣṭhita, madhura, jagala, aṭṭhakālikā, surā, phusukuṇḍi, jayakālikā.
 128. Śakuntalā VI. p. 188, Ṛtusamhāra. I. 3, IV. 11, VI. 10, Raghu. IV. 42, 61, XIII. 52.
 129. In the Mālavikāgnimitra Irāvati indulges in drinking. Indumatī, the queen of Aja liked to receive wine from the mouth of her husband (Raghu. VIII. 68). The Mandsore inscription (Fleet C.I.I. III. 18.p. 81) mentions a phrase, 'like the cheeks of intoxicated women.' The after effects of drinking on women are described in the Kumārasambhava. The Harṣacarita (p.82) also mentions beautiful ladies who had drunk wine. Kumārila mentions that in Ahicchatra and Mathurā even Brāhmaṇa women indulged in drinking. Malavika. III. 49, Kumar. IV. 12, Kumar. VIII. 80.
 130. Harṣacarita. IV. p. 142, Mrch. VI. C.f. Śakuntalā. VI. p. 182.
 131. Vāyu 58. 43.
 The Bṛhaspati Smṛti also lays down that drinking should be avoided only by those women whose husbands are away. Bṛhaspati. Sm. 25. 13. p. 194.
 132. Fahien states that drinking was unknown throughout Madhyadeśa but the literary evidence before us makes it highly improbable. Matsya. 120.31.
 Griffith—Ajanta Paintings.
 133. Watters—Yuan Chwang. I. p. 17.8. Beal-Si-yu-ki, p. 89.
 134. Harṣacarita. II. p. 44.
 135. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri—A History of South India, p. 194.
 136. Porunar. II. 84-93, 102-121.
 137. Ast. Sam. Su. VI.
 138. Raghu. XIX. 46
 139. Vayu. 65.116.
 140. Harṣacarita. p. 230.
 141. Surā—Amar. II. 10.39, Kamasutra. IV. 1.35.
 Varuṇī—Kumar. IV. 12.
 Vāruṇī—Amar. II. 10.42, Raghu. XVI. 52, Malavika. IV. p. 48, Mrch. VII. 30.
 Surāsava—Mrch. VII. 30.
 Maireya—Kamasutra. I. 4.38.
 C.f. Ibid., IV. 135.
 Prasannā—Amar. II. 10.40.
 Kādambarī—Amar. II. 10.40.
 Mādhavī—Amar. II. 10.41, Kamasutra. I. 4.38.
 Nārikelāsava—(an āsava prepared from the juice of cocoanut.) Raghu. IV. 65.
 Madirā—March. VI., Ṛtusamhāra VI. 10. For details see E.F.A.I. Chapter VI. pp. 246-47, Ast. Sam. Su. VI. and Ast. Hrd. V., Ast. Hrd. Su. V. 62-65.
 142. Vayu. 78.16.
 143. Div. 127.19.
 144. Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 12.
 C.f. Angv. p. 232.
 145. Mrch. IV.
 146. Toyakarmāntika—Harṣacarita Chapter V.
 147. Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 30.
 148. Ast. Sam. VI. 52, Ast. Hrd. III. 23.
 149. Harṣacarita. V.
 150. Vayu 46.9; 46, 12-29, 43. 4-5; 38.65.
 151. Ast. Hrd. III. 23.
 152. Itsing p. 125.
 153. Kurma, Kamasutra. II. 10.15-17.
 C.f. Angv. p. 181.
 154. Ast. Hrd. Su. III. 30-34.
 155. Kamasutra.
 156. Daśakumāracarita. VI.
 157. Kāma Sutra. IV. 1.18.
 C.f. Ast. Sam. Su. VIII. 60.61, Amar. II. 9. 27.
 158. Amar. II. 9.27-28., Kamandaka. VII. 15.
 159. Khādyatāpākika (a superintendent of the kitchen.) (Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta). The chief cook is called Paurogava, (Harṣacarita, Amar. II. 9. 27.)
 160. Bhāvita—fumigated.
 Picchila (sauce mixed with rice or gruel).
 Āpakva (fried in butter).
 Amar. II. 9. 46-47.
 161. Mrch. IV. p. 237.
 162. Uttaracarita. IV. 1.
 163. Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 66.
 164. Div. 559. Vayu. 47.1
 Itsing states that fresh leave sewn together were used as plates and bronze vessels were also used (pp. 46-47).

165. The *Harṣacarita* VII mentions a water jar (*kalaśa*), *karkarī*, *kumbha*, (*aliñjara*), a box for betel leaves (*tāmbūla karaka*), a utensil for cooking (*tāmracarāṇa*), an iron pan (*kaṭāha*), a drinking cup (*pānabhājana*), a ring well (*gaṇḍa kusūla*), a pan (*tāpaka*) or (*tāpikā*) and a spit (*hastaka*).
C.f. *Amar.* II. 9. 30-34.
166. *Beal.* Si-yu-ki. I. 89.
167. *Harṣacarita.* pp. 156, 207.
168. *Amar.* *Kutu* or *kutupa*. II. 9.33.
169. *Bhaumapatadgraha*—*Kamasutra*. IV. 1.18.
170. *Ast. Hr. Su.* VIII. 37. *Visnu. Pu.* III. 11. 66-67, *Visnu.* III. 11.68, *Vayu. Pu.* 74.31., *Kurma. Pu.* 19.
Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* (III. 36-39) also gives food offerings suitable for Brāhmaṇas, gods, manes, sages, Rākṣasas and birds.
Ast. Sam. III. 76-77.
171. *Ratnāvalī.* IV. 20.
172. *Kurma. Pu.* II. Ch. XVII., *Matsya. Ch.* 16.
Kurma. Pu. II. Ch. 17., *Ast. Hr. Su.* VIII. 35-39.
173. *Ast. Sam. Su.* X. 16., *Itsing.* Chapter III. p. 26, *Kurma. Pu.* XIX.
174. *Ast. Sam.* III. 78-79.
175. *Matsya. Pu.* XVI.
C.f. *Kurma. Pt.* II. Ch. XVII.
176. *Itsing.* Ch. IV. p. 24, 25, 26.
'Indians take bath before meals. They do not give leavings of food to anybody. Utensils once used are not given to others without being properly cleaned. Earthen and wooden vessels are used only once Gold, silver, and copper vessels are cleaned before they are used again'—*Watters on Yuan Chwang.* IX. p. 152.
177. *Tantravārtika.*
178. *Kādambārī.*
179. *Itsing.* IX. 39, *Ast. Sam.* X. 59., *Visnu. Pu.* III. 11.85., *Visnu. Pu.* III. 11.86-87.
180. Śābara on *Jaimini V.* 1.20.
Also see 'Itsing in India' by V.R.R. Dikshitar in *I. H. Q. March*, 1952, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1. p. 117., *Mṛcchakaṭika.*
181. *Kamasutra.* I. 4.7.
182. *Malavikāgnimitra.* II. 35.
183. *Kurma. Pu.* II. 19, 20.
C.f. *Ast. Hr. Su.* XI. 63-68.
184. *Ast. Hr. Su.* VIII. 46-47.
185. *Ast. Hr. Su.* VIII. 35. See *Ast. Sam. Su.* X. 67.
186. *For Food for winter*—See *Ast. Sam. Su.* IV. 13-17 and *Ast. Hr. Su.* III. 12-13.
For Food for spring season—See *Ast. Sam. Su.* IV. 25-27. And *Ast. Hr. Su.* III. 20-26.
Food for summer—*Ast. Sam. Su.* IV. 32-34., *Ast. Hr. Su.* III. 28-35.
For Food for the Rainy season—See *Ast. Sam. Su.* IV. 45-46. and *Ast. Hr. Su.* III. 45-47.
For Food for the Autumn season—See *Ast. Sam. Su.* IV. 54-59. and *Ast. Hr. Su.* III. 47-48.
187. *Ast. Hr. Su.* VIII. 42-43.
Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 40-41.
188. *Ast. Hr. Su.* VIII. 45-46.
C.f. *Visnu. Pu.* III, 11.82-83.
189. *Ast. Sam. Su.* XI. 1-12.
190. *Kurma Pt.* II. Ch. XIX., *Visnu.* III. 11.79.
191. *Kurma.* XIX.
192. *Kurma Pu.* II. 19. 20-22.
193. (*Ast. Sam.* III 78-79)
194. *Visnu. Pu.*
195. *Itsing.* p. 24.
196. *Visnu. Pu.* III. 11.82.
197. *Ast. Sam. Su.* III. 80.
198. *Itsing.* pp. 22, 24, 116, 123.
199. *Itsing.* pp. 39-40.
200. *Ast. Hr. Su.* VIII. 47-48.
201. Betel leaves are mentioned in the *Raghu VI.* 64 and betel nuts in *Raghu. XIII.* 17., *Ast. Hr. XII.* 83-85., *Bṛhatsamhitā* 77. 35-37.
C.f. *Itsing IX.* 39., *Mṛcchakaṭika IV.*
Some fragrant spices such as comphor and cloves were also taken after meals to make the mouth fragrant (*Harṣacarita.* p. 21).
202. *Kamasutra.* I. 4.5.
203. *Harṣacarita.* p. 85.
204. *Kādambārī Para.* 15.
205. *Beal Si-yu-ki.*
206. *Kuṭṭānīmatam.*, *Nāgara Sarvasva.*
Quoted by Dr. V.S. Agrawal in his 'Kādambārī Eka Sāmskṛtika Adhyayana' p. 32. Chap. 15.
Charaka's reference to the preparation of the cigar (*Charaka Su. V* 18-23) the above quotations make it clear that it was a common practice among the rich.
207. *Kamasutra.* I. 4.8.
208. *Divyavadana.* p. 30. 20.
209. *Kamasutra.* 191.1.
210. *Itsing.* Chapter X.
211. *Itsing.* pp. 26, 44, 117.

212. Legge—Fahien p. 44.
213. Vayu. Pu. XVIII. 16, 20.
214. Kurma Pu. Pt. II. Ch. XVII.
215. Matsya Pu. XV., Padma. Pu. Sṛṣṭi. IX. 62-66.
216. Katyayana Sm. 27.
217. Mrcchakatika. Act. I. p. 14.
218. Kamasutra. I. 4.23.
219. Bharata. II. 41-42.
220. Matsya. 219. 18-20., Kamandaka. VII. 15.
221. Legge—Fahien. Ch. XVI.
222. Kurma. XX.
Markandeya Pu. 29 9-11., Visnu. Pu. III. 16 C.f.
Matsya Pu. XV. also XVII, Vayu. Pu. Ch. 78, 8-
48 and Ch. 83, 3-9.
223. Kurma. XXII.
C.f. Matsya. XVIII. 57.62.
224. Kurma. XXII.
225. Matsya. Ch. 17, 70.
226. Vayu. 74.1.
227. Itsing. p. 43.
228. Bṛhaspati Sm. II. 10.
229. Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VIII. 4.9.
230. Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 232-234.
231. Itsing. p. 45.
232. Bṛhaspati Sm. II. 129 A history of South India
p. 191., K.A. Nilakanta Shastri.
233. Dasakumaracarita. VI.
234. Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 232-234, Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini
VII. 4.9.
Āśmaka—the region between the Godavari and
Mahishmati on the Narmada.
235. Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VIII. 4.9.
236. Harṣacarita. p. 39.
237. Malavika. p. 81.
238. Takakusu—Itsing (1896) p. 125.
239. Ibid., Ch. XXXI and XXXV.
240. Tantravārtika.
241. Amar. Vaiśya. 3.

QUESTIONS

1. Mention any three new food preparations from cereals and pulses in the Gupta period.
2. Why have the authors of the *Purāṇas* interdicted the use of *rājamāṣa*, *masūra*, *niṣpāva* and gram in a *Śrāddha*?
3. Bring out the facts which show that a food deal of feeling against slaughter of animals for food had developed in Indian society in the Gupta period.
4. Describe the preparation of three popular sweets during the Gupta period.
5. "The use of intoxicating drinks by all sections of Indian society including women was quite common in the Gupta period." Describe the evidence in support of the above statement.
6. Mention the different kinds of beverages prepared and used by Indians in the Gupta period.
7. On the basis of the literatures of the Gupta period state the food articles and beverages used by the people residing in different regions of India.

Chapter 8

Food and Drinks

(c. 750 A.D. to c. 1200 A.D.)

We get some information about food and drinks from Sanskrit and Prākṛta works which were written during the period c. 750 to c. 1200 A.D. Some of the Purāṇas and the Smṛtis which were written during this period also enable us to form an idea about the food habits of the people. But a detailed account of the dishes used during the period is to be found in the *Mānasollāsa*. It describes the various beverages used and narrates vividly the method of preparation of a number of vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes which were used in the royal households.

Cereals and Pulses

The works of this period mention all the food grains used in the earlier period.¹ A dish of hot fragrant rice, the grains of which were unbroken and separate from each other was eaten with great relish.² Rice cooked in the milk of a buffalo was also very popular.³ We come across some new preparations of wheat such as *kasāra*⁴ and *suhālīs*.⁵ The latter were cakes of wheat flour fried in clarified butter and coated with sugar. If these cakes were not sufficiently hard they were called *Pāhalikās*.⁶ The preparation of cakes of wheat flour has been described in detail in the *Mānasollāsa*. They are called *polikās* or *maṇḍakas*.⁷ Thread like preparation of wheat flour were called *sevikās*⁸ and thin round cakes of fine wheat flour placed one over the other before frying in oil were called *Patrikās*.⁹

Gram now seems to have become a favourite food as its use is recommended by

Someśvara in many vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes.¹⁰ *Vidalapāka* was prepared with the pules of gram, *rājamāṣa*, *masūra* or *rājamudga* mixed with slightly parched *āḍhaki* pulse of which the outer covering was removed with a grinding stone and a winnowing basket. The mixture was cooked on slow fire. Water mixed with asafoetida, turmeric and rock salt was added to it.¹¹ A soup prepared with *mudga*, asafoetida, pieces of ginger, pieces of lotus stalks fried in oil or the seeds of *Priyāla* is also mentioned. Sometimes pieces of brinjal fried in oil or the pieces of meat to a sheep or jackal or the pieces of the marrow of an animal were also cooked with it. Some spices such as powder of black pepper, and dry ginger were mixed in the end.¹² *Vaṭakas* prepared with *māṣa* flour, fried in clarified butter and dropped in milk were called *Ksīravāṭa*.¹³ A preparation of fermented fine flour of *māṣa* made into small circular balls was called *iḍarikā*. It was fried in clarified butter, mixed with some spices such as black pepper and fumigated with asafoetida and cumin seeds.¹⁴ Another preparation of *māṣa* flour was *Ghārikā*. These were round cakes with five or seven holes, fried in oil till their colour became red. When they had no holes they were called *Vaṭakas*. These *vaṭakas* were also dropped in sour gruel or churned curds with sugar. Sometimes sour gruel and well churned curds with some spices such as rock salt, ginger, coriander, cumin and black pepper were cooked to thick consistency and *vaṭakas* dropped into it. Some powder of black

pepper was added to it and the mixture fumigated before use.¹⁵ For preparing *vaṭikās*, *māṣa* pulse was soaked in water, the outer covering removed and the pulse ground on a piece of stone. Some spices were mixed in it and the mixture, after churning well with hands, was allowed to ferment for a few days. Then they were formed into small balls and dried. They were cooked whenever required.¹⁶

In the preparation of the dish called *Kaṭakarna*, pulse of *vaṭṭāṇaka* (pea) soaked in water was ground and fumigated with clarified butter after adding rock salt. The powder of *Niṣpāva* was then mixed with it and the mixture made into round cakes which were fried in oil.¹⁷ *Pūrikā* was a cake of gram flour fried in oil. Sometimes the pulse was boiled a little before grinding and some spices such as salt, black pepper, cardamom, asafoetida and sugar were mixed in the ground pulse before frying.¹⁸ *Veṣṭikā* was a preparation of gram pulse mixed with some spices covered with fine wheat flour and cooked in a pot-sherd. Sometimes ground *māṣa* and *mudga* pulses were used instead of gram pulse.¹⁹ *Dhosakas* are also prepared with the same ingredients as *veṣṭikā*.²⁰

Dairy Products

Milk was now used in various forms. When half the quantity was evaporated it was drunk. In case it was reduced to one third of the original quantity it became a dish that could be licked. When one sixth of the original quantity remained it was used for preparing sweets and when only one eighth remained it was called *Śarkarā*.²¹ Milk was also used in the preparation of some sweets such as *ksīraprakāra*, *ksīvavāṭa* and *ksīrayaṣṭikā* of which we read for the first time.²² Curds prepared from the milk of those buffaloes, whose calves were fully grown up were regarded as very tasty.²³ Curds were given

different names according to the quantity of water mixed.²⁴ Curds churned and mixed with sugar and fumigated with camphor were also used.²⁵

Whey was taken with rock salt and some spices such as cumin and ginger.²⁶ But *Rasālā* continued to be the most popular preparation of curds.²⁷ *Temana* was a soup of curds.²⁸ A special preparation of curds with black mustard was much liked.²⁹ Butter was clarified with wheat and betel leaves before being used in cooking and frying food articles.³⁰ Somadeva also describes the properties of clarified butter, curds, butter and milk.³¹

Meat Diet

Along with vegetarian dishes meat preparations were quite popular. The Purāṇas prescribe the meat of clean animals for feeding Brāhmaṇas in a Śrāddha.³² Brāhmaṇas relished the flesh of buffaloes and took dressed fish.³³ The Kṣatriyas enjoyed eating meat preparations such as dressed fish, roasted sheep.³⁴ Sometimes meat was so dressed that it resembled the shape of a *Bimba* fruit.³⁵ Fragrant and tasteful curries of fish, venison, birds and flesh of goats were very much liked.³⁶ In the cold season people relished eating pork along with newly husked rice while the essence of deer and quails is mentioned among the dainties used in the summer season.³⁷

Many animals such as sheep, goats, gazelles, hares, rhinoceros, buffaloes, fish, birds, sparrows, ring doves, francolin doves, peacocks and pigs were killed for food.³⁸ People generally abstained from the meat of cows, horses, mules, asses, camels, elephants, tame poultry, crows, parrots, nightingales and all kinds of eggs.³⁹ But in times of scarcity even the flesh of forbidden animals was used for food.⁴⁰ Someśvara describes in detail how meat should be dressed and flesh of which

part of the body should be used and of which part avoided. The method of removing the hair of a pig is also described.⁴¹ He describes in detail the method of preparing a number of meat dishes. *Śuṇṭhakas* were prepared from the body of a pig roasted on fire. After roasting, the body was cut into pieces and the pieces again roasted on charcoals. They were eaten with rock salt and black pepper.⁴² Sometimes a broth was also prepared with *Śuṇṭhakas*. The broth was fumigated with aromatic spices.⁴³ *Śuṇṭhakas* were sometimes cut into pieces resembling palm leaves. These pieces were dropped into curds mixed with sugar and some aromatic spices were added. Pulp of citron was also mixed with *śuṇṭhakas* and they were eaten after fumigation. In this form they were known as *Cakkalikā*.⁴⁴ Sometimes green gram was pounded with spices. The whole thing was fried after mixing with good pieces of flesh. Tender *Niṣpāva*, berries, pieces of onions and garlic were mixed with the fried mixture. The whole thing was dropped in some sour juice and fumigated before eating.⁴⁵ Flesh of sheep, carved into the shape of plums mixed with some powdered spices and grams and fried in oil with the pieces of such vegetables as brinjal, radish, onions, ginger and sprouted *mudga* beans was known as *Kavacandī*.⁴⁶ Pieces of clean meat chopped into the form of big *Āmalakas* were cooked with spices. This liquid preparation was again cooked with some acid fruits, *śuṇṭhakas*, spices and rock salt. It was then fumigated with spices such as garlic and asafoetida. This preparation was known as *Puryalā*.⁴⁷

When pieces of clean meat, bored with some holes and filled with spices, were roasted on spits and some spices were mixed with them they were called *Bhadrakṛaka*. Sometimes *Bhadrakṛakas* were dried after cooking and then fried in ghee.⁴⁸ Flesh of sheep dressed into the shape of betel nuts with some blood was

known as *Kṛṣṇapāka*.⁴⁹ *Vaṭakas* of pasted meat prepared with roasted and spiced meat inside were called *Bhūṣikā*. Sometimes these *Vaṭakas* were covered with grains of rice and roasted and called *Kośalī*.⁵⁰ Sometimes fruits such as brinjal were filled with pasted meat and fried in oil.⁵¹ Pasted meat was also formed into the shape of balls and roasted on fire or fried in oil. Liver of an animal was also cooked with some spices and called *Pañcavarṇī*.⁵² *Śuṇṭhakas* were also prepared with entrails.⁵³ The entrails of an animal filled with spices and marrow and roasted on charcoal were called *maṇḍaliya*.⁵⁴ Liver chopped in the shape of betel nuts and roasted on charcoals and fried with spices was also used by dropping these pieces into a solution of black mustard or curds.⁵⁵ Dried and roasted meat such as seasoned fish, roasted tortoises, fried crabs and a tasty meat soup, all were used as food.⁵⁶

From the above account and description of the food habits of the Tāntrikas in the *Yāśastilaka*⁵⁷ and other contemporary works it is obvious that meat eating was common in certain sections of the society, specially, perhaps among the Kṣatriyas. But we find also large sections of society which had taken to vegetarianism partly on religious and partly perhaps also on hygienic grounds. Among such people even when an animal was to be sacrificed in a religious rite to propitiate a god it was replaced by the image of an animal made of flour.⁵⁸ Somadeva wonders how people who seek their own welfare hope to increase their own flesh with the flesh of others. Just as one's own life is dear to one, similarly the life of another is dear to him. One should, therefore, refrain from destroying animal life.⁵⁹ According to him animals must not be killed for the purpose of worshipping gods or the manes, for entertaining one's guests, in any mystic rite or for medicinal purposes.⁶⁰

Similar ideas are expressed by another Jain writer Amitagati who considers taking poison better than meat eating.⁶¹ Even some of the Purāṇas of this period lay down that slaughter of animals is not necessary for sacrifices in the Kali age.⁶² They prescribe the use of *māṣa* beans instead of meat preparations.⁶³ On the authority of Al Masudi we can say that the Brāhmaṇas generally avoided meat diet. Al-Idrisi states that the people of Anhilwārā ate rice, pea beans, *māṣa*, *masūra*, and fish and animals which had died a natural death because they did not kill birds and animals.⁶⁴ Rājaśekhara mentions eating of pork among the practices of uncultured people.⁶⁵ It is stated that king Kumārapāla prohibited slaughter of animals under severe penalties and he himself built Tribhuvanavihāra and thirty-two other temples for expiation of the sin of flesh eating to which he was addicted before his conversion to Jainism.⁶⁶

Honey and Sweets

Honey was not so widely used as in the previous period. The Purāṇas mention *guḍa* (treacle) and raw sugar (*śarkarā*) and not honey among the sweet thing.⁶⁷ The Jains avoided the use of honey on the ground that it was pressed out of the young eggs in the womb of bees and resembled the embryo in the first stage of its growth.⁶⁸ The *Paṇḍra* variety of sugarcane was grown near Rājagṛha.⁶⁹ Sugar is also mentioned as an important article of food in the Ambaśamudra Inscription of Varaguna Pāṇḍya (ninth century A.D.). In the Naiṣadha Carita the whiteness of sugar has been compared to a stream of snow.⁷⁰

The act of preparing sweets is considered an art⁷¹ and many new sweets are mentioned. *Kāsāra* was a preparation of wheat flour, milk, clarified butter, crystal sugar, cardamom and black pepper.⁷² A preparation of wheat flour stuffed with *kāsāra* was called *udumbara*.⁷³ A

sweet preparation of wheat flour, *guḍa* and some spices such as black pepper and cardamom was called *murmura*.⁷⁴ *Modakas* prepared with rice flour, sugar and some aromatic spices such as cardamom and camphor were called *Varṣo-palagolakas* because they looked like hailstones.⁷⁵ Sometimes dolls were also made with sugar (*Śarkarī putrikā*).⁷⁶ *Ghṛtapūra*, *Phenakas*, *Khajjakas* and *Laḍḍukas* continued to be popular.⁷⁷ Sometimes they were also prepared with rice or *mudga* pulse.⁷⁸ In the preparation of *Kṣīraprakāra* sour curds were mixed with boiled milk and the solid part of curds was separated from the liquid one. The solid curds were mixed with rice flour and sweets were prepared in different shapes. Possibly they were same as modern *Camcams* and *rasagullā*.⁷⁹ Another sweet prepared with milk was called *Kṣīrayaṣṭikā*.⁸⁰

Spices and Condiments

All the spices mentioned earlier were used for seasoning.⁸¹ It seems a good lunch always consisted of some condiments (*avamaṁśa*).⁸² *Vyañjana* is used in the sense of a special preparation in the *Mānasollāsa* in which water used for washing rice was mixed with tamarind, butter milk, crystal sugar, powder of cardamom and juice of ginger. It was used after fumigation with asafoetida.⁸³ In preparing *Pralehaka*, curds, and juices of fruits such as tamarind, pomegranates, myrobalan, citron or *amlavetasa* were used. Some fragrant spices such as coriander, asafoetida, cumin, turmeric, ginger, pepper and salt were mixed with the fruit juices. The mixture was cooked on a slow fire with some oil.⁸⁴ A special variety of *praleha* was prepared with *sūraṇa*, ginger, butter milk and oil.⁸⁵ Sour gruel was sometimes used after fumigation.⁸⁶ It appears that some pickles were also used.⁸⁷

Oils

Mustard oil⁸⁸ and sesamum oil⁸⁹ were more commonly used for frying and cooking food articles than in the previous period. Even in a Śrāddha the use of sesamum oil is permitted.⁹⁰ The poor people in the south used linseed oil.

Fruits and Vegetables

The common fruits in use were oranges, grapes, dates, coconuts, pomegranates, *karamarda*, mango, *lakucha*, banana, bread-fruits and *kapittha*.⁹¹ Many beverages were prepared from fruit juices.⁹² The Jains avoided five kinds of fruits such as *udumbara*, *aśvattha*, *plakṣa* and *nyagrodha* which are the breeding ground of various living organisms, visible and invisible.⁹³

Fruits, leaves, roots, tubers, flowers and legumes of many plants were used as vegetables.⁹⁴ *Pāṭhā*, *śūṣā*, *śaṭim vāstuka* and *sunīṣannaka* were the common pot herbs.⁹⁵ Other vegetables in common use as before, were bottle gourd, cucumber, radish, brinjal and onions.⁹⁶ Mustard stalks were generally eaten in winter.⁹⁷ Somadeva praises a number of vegetables including slices of fresh ginger.⁹⁸ According to Kalhaṇa some people avoided the use of onion and garlic because cut onions resembled flesh and eating garlic was a foreign innovation.⁹⁹ Some vegetables such as *cirbhīṭa* were cut into pieces dried and fried in oil or ghee to be taken as dainties.¹⁰⁰

The vegetable preparations of the south are mentioned in the Ambasamudra Inscription of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya. *Kaykkari* was prepared with some vegetables and spices such as pepper, mustard and salt. *Pulinggari* was a preparation of horsegram and plantain fruit. Boiled curry (*pulukkukkari*), fried curry (*povikkari*) and a liquid preparation consisting of a vegetable cooked with Bengal gram or beans were generally eaten in the south.

Intoxicating Drinks

It appears that the habit of drinking was found among a considerable section of Indian society in this period. Even some Brāhmaṇa youths wasted their time in the company of dancing girls who were addicted to drinking.¹⁰¹ The sons of Hariśchandra by a Kṣatriya wife are called *madhupāyina* (addicted to drinking).¹⁰² Some women are described as intoxicated with drinking.¹⁰³ Women liked the *vāruṇī* variety of wine.¹⁰⁴ Drinking wine after partaking of pepper and betel leaves was, according to Rājaśekhara, the general practice among the ladies of the south.¹⁰⁵ Somadeva gives an interesting account of a drinking place in his *Kathāsaritsāgara*.¹⁰⁶ In the *Śukranītisāra* distillation of wine is regarded as an art and moderate use of wine is recommended.¹⁰⁷ On the occasion of marriage feasts drinking was common especially among Kṣatriyas.¹⁰⁸ Medhātithi also says that while Brāhmaṇa women did not drink wine at festivals, Kṣatriya and other women, to whom drinking was not forbidden, indulged in excessive drinking on festive occasions.¹⁰⁹ Courtezans and Tāntrikas were, no doubt, addicted to drinking.¹¹⁰

There were, as before, four important sources from which intoxicating liquors were prepared treacle, cereals, *madhūka* flowers and some fruits.¹¹¹ But the most common varieties in use were those prepared from bread fruit, grapes, dates, palmyra, *madhūka* flowers, sugarcane, honey, cocoanut, cereals, *saira*, *vāruṇī*, *maireya* and *ariṣṭa*.¹¹²

Evil effects of drinking were well known. Śukranīti condemns excessive drinking and lays down that one should not visit liquor houses nor should he sell liquor.¹¹³ Somadeva condemns drinking by saying that drunkards are generally liars. Drinking is the root of all evils since it completely deludes the mind and is, therefore, the greatest of all sins. He cites the example of Yādavas who were ruined on

account of drinking and says that drunkards are transformed into wine to delude the minds of men after a long succession of births and rebirths.¹¹⁴ From Alberuni's account it appears that a section of people belonging to higher castes abstained from drinking.¹¹⁵ Most of the Dharmaśāstras of this period also condemn drinking by the three higher castes.¹¹⁶ According to Alberuni drinking was common among the Śūdras.¹¹⁷

Water and other Beverages

Somadeva lays emphasis on the proper use of water. Water is called both nectar and poison; properly used it is like nectar and used without proper care it acts like a poison.¹¹⁸ Transparent water, without any taste and smell, and swept by wind and sunshine is beneficial. In all other cases water should be boiled before drinking. Water exposed to the rays of the Sun and the Moon should not be used longer than a day and a night, water boiled in day time should not be taken at night, and water boiled at night should not be taken in the day time.¹¹⁹ The Mānasollāsa mentions all the sources of water mentioned earlier and calls water inside a cocoanut fruit *Vārṅṣa* water.¹²⁰ It recommends the use of water purified with spices, such as cloves and camphor and fumigated with a piece of clay baked in fire of *khadira* wood.¹²¹ Sometimes flowers such as *pāṭala*, *utpala* and *compaka* were used to make drinking water fragrant.¹²² Someśvara recommends the use of rain water in the autumn season, of river water in the *Hemanta*, water of tanks in the *Śiśira*, of the pools in the spring, of a spring in summer and of wells in the rainy season. But *Haṃsodaka* is recommended for all seasons.¹²³ Sometimes water was stored in golden jars and cooled with draughts of air after fumigating it with the fire of aloe wood. It was considered very tasteful.¹²⁴

Some beverages and syrups were also in use.¹²⁵ Preparation of a special beverage is described in the Mānasollāsa. It was prepared by mixing some acid fruit juice with boiled milk. Then the liquid part was separated from the solid part. In the strained liquid sugar and powder of cardamom were mixed. The mixture was strained in a piece of cloth again and again till it became quite pure. Roasted tamarind fruit with the juice of some other fruits was mixed with this strained liquid. Similarly syrups were also prepared with other sour fruits.¹²⁶

The Art of Cooking and Utensils

The account of the marriage feast of Damayantī shows a very high stage of development in the art of cooking. The guests at the feast could not distinguish the vegetarian dishes from the non-vegetarian ones. The combination and method of preparation of various ingredients was so excellent that the products of one season were mistaken for those of another.¹²⁷

Somadeva in his *Yāśastilaka* refers to some fine vegetarian dishes,¹²⁸ while the Mānasollāsa describes in detail some delicious meat preparations and dismisses the vegetarian dishes in one verse.¹²⁹ The Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa lays down that food articles should be cooked on a slow fire.¹³⁰ Somadeva mentions that food articles are cooked well in a vessel that is covered and stirred.¹³¹

Many cooking utensils and implements are mentioned.¹³² The royal families used utensils made of precious stones, gold or silver.¹³³ It was believed that food preparations served in earthen vessels tasted well but generally a king was to be served in a golden dish and golden cups.¹³⁴ The rules about cleaning the utensils were the same as in the earlier period.¹³⁵

Rules of Diet and Etiquette

As in the earlier period the householder was expected to make food offerings to gods, forefathers, guests and dependants before he himself took his meals. He was not to eat anything which he did not offer to the gods, manes, and guests.¹³⁶ A Brāhmaṇa was expected to feed guests even if they belonged to Vaiśya or Śūdra castes.¹³⁷ He was also to set apart some food for low creatures.¹³⁸

In this period much more emphasis on the purity of food seems to have been laid than in the previous period. Severe penances are prescribed for eating impure food¹³⁹ and food offered by those whose food should not be accepted. Some new additions have been made to the list such as food offered by a person who has renounced the world without proper ceremony.¹⁴⁰ As before stale food was forbidden except food articles cooked in clarified butter, and preparations of rice and milk.¹⁴¹ Generally, the Dharmaśāstras of this period do not allow the people of three higher castes to take food or drinks offered by a Śūdra¹⁴² but they were permitted to accept milk rice, food articles cooked in clarified butter, milk, groats, oil cake and oil.¹⁴³ It was considered improper to take the leavings of food of some other person but if a Brāhmaṇa, now and then, took his food with his wife it was not considered a sin. Āpastamba also permits a person to eat the leavings of his father or elder brother.¹⁴⁴ Somadeva forbids eating and drinking in the house of those who take wine, meat and honey and even the use of utensils belonging to them. He states that a person should avoid water brought in water-skins, oil kept in leather flasks, and women who are not in a fit state for vows.¹⁴⁵ The practices of bathing before taking meals, two persons not eating from the same dish and throwing leaves and earthenware once used for eating as now, were observed in the ninth

century.¹⁴⁶ The practice of not eating the food served at the house of one's daughter had also come into vogue.¹⁴⁷ Cakes, groats, parched barley, butter milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, preparations of milk, and sugarcane, or food cooked in oil or clarified butter could be bought from the market if water was not used in preparing them.¹⁴⁸

Food was taken twice a day¹⁴⁹ without reviling it.¹⁵⁰ And one was expected to take only as much food as was necessary to satisfy hunger.¹⁵¹ Somadeva states that he who gorges himself with food gluttonously even when he is not hungry stirs up diseases.¹⁵² One is, therefore, advised to abstain from overeating, undereating, eating of combinations of hygienic and unhygienic food, and eating immediately after eating.¹⁵³ It is recommended that food should vary according to the season. In the autumn a person should take sweet, bitter and astringent things, in the rainy and the winter seasons he should take sweet, salty and sour things, and in the summer mild preparations.¹⁵⁴

We are also told that the constant eating of over-sweet dishes leads to indigestion, too much of salty food causes weakening of vision, extremely sour and pungent dishes lead to physical decay and any unhygienic food causes loss of strength. Certain remedies are also suggested for indigestion.¹⁵⁵ Someśvara lays down the order of dishes as they should be served. In the beginning one should take boiled rice then milk rice mixed with sugar and clarified butter, then fruits and sweet and sour articles of food, then delicious beverages and preparations like Śikhariṇī and thick curds should be taken. Last of all, preparations of butter milk mixed with salt or sour gruel should be taken.¹⁵⁶ As in the earlier period, some articles are mentioned which should not be taken together. Bananas should not be taken with curds and butter milk, milk with salt, and

broths of pulses with radishes, groats should not be taken when they become thick like curds and all sesamum preparations should be avoided at night. Germinating paddy and ghee kept in a brass vessel for a period of ten days are also forbidden.¹⁵⁷ In the case of royal families it was customary to examine the food preparations to see that they did not contain any poison and the symptoms are described in the works of this period as in those of the earlier periods.¹⁵⁸

A student and a householder were expected to take a nourishing full meal so that they might be able to perform sacrificial rites.¹⁵⁹ But the hermits lived on such coarse food as roots, fruits, tubers, vegetables, husked cereals, water or air alone.¹⁶⁰

The general rules of etiquette were the same as in earlier period. A person should take his meals in a secluded place.¹⁶¹ He should sit not on bare ground and should not take his meals standing, walking or riding some animal. He should face the east and have his sacred thread and some clothes on his body but should not have his head dress or his shoes on. He should not take his meals in a burial ground or in a temple. He should not keep the food in his lap, in the palm of his hand or on a seat. He should neither have wet clothes nor his head wet. He should not, while taking meals, have his legs stretched. He should not sit on a cot, or on a seat made of leather. He should not eat leavings of his own food or drink. He should not eat very quickly in the company of many persons. He should not leave much food in his dish and should wash his mouth before going out.¹⁶² It was a general rule that sweets and other delicious dishes were not to be taken alone.¹⁶³ Śukra states that a person should not be too formal at the time of dinner if he wants to be happy.¹⁶⁴ He should eat his food quietly, neither talking, nor laughing nor making a noise.¹⁶⁵ All persons

were expected to take the same dishes in a party.¹⁶⁶

Chewing betel leaves with some spices after meals was common as it was believed that it aided digestion.¹⁶⁷ In the *Naiṣadha Charita* after a grand dinner the bridegroom's party was served with betel leaves. Spices such as camphor and *kastūrī* were used in preparing them. As they were chewed a pungent sensation was created on the tongue which made the people feel as if scorpions were stinging.¹⁶⁸ Chewing betel leaves in the company of others without being presented with them by others was regarded as a breach of social etiquette.¹⁶⁹

The Dharma Śāstras of this period give a long list of articles which were taboo in sacrifices and of those which were regarded pure enough to be used. The *Mitākṣarā* considers the use of *vīhi*, *śālī*, barley, wheat, *mudga*, *māṣa*, cereals used by ascetics, *kālaśāka*, *mahāśālka* (a kind of fish), cardamom, dry ginger, black pepper, asafoetida, treacle, sugar, camphor, rock salt, salt from the Sambhar lake, bread fruit, coconut, banana, jujube, products of cow's milk, such as milk, curds, clarified butter and milk, rice, honey and meat proper on such occasions. It prohibits the use of *kodrava*, *masūra*, gram, *kulattha*, shrivelled grain, *niṣpāva*, *rājamāṣa*, *kūṣmāṇḍa* (gourd), *brinjal*, *bṛhatī*, *podakī*, tender leaves of bamboo, long pepper, *vacha*, *śatapušpā*, *ūṣara* and *biḍa* salt, milk rice prepared from the milk of a buffalo or *camara*. Similar injunctions, with some variations, are found in the *Smṛtis* and the *Purāṇas* of the period.¹⁷⁰ But *Vijñāneśvara* permits the use of garlic as a medicine and quotes *Sumantu* as an authority.¹⁷¹ Some Jain writers objected to the eating of beans and pulses as these too, according to them, are flesh, being endowed with life. *Somadeva*, however, rejects this view,¹⁷² and states that

all liquids should be strained through a cloth before use to avoid any possible injury to living creatures and one was for the same reason to give up eating at night.¹⁷³ Pickles, syrups, unhusked paddy, flowers, fruits, roots and leaves, being the breeding ground of living organisms, should not be acquired for use nor anything that is frequented by the latter. Hollow stalks and reeds should be avoided as well as creepers and bulbs resorted to by diverse creatures. Herbs and creepers should be taken when no longer raw, after splitting them into two sections, and all kinds of pulses and beans which are cooked entire should be avoided.¹⁷⁴

Śrāddha feasts were common during this period but we get some other details about food habits of the people. Fruits such as citrus medica, cocoanut, banana, dates and oranges were given to a pregnant woman. Food articles cooked in milk, clarified butter or mixed with honey and curds were given to a child at the time of the ceremony of first feeding. Rice and fruits were given to a boy at the ceremony of putting on the sacred thread.¹⁷⁵ Salt, honey and meat were not taken when one observed a fast.¹⁷⁶ The Jains considered it meritorious to starve themselves to death.¹⁷⁷

From the Uktivyakti prakaraṇa we know that the diet of the people of Banaras in the twelfth century consisted of boiled rice, milk rice, *kṛsara* and cakes. Parched grain was eaten and groats were taken with clarified butter and sugar. They were also kneaded into balls. People also liked cakes fried in clarified butter. Some people took meat soup and rice cooked with meat and roasted meat.

The students learnt the art of cooking from the teacher's wife. They cooked their own food from the provisions they got in alms. People generally took food after taking bath, worshipping gods and offering food to Brāhmaṇas. Brāhmaṇas were fond of sweets

such as *modakas* and did full justice to the food served in the feasts.¹⁷⁸

From a South Indian inscription we know that cardamom, *campaka* buds, *khasakhasa* roots, *dāla*, pepper, spices, cumin, sugar, clarified butter, tamarind, curds, grams, plantains, pulses, husked rice, paddy, oil and salt were the common food articles in the South about 1000 A.D.¹⁷⁹

From the Yaśastilaka we learn that the daily diet of the rich in the South consisted of white shining rice, broths of golden colour, butter, curries, well cooked savoury dishes, thick curds, milk, milk rice, sweets and water perfumed with camphor. The meal of the miserly people consisted of boiled rice grown stale, half cooked gourds and certain badly cooked vegetables as well as some gruel mixed with plenty of mustards. Their beverage was some alkaline fluid with a taste like that of the water of a salt mine. Some poor people subsisted on *śyāmāka* rice and whey.¹⁸⁰

We propose to conclude this chapter with a review of the feasts during this period. From Nalacampū we learn that boiled rice, *mudga*, *modakas*, *aśokavartī*, meat, many kinds of vegetables, condiments, milk, curds, *ghārikā*, clarified butter, honey, sugar and fruit juices were generally served at feasts.¹⁸¹ In such feasts the ground was covered with pieces of cloth. All kinds of utensils were brought together and drinking was indulged in.¹⁸² Saline preparations such as *kaccara* and *parpaṭa* were served. Sweet preparations of treacle and *śrīkhaṇḍa*, many kinds of broths, cakes, *kāsāra*, *suhālā* (sweet cakes) and fruits such as *kapittha*, grapes, cocoanuts, mangoes, citrus and pomegranates were also eaten with great relish. Betel leaves with some spices such as camphor and betel nuts were taken after feasts.¹⁸³

We have the account of a royal feast in the Kathākoṣaprakaraṇa (1108 V.S.). The first

course, served to king Śreṇika, consisted of fruits such as pomegranates, grapes and jujube, which could be chewed with teeth. The second course consisted of such fruits as could be sucked such as pieces of sugarcane, dates, oranges and mangoes. The third course consisted of such well cooked preparations as could be taken by licking. In the fourth course some sweets such as *sevāka*, *modaka*, *phenaka*, *ghṛtapūra* were served. The fifth course consisted of fragrant boiled rice and the sixth courses of broths prepared by mixing many food stuffs. After this, the dishes and cups were removed and the king washed his hands in a vessel specially meant for the purpose. The seventh course consisted of preparations of curds. Again these dishes, etc. were removed and hands washed. In the end some half boiled milk with sugar, honey and saffron was served. After cleaning his teeth with toothsticks and some fragrant powder the king again washed his hands with luke warm water and fragrant powder. It looks like the description of a grand modern feast.¹⁸⁴ A similar account is given in the *Vilāsavatīkathā* where pickles prepared with *karīra* fruit and *Karamarda*, *vaṭakas* of many kinds prepared with milk and curds, and vegetables such as *kāravella* are also mentioned.¹⁸⁵ Lastly we may refer to the account of the marriage feast given in the *Naiṣadha Charita*. It is mainly based on the imagination of the poet. But it reflects the contemporary conditions in royal households. The food preparations were served in dishes made of emerald. The boiled rice was served hot. It was unbroken, well cooked, white in colour, fragrant and delicious. Each grain was separate from the other. The milk rice was mixed with clarified butter. The preparations of curds mixed with black mustard made the party scratch their heads on account of their pungent taste. Tasteful broths were prepared

with the flesh of deer and fish. The preparations were so skilfully made that the party could not distinguish between vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. Vegetable broths and thick curds with white sugar were also served. Flesh was so dressed that it looked like a *Bimba* fruit. *Vaṭakas* dropped in milk, and *laḍḍukas* as white as hailstones, sugar dolls and sweet cakes were some other delicacies. We have already referred to the betel leaves which created a sensation like that of the bite of a scorpion. All this shows that the marriage feast was a feast par excellence.¹⁸⁶

To sum up we notice that the food habits of the people had considerably changed. Their food during the period was not so simple as in the past. They had learnt to make fine sweets from wheat flour and pulses such as *kāsārā*, *pāhalikā*, *subālī*, *patrikā*, *kṣīraṇṇa*, *iḍarikā* and *ghārikā* and saline preparations from rice flour and pulses such as *kachcharas* and *parpaṭas*, *pūrikās*, *veṣṭikās*, *dhosakas* and *kaṭakarnas* were some delicious preparations of gram flour in common use. Along with the vegetarian dishes, the *Mānasollāsa* describes a number of fine meat preparations such as *śuṇṭhakas*, *kavachandī*, *puryāla*, *bhaḍitraka* and *maṇḍaliya*. Among the *Tāntrikas* and some royal families non-vegetarian diet and drinking was common but a considerable section of society, influenced by the teachings of the Jains, completely avoided meat diet. This change is clearly visible in the account of the feasts. Some of these included no meat preparations. Even in *Śrāddha* feasts preparation of meat dishes was not considered obligatory now. Meat eating and drinking was common among the *Kṣatriyas*, *Śūdras* and the *Tāntrikas*. The accounts of the feasts show that a very high standard had been attained in the art of cooking both the vegetarian and the non-vegetarian dishes.

References

1. Kṣīrasvāmin mentions the following food grains :
Vrihi, yava, masūra, godhūma, mudga, māṣa, tila, caṇaka, aṇu, priyaṅgu, kodrava, makuṣṭhā, śālī, āḍhaki, kalāya, kulattha and ṣaṇa.
C.f. Vījñāneśvara on Yaj. Garuḍa. VIII. 48.
The Śukranīti lays down the grains which are well developed, bright, best of the species, dry, new, good in colour, smell and taste should be stored by the king to meet the needs of the country for three years. IV. 2. 27-29.
2. Cooked rice.
Naiṣadha. XVI. 68.
3. Manas. III. 1373-74.
4. The Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu calls wheat in this period the food of the Yavanas, but it is now extensively used.
Kasāra—Bhavi. XII. 3.
5. Manas. XIII. 1384.
See ref. 4 above.
Bhavi. XII.3.
6. *Pāhalikā*—Manas. XIII. 1385.
7. *Maṇḍakas*—Wheat was washed, dried in the sun, ground, and cleaned in a sieve. The flour was mixed with clarified butter and salt and made into balls. The balls were turned into cakes with the palms of hands and were cooked in a pot-herd. They were baked on live charcoals before eating. Sometimes a wooden roller and a piece of stone were used to change the balls into circular cakes before baking.
Manas. III. 1375-81. Naiṣadha. XVI. 107.
8. *Sevikā*—Kathā Koṣaprakaraṇa, Śālibhadra Kathā. p. 58, Vilāsavatī.
9. Manas. III. 1385-86.
10. Split green grams are also mentioned in the preparation of food articles in the Ambasamudra Inscription of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya of the ninth century A.D.
Epigraphia Indica Vol. IX. p. 92.
11. Manas. III. 1359-63.
12. Manas. III. 1367-72.
Vaṭaka—a kind of cake.
13. Naiṣadha. XVI. 98.
Manas. XIII. 1594.
Commentary Naiṣadha.
14. See 'Studies in the History of Indian Dietetics', 'History of the Dishes, Idli and Dosa' by Dr. P.K. Gode in Dr. S.K. Chatterji Volume—1955.
Manas. III. 1399-1401.
C.f. *Supāsanahacariyā*, p.485.
15. Manas. III. 1401-1418.
16. Manas. III. 1397-99.
17. Manas. III. 1394-97.
18. Manas. III. 1388-90.
19. Manas. III. 1391-92., *Suṣeṇa*. 31.
20. Manas. III. 1392-94.
It was the same preparation as we call *Dose* now. See reference to *Idli* above.
21. Manas. III. 1567.
A variety of scenes common in a dairy farm in this period are described in the *Yāśastilaka* (p. 184).
22. Agni. Pu. 163. 10.
23. Naiṣadh. XVI. 93.
24. *Mathita* were curds churned without water, *udaśvit* curds with equal quantity of water and *takra* with water one fourth of the quantity of curds., Manas. III. 1571-72.
25. Manas. III. 1573.
26. Manas. III. 1575.
27. Manas. III. 154.
C.f. *Bhavisayatta XX.*, Kav. Mim. XVIII. p. 107.
28. *Bhavisayatta*. XII.
29. Naiṣadha XVI. 73.
30. Manas. III. 1577.
31. *Yāśastilaka* III. 360-63.
32. Skanda. Pu. Kāśī, 4. 14-20.
C.f. Agni. Pu. 163. 1-32, 168. 20-21, Padma Pu. Adi. 59. 40-4.
33. *Samaraiccakahā* pp. 258, 260, 475.
34. *Samaraiccakahā* pp. 258, 262.
Kumārapāla was much addicted to flesh eating in his youth and during his wanderings he chiefly maintained himself on flesh., *Moharājaparājaya*.
35. Naiṣadha XVI. 95.
36. Naiṣadha XVI. 76., Naiṣadha XVI. 87.
37. Kav. Mim. XVIII. 107.
38. Al Masudi.
39. Al Beruni Ch. 68.
40. *Kathāsaritsāgara*. III. 9-10.
41. *Mānasollāsa*. III. 15. 43-47.
42. Manas. III. 1430-35.
43. Manas. III. 1447-48.
44. Manas. III. 1436-41.
45. Manas. III. 1449-52.

46. Manas. III. 1453-56.
47. Manas. III. 1457-61.
48. Manas. III. 1462-65.
49. Manas. III. 1473-75.
50. Manas. III. 1476-1482.
51. Manas. III. 1483-1485.
52. Manas. III. 1486-1491.
53. Manas. III. 1492-93.
54. Manas. III. 1495-98.
55. Manas. III. 1499-1504.
56. Manas. III. 1507-1539.
Also see Manas. III. 1540-1542.
57. Description of the temple of Caṇḍamāri known as Mahābhairava in Book I.
58. Samaraicca Kahā pp. 210-213.
Yeśastilaka Book IV. *Candramatī* persuades Yaśodharā to sacrifice a cock made out of flour.
59. Yeśastilaka. p. 330.
60. Yeśastilaka. p. 335.
61. Subhāṣita Sandoha 21.16.,
Upamitibhavaprapaṇca kathā, p. 6-7.
62. Bhāgavata Pu. VII. 15.7.
63. Prajāpati Sm. 152-53.
64. History of Medieval India Book 2, p. 192.
65. Kāvya-mīmāṃsā VIII. p. 39.
66. Moharājaparājaya IV. p. 93.
67. Garuḍa Pu. 10.96., Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. II. 63.8.
C.f. Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. II. 314. 11-12.,
Brahma Purāṇa.
68. Yaśastilaka p. 331.
69. Raviṣeṇa—Jaina Padma Purāṇa ch. II.
70. Naisadha XVI. 93.
71. Śukranīti. IV. 3. 143.
72. Samaraicca. p. 187., Samaraicca. p. 189.,
Bhavisayatta XII.3., Manas. III. 1386-87.
73. Manas. III. 1388.
74. Commentary Brahma Pu.
75. Manas. III. 1415-17., Naisadha. XVI. 100.,
Commentary on the above.
76. Naisadha. XV. 104.
77. Vilāsavati.
Kathākoṣa Prakaraṇa—Śālibhadra p. 58.,
Bhavisayatta. XII.3.,
Kathākoṣa Prakaraṇa—Śālibhadra, p. 58.,
Bhavisayatta. V.11.
Naisadha. XVI. 103.
78. Brahma Pu.
79. Manas. III. 1408-1411.
80. Agni Purāṇa. Ch. 164.
81. Kav. mim. p. 224.
C.f. Manas. XIII. 1442-50.
82. Kavy. mim. X. 134.
83. Manas. II. 1578-79.
84. Manas. III. 1442-46.
85. Naisadha. XVI. 86.
86. Manas. III. 1588.
87. Yaśastilaka p. 335.
88. Śukranīti. IV. 7. 159-66.
89. Śukranīti. IV. 107-108. 110-112.
90. Brahma Purāṇa.
91. Pauma-cariū III, Karpūramañjarī pp. 255, 263,
Sandeśarāsaka 56, Kāvya-mīmāṃsā XVIII. p.
103, 106, Śukranīti, Naisadha XVI. 95, Amba
Samudra Inscription of Varaguna Pandya,
Bhavisayatta Kahā II. 3, XII. 3.
92. See Chapter 8 Yaśotilaka p. 335 Viṣṇu
dharmottara pu. II, 63 12 Manso III 1581-84.
93. Yaśastilaka pp. 327 and 330.
94. Manas. III. 1548.
95. Ksīrasvāmī on Amar. 165
96. Manas. III. 1555-64.
Yaśastilaka Book III, p. 404., (959 A.D.)
97. Kav. Mim. p. 245.
98. Yaśastilaka III, 356.
99. Stein-Rājatarāṅgiṇī Book I, p. 342.
100. *Kaccarca or kaccari*—Bhavi. XII. 30, Vilāsavati.
101. Kuṭṭānimatam. 414.
102. Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihara Bauka (V.S.
894) verses No. 7-8 E.I. Vol. XVIII. p. 95.
C.f. Vanarāja was much addicted to drinking.,
Moharājaparājaya IV. 47.
103. The description of Rājagrha in the Jaina Padma
Purāṇa Ch. II by Raviṣeṇa (834 V.S.).
104. Karpūra Mañjarī, p. 256.
105. Kav. Mim. VII. p. 39, Karpūramañjarī IV. 6.
106. Kathāsarit Sāgara VIII. 110.
107. Śukranīti. I. 115-116.
C.f. Śukranīti IV. 3. 141.
108. Naisadha XVI. 99.
109. Medhātithi on Manu. IX. 84.
110. Courtezans—Kumārāpāla Carita, IV. 10-21.
Tantrikas—Karpūramañjarī pp. 22-23.
111. Ksīrasvāmī on Amar. Bhumi Śūdra 43.
112. Pulastya quoted in Mitākṣarā on Yaj.
113. Śukranīti. I. 115-116
C.f. Śukranīti. III. 63-64 and 242.
114. Yaśastilaka. p. 327., Yaśastilaka. p. 330.

- C.f. Śukranīti Sandoha Ch. 31.
115. Alberuni Ch. 68.
116. Padma Pu. Adi 56, 43-44.
117. Alberuni Ch. 68.
118. Yaśastilaka. II. 368.
119. Yaśastilaka. III. 370-371.
120. Manas. III. 1605., Manas. III. 1615.
121. Manas. III. 1619-20.
122. Manas. III. 1622-24.
123. Manas. III. 1627.
Water exposed to the rays of the Sun in the daytime and to those of the Moon at night was called *Hamsodaka*.
124. Naiṣadha. XVI. 89.
125. Yaśastilaka. II. 335.
C.f. Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. II. 63.12.
126. Manas. III. 1581-84.
127. Naiṣadha. XVI. 81., Naiṣadha. XVI. 83.
128. Yaśastilaka. Book III.
129. Manas. III. 1549.
130. Vishnu Dh. Pu. II. 63, 113.
131. Yaśastilaka. Book III. 332.
132. Manas. III. ch. 13, Naiṣadha. XVI., Bhavisayatta. IV. 16.
133. Naiṣadha. XVI. 66.
134. Manas. III. 1585.
135. Baudhayana Sm. I. 5, 34-40., Śankha. Sm. XVI. 1-5.
136. Śukra III. 134.
C.f. Viṣṇa Dharmottara Pu. Ch. 233, 118-126
Baudhāyana Sm. II. 7.270., Subhāṣita Sandoha (994 A.D.), Skanda Pu. Kasi 41.22.
137. Viṣṇa Dharmottara Pu. 233-31.
138. Laghu Śatātapa Sm. 52.
C.f. Vṛddha Hārīta Sm. 281, Veda Vyasa Sm. III. 40-49.
139. Āṅgīras. Sm. 88.
140. Agni. Pu. Ch. 168.
C.f. Padma Pu. Adi. Ch. 56. 1-17, 26, Visnu. Dh. Pu. III. 230 5-7, Vṛddha Harita. Sm. 267-68.
141. Vamana Pu. XIV 59.
Visnu. Dh. Pu. III. 228, 8, Laghvāśvalāyana Sm. 170, Yaśastilaka. II. 344.
142. Āṅgīras Smṛti. 67, Abu. Sam. 174-178, Ap. Sm. III. 3.
143. Padma Pu. Adi. 56 18-19., Ap. Sm. VIII.
C.f. Prajapati. Sm. 130, Laghu. Sankha. Sm. 67.
144. Ap. Sm. V. 7-8
145. Yaśastilaka. p. 331.
C.f. Atri Sam.
146. Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Mohammedan travellers translated from Arabic by Eusebius Renaudot, pp. 36 and 98, 99.
147. Atri. Sam. 304.
148. Laghvāśvalāyana Sm. 171. 173.
149. Visnu. Dh. Pu. III. 233. 28.
C.f. Gaut. Sm. IX 4.
150. Vṛddha Hārīta Sm. VIII. 267., Sukra. III. 109.
151. Bhāgavata Pu. VII. 14.8.
152. Yaśastilaka. III. 329.
See Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture by K.K. Handiqui p. 112., Brahma Pu.
153. Yaśastilaka. III. 345., Sukra. III. 107.
154. Yaśastilaka. III. 349-353.
C.f. Yaśastilaka. III. 354., Manas. III. 1599-1600.
155. Yaśastilaka III. 364-366.
156. Mānasollāsa II. 13. 1595-97.
157. Yaśastilaka III. 341-43.
C.f. Padma Pu. Adi. 56.25.
158. Yaśastilaka. III. 338-340.
C.f. Śukranīti I. 325-27.
159. Baudhayana Sm. II. 7.33.34.
160. Baudh. Sm. III. 3.
161. Śukranīti III. 108.
162. Visnu. Dh. Pu. 233.31, Brahma. Pu.
Someśvara suggests that the king should sit on a cushion with a white napkin spread from the navel to the knee and take his food in the company of his near relatives and reliable courtiers., Mānasollāsa III. 13. 1588.
C.f. Mānasollāsa III. 13. 1590-91., Skanda Pu. Kāśī 41. 31-33.
C.f. Ap. Sm. IX., Vṛddha Hārīta Sm. VIII. 267-276.
163. Sukra III. 52.
164. Sukra III. 186.
165. Brhadyama Sm. 33.
166. Laghvāśvalāyana Sm. 159.
167. Samaraiccakahā, p. 80., Kuṭṭanimatam.
C.f. Kathāsarit Sāgara Vol. VI. p. 23, VII. p. 74. VIII. p. 4. Vikramāṅkadeva Carita X.38, Alberuni 68.
168. Naiṣadha XVI 110.
169. Śukra II. 410-11.

170. Mitākṣarā on Yaj. I. 240.
C.f. Agni. Pu. 165.2, 168 16.21. Padma. Pu. Adi. 56 19-24, 31-35. Skanda. Pu. Kāśī. 40 9-13.
Visnu. Dh. Pu. 141 21-26. III. 230 12-14. III. 233 26-27.
Angiras Sm. 139, Atri Sam. 92, 235, 379, Atri. Sm. 7 Ap. Sm. VI.9 Prajapati Sm. 113-123.
Vṛddha Hārīta Sm. VII. 108-123., VIII. 253-254, 261-265, 277-282. XI. 99-101. Veda Vyasa Sm. III. 63-65. Śankha Sm. XIV. 19-26, XVII 20-34.
171. Sumantu quoted in Mitākṣarā on Yaj. III. 290.
172. Yaśastilaka p. 331.
173. Kumārapāla Carita VIII. 68.
174. Yaśastilaka. p. 335.
175. Āśv. Sm. Garbhādhāna. 9., Aśv. Sm. Annaprāśana. 3., Aśv. Sm. Upanayana.
176. Gobhita Sm. III. 117.
177. Bhavisayatta. XII. 4.
178. Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa pp. 21, 22, 37, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49.
189. South Indian Inscription, No. 1 of Rājakesari 1000 A.D.
180. Yaśastilaks. III. Report of Śaṅkhānaka.
181. Nalacampū. p. 97.
182. Kathāsaritsāgara VIII. Ch. 110.
183. Bhavisayattakahā. Sandhi. XII. Account of the feast, given by Bhavissa when he got back his wife.
184. Kathākoṣa Prakaraṇa by Jineśvara Sūri, Śāli Bhadra Kathā, p. 58, Singhi Jain Granthamala.
185. Introduction to Apabhraṃśatrayī citing examples of Apabhraṃśa language. pp. 111-12.
Vilāsvatikathā J. Bha. Ta. II. 147, 8., 202, 205 by Siddhasena Sūri 1123 V.S.
186. Naiṣadha XVI. 66-107.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the new food preparations from pulses including gram in the Early Medieval Period.
2. Give a short account of the sweets prepared from milk and curds in the Early Medieval Period.
3. Give a brief description of all the meat preparations mentioned in the *mānasollāsa* of Someśvara.
4. According to Somadeva, the author of the *Yāstīlaka*, animals should not be killed for the purpose of worshipping gods or the manes, for entertaining one's guests, in any mystic rite or for medicined purposes. To what extent this advice of Somadeva was acted upon by the people during the Early Medieval Period?
5. Describe the preparation of new sweets during the Early Medieval Period.
6. On what basis can we say that the habit of drinking was quite common among a considerable section of Indian society in the Early Medieval Period?
7. Discuss the rules laid down in the *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Purāṇas* which show that much more emphasis was laid on purity of food in the Early Medieval Period than in the past.
8. Give an account of the diet of different sections of society in South India during the Early Medieval Period.
9. On the basis of the account of a royal feast in the *Kathākoṣa-prakaraṇa* give a brief description of it in your own words.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

Our food habits from times immemorial to the end of the 12th century A.D. are a major reflex of our cultural evolution. In the early stages the Negroid man as a mere fruit procurer lived on fruits, nuts, tubers and the flesh of animals that he hunted and killed. With the Proto-Australoid we come to a period when man produced food for himself, and from the list of fruit and vegetables and other things which he consumed it appears that the Indian Proto-Australoid was no mere barbarian. He had learnt the use of betel leaves and betel nuts and produced many of the fruits the use of which comes down to our period. He was perhaps also the first producer of rice. With the coming of Dravidians we find this cultural evolution going further. He used boiled rice, sour rice gruel, fried barley and some new pulses such as *Māṣa*, *Mudga* and *Masūra*. We find him also frying things in oil and seasoning his meat. Palm juice industry and toddy tapping go back to that early period in our history. We find also the use of some new fruits, vegetables and spices.

In the Indus Valley civilisation we come across the use of wheat, barley, sesamum and brassica. Wheat was ground in mortars with pestles possibly because the people did not know the use of circular grinding stones. They domesticated buffaloes, goats and sheep and probably drank their milk. They used melons, dates, cocoanuts and the flesh of animals, birds and fish. On the basis of food we are unable to decide the race of these people. Their food is different from the food of the

Proto-Australoids as also from that of the Dravidians, so it is possible that they may have been a different people who entered India before the Aryans.

The food of the early Aryans clearly proves that they were a Northern race. In the *R̥gveda* we find them consuming barley, milk, curds, clarified butter, mutton and beef. There is no mention of either wheat or rice in the *R̥gveda*. But when we come to the *Yajurveda* we find the Aryans using wheat, rice as well as many varieties of pulses. The inclusion of these food grains in the Aryan dietary may be explained only by their contact with the people of the Indus Valley culture and also the Dravidians who had been using these articles before the coming of the latter. Oil is not mentioned in the *R̥gveda* but we find its mention in the *Artharvaveda* as the food of the *Yātudhānas* or *Rākṣasas* which again is indicative of the fact that its use was restricted to non-Aryans. This view is further corroborated by the remark of Vagabhata I, who states that the use of oil contributed largely to the strength of *Daitya* rulers and their capacity to put in hard work. Sugarcane is not mentioned in the *R̥gveda*, and in the earlier works only honey is prescribed as a sweetening ingredient. The products of sugarcane also may have been included in the Aryan menu only after their contact with their predecessors in India who already knew their use.

In the *Sūtra* period there is an attempt to arrest the speed of these changes.¹ From the prohibitions and taboos found in the *Sūtra*

literature we may guess that the Indian culture was entering a period when it was not only growing self conscious but also trying to protect itself against foreign contacts and habits by laying down rules for maintaining the purity of food. In the beginning of the period the Śūdras were allowed to cook food under the supervision of the Aryans, though there were some persons called *Niravasita* ² who were regarded as unfit to be served in the utensils of an Ārya. Later the view was held that contact with Śūdras defiled food and dining with unworthy people was improper. The food of artisans was prohibited probably because they were mostly non-Aryans. The use of dark grains such as *Māṣa*, beans, garlic, onions, mushroom, turnips, etc. was interdicted probably because these were generally consumed by non-Aryans. There is prohibition against unclean meat. Students and widows were advised to avoid meat preparations. Brāhmaṇas were asked to avoid all intoxicating drinks while the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas were enjoined not to take liquors prepared from cereals. The only concession the Aryans made to popular sentiment was that they now permitted the use of oil as a substitute for clarified butter, if the latter could not be had.

In the Jain and Buddhist works we find the food habits as they prevailed in eastern India. Rice and fish were the main items of food. Both the Buddha and Mahāvīra preferred non-violence. They condemned animal sacrifices. But while the Buddha did not insist on his followers conforming to strict vegetarianism and advised them not to take meat preparations if an animal was expressly killed for them, Mahāvīra went a step further. He did not allow his followers to take even those fruits or vegetables in which there was probability of the existence of any living organism. Even water was to be strained before being used for drinking purposes. Food was

not to be taken at night for the same reason. Mahāvīra advised Jain monks to avoid rich food.³ The practice of betel chewing is mentioned in the Jātakas for the first time. It is not mentioned in the Sūtra literature, in the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata. This again may be a result of the Aryan contact with the non-Aryans especially the Proto-Australoids. Many varieties of fruits and fruit syrups and sweets are described in the Buddhist and Jain works and these may have taken the place of meat and wine in the dietary of the Jains. Though prohibited both by the Buddha and Mahāvīra, the use of intoxicating drinks by other sections of society may be presumed from their frequent mention in the Jain canonical works.

Kauṭilya gives a fairly good idea of food habits as they prevailed in the Maurya period. People were vegetarians as well as non-vegetarians. A superintendent of slaughter house supervised the sale of meat. Fish is mentioned along with vegetables by Kauṭilyas probably because it was a common article of food in the eastern parts of India which fact is corroborated by the description of the habits of the people of these parts in the later medical works. The Kṣatriyas and people residing in the hills were generally non-vegetarians. But the influence of Jainism and Buddhism was making itself felt to an increasing extent. According to Magasthenes, Brāhmaṇas generally avoided meat. This influence became deeper in the reign of Aśoka, which is a landmark in the development of the idea of vegetarianism. He prohibited the killing of animals on certain days of the year and forbade wholly the slaughter of certain categories of animals and birds. He criticised also the practice of meat eating on festive occasions and sacrifices.

We know from Kauṭilya that there was great disparity between the standard of living of an Ārya and that of a low caste worker. He

wrote "One *prastha* of rice pure and unsplit, one fourth part of *sūpa* and clarified butter or oil equal to one fourth part of *sūpa* will suffice for one meal of an Ārya. One sixth *prastha* of rice and half the above quantity of clarified butter will form the meal for a man of low caste. Three fourths of the same ration will be the food of women and half of that will be for children."

From Patañjali we know that the Śakas and Yavanas had been included in the category of *aniravasita Śūdras*. Onions were generally used by non-vegetarians probably those who had come from foreign countries. People who took meals in a standing posture are called *abrāhmaṇa* by Patañjali probably because it was against the traditional Brahmanical practice.

The epics represent in a general way the conditions as they prevailed in the North-Western half of India in the post-Buddhist period. In the *Madhyadeśa* the Kṣatriyas continued to be non-vegetarians. The Brāhmaṇas generally took only sanctified meat. The Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas who had no objection to taking meat were an exception. Actually as we proceed further from the centres of Buddhism we find greater use of animal food by all sections of society. The Vāhlikas took beef and gruel with parched barley. Drinking to an excess was common even among their women. Rākṣasas are represented as consumers of meat diet and intoxicating drinks. The Vānaras were fond of drinking though they lived mainly on fruit diet.

Influence of the sects preaching Ahimsā may be seen in the *Mahābhārata* as well as in the *Manusmṛti*. A spirit of compromise may be detected in the oft-quoted verse from the *Manusmṛti* which states that "there is no harm in eating meat or drinking intoxicating liquors as it is the natural craving of man but abstaining from them is meritorious." The *Gītā*

recognizes that good habits vary with temperaments of the people.

In the Śunga period we find that there was a revival of *Aśvamedha* and many other sacrifices in which a number of animals must have been slaughtered and consumed. Aśoka's edicts against meat eating might have been responsible for this reaction. We find other orthodox Hindu rulers, the Sātavāhanas, the Pallavas and many others also performing such sacrifices. From medical works we learn that in this period Indians used more than forty varieties of rice, sixty varieties of fruits including some dry fruits such as almonds and more than one hundred and twenty vegetables. Treating the subject scientifically they give a list of food articles which suit people residing in different regions, as also the articles which one should consume in a particular season. Many new preparations are now mentioned for the first time and perhaps the influence of foreigners, under whom physicians like Caraka were serving, is responsible for the prescription of meat diet almost invariably for every patient. Meat soup is regarded as the most nourishing food and wines taken in moderation are considered as wholesome as nectar itself. Some new sweets and preparations from fruit juices also came into use and this richness of food may have been a result of the wealth which was pouring into India from Western countries as a result of the foreign trade during the Kuṣāṇa period.

Dinner of the rich was a grand occasion. Even the order in which dishes were to be served is laid down. The modern practice of listening to sweet music at the time of dinner is found in the *Kāśyapa Samhitā*. Betel chewing and smoking cigars prepared with some fragrant substances were common among the rich. Garlic juice is prescribed in many diseases. A prohibition against taking meals during the eclipse is mentioned for the first

time. This belief may have come to us from Central or Western Asia.

In the Gupta period Buddhism, Jainism and Brāhmanism come very near each other in many respects. The Gupta rulers were *Parama Bhāgavatas* i.e. believers in the *Bhāgavata* religion, the later developments of which interdicted the use of meat diet. From Fahien's account, it appears that vegetarianism had been accepted as the normal way of life. Abstaining from meat was considered meritorious and even some of the *Purāṇas* lay down that cereals should be used in sacrifices and not animals. Some people who were outside the Aryan social order and those who inhabited certain regions which were considered outside the Aryan fold, relished meat diet. Fruit supply was quite abundant and fruit juices quite popular. But foreign articles of food were gradually finding a way into Indian dietary.

Garlic is prescribed as a medicine even for Brāhmaṇas, though a way out is suggested by the Bower Mss., according to which a Brāhmaṇa could have the full medicinal effect of garlic by using the milk of a cow fed on garlic. *Masūra*, gram, *Koradūṣaka* and *Māṣa* from part of Indian dietary but they are still treated as exotic and are not prescribed in a *Śrāddha*.

The rich and luxurious life of the period is reflected in the variety of dishes prepared from cereals and milk products and in the scenes of drinking depicted in the Ajanta paintings. In the richer sections of society even women drank, for it was believed that this habit heightened their beauty. In south India rich liquors imported from the West were used by the members of royal families and country wine was drunk by the poor because toddy tapping has been in existence there from times immemorial. Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas

generally avoided any intoxicating liquors and used fruit syrups instead because they regarded drinking as a sin.

Our history for the period 750-1200 A.D. is rather obscure but it was during these years that the Hūṇas and Gurjaras became members of the Indian caste system. Many of the Tibetan invaders also perhaps settled down in this country. As a result of all this, we find some of the old tendencies getting arrested and a large section of society, especially the Rājapūts, turning to the use of meat diet. The sons of Hariścandra from the Kṣatriya wife are called *Madyapāyinaḥ* (indulging in drinks). Among royal households especially, meat diet became so popular that the *Mānasollāsa* deals mainly with meat preparations in the *Annabhoga* section and describes the various delicacies in detail. The influence of Tibetan elements is discernible in the teachings of the *Tāntrikas* who gave religious sanction to the use of wine and meat and the company of women, and associated pleasure with salvation in their teachings. Among vegetarian foods, gram seems to have become by now very popular. Someśvara prescribed its use in many preparations, both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. Many new preparations from wheat and rice flour and pulses are mentioned. *Vaṭakas* of many kinds prepared from *Māṣa* pulse were very popular.

A reaction against meat eating is to be found in the religious movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Western parts of India, where Jainism became so influential that rulers like Kumārapāla and Alhaṇa issued *amarighoṣaṇās* i.e. royal proclamations for the non-slaughter of animals. People were punished if they slaughtered animals on certain days of the year. But even here an exception was made in the case of *Purohitas*, who were obviously habitual users of meat diet. Rājapūts, too, may have largely

continued eating meat. Gradually, however, the influence of these humanitarian movements started by kings like Kumārapāla changed considerably the food habits of large sections of people in Rājasthān and Gujarat.

The vegetable preparations mentioned in Jain works and the non-vegetable dishes described in the *Mānasollāsa* show a high development in the art of cooking. The account of the marriage feast given in *Naiṣadha Carita* also shows that some people were expert in preparing excellent dishes. The members of the marriage party could not distinguish between the vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. All this must have been done by the intermixture of various ingredients used and by the skill of dressing them.

As in history, so also in food habits, we see two principles at work, the principle of continuity and the principle of change. Though we may remark that 'change itself is a continuous process and even a static continuity must yield to gradual change so long as it is not overcome by complete stagnation and death.'⁴ Changes in our food habits come but without there being any serious break with the past, and no one factor can be held responsible for shaping the manifold currents in this process. The fusion of the Aryans with the non-Aryans resulted in the evolution of a diet which was relished by all irrespective of caste or creed consideration. But in this diet there were as many variations as in our culture. The use of garlic and onions was eschewed by the higher castes for centuries and even now some sections of Hindu society do not consume them. Their popularity in North Western India was obviously due to the continued influence of foreign elements. Religious rules disallowed the use of wine for Brāhmaṇas but it remained popular enough with Kṣatriyas and other sections of society. Variety of food habits

resulted also from geographical factors. No royal order or religious prohibition could prevent the use of rice and fish in Eastern or Southern India and of wheat in North-Western India, nor could the food of the rich and the poor have been the same. We know from the *Mahābhārata* that the rich enjoyed meat preparations, the people of the middle classes relished articles cooked in clarified butter and the poor were satisfied with food articles cooked in oil. Food varied also on account of the religious ideals that the people entertained. While Buddhism, Jainism and the orders of rulers like Aśoka and Kumārapāla turned people to vegetarianism, the influence of Vedic religion primarily and later on the influx of many foreign tribes made them non-vegetarians. But even in all this diversity we can perhaps see a general movement towards vegetarianism,⁵ because Indians have generally felt like Mahatma Gandhi that 'abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs and from all kinds of foods, especially meat is undoubtedly a great aid to the evolution of the spirit, though,⁶ it is by no means an end in itself.'⁷

References

1. The process of assimilation of non-Aryan elements into the Aryan society by the performance of *Vṛātya* sacrifices is clearly referred to. Probably the institution of *Vrata* or vow is also associated with them.
2. The out-castes who would pollute utensils which might not be used by others are called *niravasita* by Pāṇini. These, most probably included *Cāṇḍālas* to eat whose food was regarded as an unpardonable sin for other castes according to the Pāli texts. Such castes at the blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, milkmen, washermen were regarded as *aniravasita* i.e. they did not pollute utensils and food could be served to them in the utensils of persons of high castes.
3. Probably he himself was impressed by the doctrines of the Ājivikas who regarded taking

rich food as an impediment in the practice of penances.

4. Śrī Jawahar Lal Nehru, *Indian Inheritance*, Vol. III. p. 86.
5. This fact is in conformity with the evolutionary trends of Indian thought and culture. A non-vegetarian or rather a mixed diet is the normal

feature in the beginning. Later on the use of meat became restricted. People, who used it, had to find pleas for its use or be apologetic about it and some sections of society gave up meat diet altogether.

6. The original has 'but' instead of 'though.'
7. Selections from Gandhi—Ahmedabad, p. 252.

QUESTIONS

1. Mention the contribution of the Proto-Australoids the Dravidians and the Harappan people to the diet of the later Vedic Aryans.
2. Discuss how there is an attempt in the *Sūtra* literature to arrest the speed of changes in the food habits of Aryans which were taking place as a result of their contact with non-Aryans.
3. Discuss the evidence which show that in the Maurya period the influence of the teachings of the Buddha and Mahāvīra about non-slaughter of animals for food was making itself felt to an increasing extent.
4. Elucidate on the basis of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* that as we proceed farther from the centres of Buddhism we find greater use of animal food by all sections of Indian society by about A.D. 300 by when these two epics had been compiled in their present form.
5. Mention possible reasons why c'araka invariably prescribes meal diet along with vegetarian diet for

every patient and meat soup is regarded as the most nourishing food and wines taken in moderation are considered by him as wholesome as nectar itself.

6. Discuss the influence of *Bhāgavatism* on the food habits of Indians in the Gupta period.
7. Mention the factors which led to the use of meal diet by a large section of Indian society in the Early Medieval period.
8. What was the effect of the humanitarian movements started by kings like Kumārapāla on the residents of Rājasthāna and Gujarat in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D.
9. "In the food habits of Indians in ancient times we find two principles at work, the principle of continuity and the principle of change." Elucidate the above statement.
10. Discuss the various factors which led to variety of food habits in different regions of India and in different strata of Indian society.

Chapter 10

Food and Drinks in the 16th century as Gleaned from the Works of Hindi Poets

The writers of digests of Hindu Law like Hemādri and Raghunandana who flourished from the 13th to the 16th century A.D. had tried to regulate the life of an average Hindu by laying down rigid rules for every occasion. This left hardly any scope for independent thinking on the part of the people and led to a stage of stagnation in Hindu society. The reformers of the 15th century like Kabir, Chaitanya and Nanak raised their voice against the orthodoxy of both the Hindu Pandits and the Muslim Maulavis and preached the gospel of love and friendship in the languages of the people.

As a result of the work of these reformers there was a movement aiming at the synthesis of the old and new elements in Indian social life. In this paper an attempt is being made to examine these elements in the sphere of food habits of Indians during the 16th century. The paper is based on a study of the works of seven Hindi poets—four Bhakti poets, namely, Mirā (1502-56), Sūrdās (1478-1580), Tulsīdās (1497-1623) and Nandadās (1543-1605) who generally described the use of traditional foods among the people and three Sufi poets, namely, Kutuban (1503), Manjhan (1545) and Jāyasī (1527-40) representing the synthetic outlook in food habits. Of all the seven Hindi poets the most comprehensive description of food habits of the people is found in Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*.

The poets of Bhakti school refer to four kinds of food preparations, *Bhakṣya*, *bhojya*,

choṣya and *lehya*, hard food, soft food, preparations which are sucked and food preparations which could be licked, six rastes (*ṣaṭrasa*) fifty six kinds of preparations (*chhappan bhoga*)³ and thirty six kinds of condiments (*Chhattīson vyañjan*).⁴ and Kutuban also refers to six tastes and five tasty preparations (*khatrasa*) and (*pancha ambrita*).⁵ Kutuban and Jayasi refer to 52 kinds of cakes (*pūrīs*) and 84 kinds of cooked preparations (*hāṇḍīs*)⁶ while Jāyasī refers to 101 kinds of *kāṭhahāṇḍīs*.⁷

Of the cereals the Bhakti poets mention mainly wheat (*kanaka*) and a number of its preparations. The flour of parched grains (*sattū*) was mixed with water and sugar and eaten.⁸ All kinds of cakes were prepared with wheat flour (*roṭī*, *bāṭī*, *porī*).⁹ A cake prepared with a mixture of the flours of gram and wheat or pea was called *makunī*.¹⁰ The cakes prepared with a mixture of more than one grain were called *mīsī*.¹¹ *Māṇḍes* were cakes prepared by mixing milk and clarified butter in wheat flour and parching them in pans of clay.¹²

The common word for fried preparations of cereals seems to be *pakavan*.¹³ *Pūrīs*¹⁴ were prepared by frying cakes of wheat flour in clarified butter. *Pūrīs* stuffed with the ground pulse of *Uṛad* were called *kachaurīs*.¹⁵ Very delicious cakes prepared with wheat flour were called *luchais*.¹⁶ Thick cakes mixed with salt and fried in clarified butter were called *maṭharīs*.¹⁷ *Suhālīs* or *Soharīs* were probably

cakes prepared with powdered wheat flour and fried in clarified butter.¹⁸

The common words used for rice were *taṇḍula*¹⁹ or *chaur*.²⁰ Unhusked rice was called *dhān*.²¹ Sūrdās has mentioned three varieties of rice *rāyabhoga*, *pasāi*,²² *nīlavatī*.²³ Tulsī also mentions *pasāi* but calls it *pasāri*.²⁴ Jāyasī gives the names of twenty eight varieties of rice of superior kind.²⁵

Boiled rice (*bhāt*²⁶ or *odana*)²⁷ was taken either with pulses or *kaḍhī*. The most popular and relished preparations of rice was *khīr* or *pāyasa*. It was prepared by cooking rice in milk and adding sugar to it. Sometimes cow's milk was also used for this purpose.²⁸ Jāyasī calls *Thick khir Jāuri*,²⁹ Boiled rice was eaten with curds (*dadhi-odana*) with great relish.³⁰ Probably balls of rice flour (*kurabarī*)³¹ were also prepared. Jāyasī mentions another preparation of rice called *jhālar*. It was prepared by boiling rice and frying the thick gruel after the rice grains had been taken out from it.³²

The most common rice preparation was *khichaḍi* which was a mixture of rice and *mūṅg* pulse.³³ *Tāharī* was prepared by cooking rice with *baṛīs* and green pea. Sometimes the kernel of coconut, dates and *chirauji* were also used in preparing *tāharī*.³⁴ Parched rice was eaten by common man.³⁵ Another popular preparation of rice was *chivḍā*. It was prepared by soaking rice grains in water and then thrashing them with a pestle before they were parched.³⁶

Of other cereals, the Bhakti poets have mentioned—*iwār*,³⁷ *bājirā*,³⁸ and *moṭh*. But there is no mention of maize in their works.

The poets of Bhakti school have mentioned almost all the pulses namely, *mūṅg*, *masūr*, *urad* and *gram*.³⁹ Gram was also parched (*chabenā*) and eaten.⁴⁰

Grains of green gram or pea were ground mixed with salt, turmeric and other spices and

fried to make a delicious preparation called *nimonā*.⁴¹

The flour of gram pulse was used for preparing cakes by mixing rock salt (*sendhā*), and *ajvāin* with it.⁴² Sometimes flour of pulse of gram (*besan*) was mixed with powdered wheat flour for preparing cakes.⁴³ *Besan* was also used to cover certain leaves such as those of *aravī* and then frying them in clarified butter (*rikavachh*).⁴⁴ The general word for all preparations of ground pulses was *piṭhaurī*.⁴⁵

Various kinds of small and big balls (*barī*,⁴⁶ *barā*)⁴⁷ were prepared by allowing the pulses to get soft by soaking them in water and then grinding them on a piece of stone. The fried balls prepared with *mūṅg* pulse were called *phīlaurī*,⁴⁸ or *mūṅg pakaurā* or *ḍharaharī*. Balls made with *urad* pulse were eaten either simply by frying (*kore*) or by soaking them in a solution of *gur*, and water, *gurbarā* or in a liquid preparation of tamarind (*panau*).⁴⁹ Jāyasī also mentions two kinds of *baḍās*, one in which ginger and pepper were added and the other in which milk and sugar were added.⁵⁰ *Ḍabhkaurī* were balls of *urad* pulse which were put in *kaḍhī* without frying.⁵¹ Thin cakes (*pāpad*s) were prepared with the flour of *urad* pulse by mixing a number of spices in it.⁵² Saline preparations were called *khāre*.⁵³

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk,⁵⁴ curds,⁵⁵ butter,⁵⁶ continued to be very favourite articles of food during this period. Milk of a cow which had recently given birth to a calf (*pyausar*) was also used. Milk which was reduced to half the quantity by boiling was liked by the people.⁵⁷ Butter was taken with cakes and crystal sugar (*miśrī*).⁵⁸ Curds were generally taken with boiled-rice.⁵⁹ Inspissated milk (*khoyā*) was used in preparing sweets.⁶⁰ Clarified butter was used

in frying articles of food.⁶¹ Villagers used butter milk (*chhachh*)⁶² (*takra*) in large quantities. Cream (*śara*) of milk (*sādhī*)⁶³ was relished by people. *Basaundhi*⁶⁴ or *rubāḍī*⁶⁵ a fragrant and semiliquid preparation of milk was very much liked. *Rāitā*⁶⁶ was prepared by adding some water to curds and adding pieces of some vegetables and fragrant spices to it. A mixture of milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar was called *pañchāmṛt*.⁶⁷ *Śikharā*⁶⁸ was a sweet preparation with curds which was very much relished by people in northern India.

SWEETS

Honey continued to be used in this period. A variety of sugarcane which was sown in winter was called *kharik*.⁶⁹ *Guḍa* was widely used and raw sugar was called *khānd*.⁷⁰ Sugar was called *śarkarā*.⁷¹ Crystal sugar (*miśrī*)⁷² was generally taken with butter. Sometimes sugar cakes called *gindaurī* were also eaten.⁷³ *Batāśes* were prepared with sugar.⁷⁴

We have already referred to milk rice (*khīr*)⁷⁵ which was a very ancient preparation. *Pūā*⁷⁶ was another very ancient sweet preparation. Sweet balls (*laḍḍus*⁷⁷ or *modaka*) *jalebi*⁷⁸ and *peḍā*⁷⁹ seem to be common sweets during this period. *Khīr-lāḍu*⁸⁰, seem to be some special kinds of sweet balls in which cloves were also used. *Motilaḍḍūs*⁸¹ were prepared with small balls of *besan*. Sugar coated threads of fried wheat flour *seb*⁸² and fried wheat flour mixed with sugar *kaṁsār*⁸³ were also common sweet preparations. *Barfi*⁸⁴ which were pieces of inspissated milk mixed with sugar was eaten with great relish. *Andarases*⁸⁵ were prepared with ground rice. Pieces of a cake of pulse flour fried in clarified butter and coated with sugar were called *khaṇḍarās*.⁸⁶ Cakes of powdered wheat flour coated with sugar were called *khajūā*⁸⁷ or

khājā.⁸⁸ *Khajūrīs* were prepared with inspissated milk or wheat flour.

*Ghevar*⁸⁹ was prepared with powdered wheat flour and sugar. *Khāṇḍu*⁹⁰ seems to be another sweet preparation. *Khūā*⁹¹ seems to be a seet preparation of *khoyā*. *Sūrdās* mentions sweet preparations called *gālamasūrī*⁹² and *kaurī*.⁹³ *Pethā* was also used in preparing sweets.⁹⁴ Gum was mixed with a solution of sugar which was eaten after drying.⁹⁵ *guñjhiyā* or *gūjhā* was also a common sweet preparation which was prepared with powdered wheat flour and sugar and was semicircular in shape.⁹⁶ *Jāyasī* probably calls *gunjhiyas peraka*.⁹⁷ Another sweet mentioned by *Sūrdās* is *khurmā*.⁹⁸ *Lapsi* was a sweet preparation of fried wheat flour and sugar which was licked,⁹⁹ *Pheni*¹⁰⁰ and *suhāri*¹⁰¹ were other sweet preparations of wheat flour. *Khoyā* was used in many sweet preparations.¹⁰² *Sīrā* seems to have been used by *Sūrdās* in the sense of *Halwā*.¹⁰³ *Moraṇḍās* were prepared with solid part of curds fried in clarified butter and coated with sugar.¹⁰⁴

Jāyasī also mentions sweets like *khirisā*,¹⁰⁵ *murkurī*, *chhāl*, *dhurharī* and *haluva*.¹⁰⁶ *Khirisas* were a kind of *guñjhiyas*. *Murkura* is probably the same as *amiratī*, *Bund* seems to be *būndī* of *besan* and *dhuraharī*, sweets of balls of *būndī*.

Sweets which were served at the end of a dinner were called *pachhiyaurī*.¹⁰⁷

MEAT PREPARATIONS

The Bhakti poets generally do not refer to meat preparations. *Sūrdās* condemns meat eating.¹⁰⁸ *Manjhan*, however, mentions a number of animals which were hunted by the contemporary rulers. These included deer, buffaloes, pigs, rhinoceros, bears and leopards.¹⁰⁹ *Jāyasī* also gives a list of birds and animals which were hunted for food.¹¹⁰

He states that meat was washed before cooking. It was cut into pieces. Sometimes it was ground on pieces of stone. It was fried in clarified butter and saffron, salt, soyā, aniseed (*saunf*) and coriander were added to make it tasty. Sometimes the whole body of a goat was roasted on iron bars.¹¹¹ Sometimes *samosās* were stuffed with ground meat and cloves were added to them. At other times these stuffed meat preparations were formed into the shapes of a variety of fruits such as brinjals, oranges, pomegranates, lemons, watermelons, mangoes, *khīrās*, jack fruit, artocarpus lakucha (*baḍahal*), coconut, grapes and dates.¹¹²

Sometimes many varieties of fish were caught for food.¹¹³ These were first cut, washed with curds, and water was squeezed out of them. They were fried in mustard oil, and spices like fenugreek (*methī*), sour green mango and chillies were added to them. Eggs were also fried. Sometimes *kasturī* and camphor were added to make the preparations of fish fragrant. Cloves and pepper were also mixed. Clarified butter was used profusely in these preparations of fish.¹¹⁴

It seems that among a section of Muslim society there was a feeling of revolution against meat eating as well. Jayasi states that tears rolled down the faces of animals when they were slaughtered and remarks what advantage can a person gain by feeding himself with the meat of other animals.¹¹⁵

VEGETABLES

The common fruits which were cooked as vegetables were *torai*,¹¹⁶ *chacheṇḍa*,¹¹⁷ *bottlegourd*,¹¹⁸ *kachari*,¹¹⁹ *kundarū*,¹²⁰ *kakoda*,¹²¹ *karelā*,¹²² *brinjal*,¹²³ *paraval*,¹²⁴ *kaṭahal*,¹²⁵ *bhīndī*,¹²⁶ *tinḍa*¹²⁷ and *pumpkin gourd*.¹²⁸ Bottlegourd seems to have been the vegetable most used by poor people in

Rajasthan.¹²⁹ Jayasi mentions a hilly variety of *bottlegourd*.¹³⁰ *Kachari*'s were cut into pieces and dried. After sometime they were fried and salt and spices added to make them tasty.¹³¹ Pumpkin gourd was used to make balls by mixing its pulp with ground urad pulse (*kumhadaurī*).¹³²

The Plegumes used as vegetables were *sem*,¹³³ *sīngarī*,¹³⁴ *phangphari*,¹³⁵ *vanakaura*,¹³⁶ and *sahinjan*.¹³⁷

The leaves which were generally cooked as vegetables were *kulfa*,¹³⁸ leaves of gram plant,¹³⁹ *chaulai*,¹⁴⁰ *latha*,¹⁴¹ *poi*,¹⁴² leaves of *radish*,¹⁴³ *soya*,¹⁴⁴ *palaka*,¹⁴⁵ *bathuā*,¹⁴⁶ *methī*,¹⁴⁷ *lonia*,¹⁴⁸ *chūkā*¹⁴⁹ and leaves of *mustard*.¹⁵⁰

The flower which was used as vegetables were *kachnar*.¹⁵¹

The roots used as vegetables were *pindika*,¹⁵² *pindāru*,¹⁵³ *ratālu*,¹⁵⁴ *sūran*,¹⁵⁵ and *aravī*.¹⁵⁶

Mushrooms like *chhatraka* were also cooked as vegetables.¹⁵⁷

The juice of vegetables was called *sālan*.¹⁵⁸

The common fruits were *mangoes*,¹⁵⁹ *plums*,¹⁶⁰ *grapes*,¹⁶¹ and *dates*,¹⁶² *cucumber* (*kakadī*)¹⁶³ and *khīrā*.¹⁶⁴ Jayasi mentions a variety of *khīra* called *balam khīra*,¹⁶⁵ *banana*,¹⁶⁶ *coconut*,¹⁶⁷ *sugarcane*¹⁶⁸ (*ukh*) and *khirni*.¹⁶⁹ Surdas also mentions *sriphal*,¹⁷⁰ *guavas*,¹⁷¹ *saphari*,¹⁷² and *khubani*,¹⁷³ *jamou*,¹⁷⁴ *apples* (*seb*),¹⁷⁵ *watermelon* (*tarbuza*),¹⁷⁶ *pomegranates* (*dadima*),¹⁷⁷ *bilva*.¹⁷⁸ There were a number of gardens.¹⁷⁹ We hear about a number of mango garden outside the city.¹⁸⁰ We also have frequent mention of varieties of lemons. Manjhan mentions *turanja* variety of lemons¹⁸¹ and Jayasi mentions *jambhere*,¹⁸² *oranges*¹⁸³ *baḍahal*.¹⁸⁴

The common dry fruits were *raisins* (*dākh*), *kiśmisa*,¹⁸⁵ *almond* (*badam*),¹⁸⁶ *dates* (*chhuhārā*) and *khajur*,¹⁸⁷ *pistachio* (*pista*),¹⁸⁸ *chiraunji*,¹⁸⁹ and *coconut*.¹⁹⁰

SPICES

The common spices mentioned by these poets besides rock salt are turmeric¹⁹¹ cloves,¹⁹² cardamon,¹⁹³ lemon,¹⁹⁴ Tulsīdās mentions a variety of lemon called Karana,¹⁹⁵ asafoetida,¹⁹⁶ pepper,¹⁹⁷ *pīpal*,¹⁹⁸ *Ajavāyan*,¹⁹⁹ dried green mango²⁰⁰ (*khaṭāī*) Tamarind fruit (*chichini*) was also used for making the articles taste sour.²⁰¹ Saffron,²⁰² *kastūri*,²⁰³ cardemom²⁰⁴ (*Ilaichi oveta*) ginger,²⁰⁵ Dry ginger (*saunth*) was also used for seasoning food articles. Myrobalan²⁰⁶, Amla, was also used.

Fenugreek (*methī*) was used for preparing pulse balls for cooking (*mithauri*).²⁰⁷

*Harra*²⁰⁸ was also used for seasoning food preparations. Pickles²⁰⁹ (*achār* or *sandhan*), were prepared with lemons,²¹⁰ *sūran*,²¹¹ mangoes,²¹² *karondas*²¹³ and fruit of *karir* tree (*Tente*).²¹⁴

Guramba was a preparation of green mango pieces cooked in a solution of jaggery and water.²¹⁵

CONDIMENTS

Kāñji was prepared by allowing the rice gruel to ferment.²¹⁶ Some fruits and vegetables were preserved in vinegar.²¹⁷

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Besides clarified butter oils of sesame²¹⁸ (*mīthā tel*) and mustard²¹⁹ (*kaḍava tel*) were commonly used for frying articles. Fish were generally fried in mustard oil.²²⁰ Sesame²²¹ (*til*) was a common article of food.

BEVERAGES

The common sweet drink was water mixed with raw sugar (*khandvanī*).²²² Sometime fragrant substances such as camphor²²³

saffron,²²⁴ sandalwood²²⁵ were added to make it more palatable.

In spring the lovers enjoyed fruit juices such as those of grapes and pomegranates.²²⁶

INTOXICATING DRINKS

Drinking liquor (*surā*)²²⁷ was generally condemned but a number of other varieties of intoxicating drinks are mentioned—*madhu*,²²⁸ *mādhvi*,²²⁹ *madirā*,²³⁰ *irā*,²³¹ *vāruṇī*,²³² *āsava*,²³³ *maya*,²³⁴ *kādambarī*,²³⁵ *maireya*,²³⁶ *mairey*,²³⁷ *Prasannā*,²³⁸ *Hālā*,²³⁹ *sīdhu*,²⁴⁰ and *mada*.²⁴¹ All these varieties were prepared in ancient times. The only new word used is *hālā*. Drinking liquor was particularly condemned for Brāhmaṇas.²⁴²

BETEL CHEWING

Betel (*tamor*, *tāmbūl*) chewing had become very popular during our period. Betel leaves²⁴³ were taken with areca nut,²⁴⁴ lime, and *katthā*,²⁴⁵ cloves,²⁴⁶ and cardamon,²⁴⁷ camphor,²⁴⁸ *kasturi*.²⁴⁹

In royal families betel leaves were served in gold plates after a feast.²⁵⁰ The leaves were generally folded to make *Bīḍās*²⁵¹ and these *bīḍās* were kept in small cases made of straw.

Mīrabāī gave up betel chewing when she devoted herself to the service of Kṛṣṇa.²⁵²

Betel leaves were also used in making a saline preparation called *panaurā* by covering the leaves with a paste of flour of gram pulse.²⁵³

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

A place where corn was stored was called *bakhāra*.²⁵⁴ Tulsī calls a kitchen *bhojanakhane*.²⁵⁵ The cook is called *sūpakara*.²⁵⁶ Before corn was ground it was cleaned with the help of a winnowing fan (*sūpa*).²⁵⁷

The common people used brass or iron utensils while the royal families and the rich aristocrats used gold or silver ones. The common utensils were dishes,²⁵⁸ (*thālī* or *tharī*), cups,²⁵⁹ *kaṭorā*, *khōrā*, *khōrī*,²⁶⁰ jars (*kalaśa*),²⁶¹ *jhārī*,²⁶² *gāgar*.²⁶³ A big earthen jar was called *māṭa*.²⁶⁴ An earthen jar with an outlet for taking out water was called *karavā*.²⁶⁵

Some utensils of glass such as *karoti*²⁶⁶ were also used. Deep vessels for storing water were called *kūṇḍis*.²⁶⁷ A big plate with handles was called *kopar*.²⁶⁸ A pot used for milking a cow was called *dohini*.²⁶⁹ *Gaḍuās* were small jars used for serving water.²⁷⁰

In feasts generally food was served in plates made of leaves (*panavārs*).²⁷¹ Cups made of leaves (*Daunā*)²⁷² were also used.

Sour articles were kept in wooden plates (*kaṭhautā*)²⁷³ and served to people in earthen cups (*saravaka*).²⁷⁴ *Haṇḍī* was an ordinary jar. Wooden *Hāṇḍis* were called *kathahāṇḍis*. Metal ladles were called *karachulis*²⁷⁵ while those of wood *daua*.²⁷⁶

Pieces of stone (*sila* and *lodhā*) were used for grinding articles.²⁷⁷

Fried articles were much in use and they were generally fried in an iron pan²⁷⁸ (*kaḍāha*) when the pan was shallow it was called *tavā*.²⁷⁹

SOME PRACTICES ABOUT FOOD

We learn about some practices from a study of these works. The rich fed the poor on the twelfth day to celebrate the birth of their son.²⁸⁰ It seems that the nurses were given food five times a day in royal families.²⁸¹ The ceremony of feeding a child was held when the child was about 6 months old.²⁸² On the first day of bright fortnight of *Kārtika* the Hindus prepared a number of delicious dishes to feed god *Viṣṇu* and the ceremony was called *Annakūṭa*.²⁸³ They observed fast on the eleventh day every fortnight.²⁸⁴ The food which was taken on the

next day after observing the fast was called *pāraṇa*.²⁸⁵ People generally took breakfast (*kalevā*)²⁸⁶ or *jalapāna*²⁸⁷ in the morning, lunch (*chhāka*)²⁸⁸ at midday and dinner (*biyārī*)²⁸⁹ at night. The general word for a feast was *jyaunār*.²⁹⁰

The ground was smeared with cowdung and pieces of cloth (*patorā*)²⁹¹ were spread to enable the guests to sit. At marriage feasts a number of delicious dishes were served to the bridegroom's party.²⁹² The last course consisted of sweets which was called *pachhiyaurī*.²⁹³ When rulers were given feasts meat preparations of all kinds were also served.²⁹⁴

The foresters generally lived on roots and fruits.²⁹⁵ Some hermits, maintained themselves by eating the leaves of jamun tree alone.²⁹⁶ People regarded some articles as unfit to be eaten *abhakṣya*.²⁹⁷ Cooked food accepted by ascetics was called *madhukarī*.²⁹⁸ Rich food consisting of such articles as clarified butter, fish and meat preparations were avoided by ascetics, as they were considered a hindrance in the evolution of the spirit.²⁹⁹ A mixture of curds, clarified butter, water, honey and sugar was served to a guest and was called *madhuparka*.³⁰⁰

From a study of the works of *Mīrā* it appears that the common people in Rajasthan were satisfied with eating a sour preparation of barley (*rabāḍī*)³⁰¹ or bitter bottle gourd (*kaḍavī tumaḍiyā*). Sometimes they had to take food even without salt. The rich enjoyed sweets like *laḍḍus*, *jalebīs* and *peḍās*, and had as many as 56 dishes in their meals.

CONCLUSION

By the sixteenth century a synthesis of Hindu and Muslim cultures had taken place and it is reflected in the food habits of the people as well. Wheat and rice became the staple food

grains. Wheat is called *kanaka*, probably it was considered as precious as gold. *Makunīs* and *bāṭīs* were new kinds of cakes and three new varieties of fried cakes mentioned are *pūrīs*, *kachaurīs* and *maṭharīs*. Rice was used in preparing *khīr* and *Tāharī* with dry fruits by the rich while the common people cooked *khicharī*. Flour of gram pulse was used in preparing *kaḍhī*, *rotīs* and applying paste to leaves for frying saline preparations.

We hear of *bājarā* for the first time after the 12th century which as probably the food of the common people. In Rajasthan Sour *Rābari* seems to have been a popular preparation. *Basauṇḍhī* and *rāitā* were the favourite milk preparations.

The new preparations of sugar mentioned are *batāśe* and *gindaurīs*, *Pedā*, *jalebī*, *barfī*, *andarse*, *khirladdū*, *motiladdū*, *khaṇḍarā*, *khajūrī*, *khuā*, *galamasūrī*, *peṭhā*, *gondpāk*, *guñjhiya*, *khurmā*, *haluva*, *khirisa*, *murkuri bund*, *chhāla*, *dhuraharī* and *samosā* are some of the new sweets of which we do not hear upto the 12th century A.D.

Such a variety of preparations was a direct result of the synthesis of two cultures as the Muslims seem to have been very fond of tasty dishes. We also see this synthesis in the variety of meat preparations shaped as fruit and *samosās* with meat stuffing among those who relished nonvegetarian preparations. But the impact of Hindu vegetarian masses is clearly visible on Muslim poets who look down upon those who slaughter animals for food.

It seems that spicy food and pickles made of lemon, green mangoes and yam were very much relished.

A number of new vegetables are mentioned during our period such *kundaru*, *lālāhā*, *sīngarī*, *phangpharī*, *vanakaurā*, *soyā*, *methī*, *ratālu*, *sahinjan* and *aravī*. It is possible that some of them were introduced by foreigners. The word *sālan* in the sense of vegetable soup is

definitely a contribution of the Muslims. Guavas, *khūbanī* and the Turani variety of apples were also probably introduced from outside, as we know that custard apples and guavas were introduced by the Portuguese. The common use of raisins and dates was also as a result of our contact with the Muslims.

The common sweet drink was *khaṇḍavani* which was made fragrant by addition of substances like camphor. It seems that religious minded persons especially Brāhmaṇas eschewed the use of intoxicating drinks.

Betel chewing seems to have become a 'must' with the aristocratic society.

Some new utensil such as *jhārī*, *kopar*, *karotī* and *karavā* came into use probably on the analogy of some similar pots used by Muslims.

These Hindi poets do not mention maize, chillies, tobacco, pine-apple and ground-nut probably because these had not yet become common articles of food in Hindi region i.e. Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan in the sixteenth century.

The above survey of the food habits of Indians in the sixteenth century clearly shows that a proper study of the works of Hindi poets can throw more light on the life and conditions of the people than the so called historical works on the Medieval period.

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29. Jayasi, 284 and 550
30. Sur, p. 181; Nand, p. 251
31. Sur, p. 192
32. Jayasi, 284.
33. Mira, 323.9.4, Sur, p. 341
34. Jayasi, 550
35. Sur, p. 342; Tulsi, p. 418, 419.
36. Sur, p. 505; Tulsi, p. 148, Nanda, p. 186
37. Sur, p. 622, Tulsi, p. 178
38. Mira, 351.97.2
39. Sur, p. 166, 480, 1045, Tulsi, p.142, 227, Nanda,
p. 264.
40. Sur, p. 482, Tulsi, p. 142
41. Sur, p. 1005
42. Sur, p. 27, 480
43. Sur, p. 204, 1270, 1418
44. Jayasi, 549
45. Sur, p. 1085
46. Sur, p. 25, 192; Tulsi, p. 330
47. Sur, p. 1270
48. Sur, p. 192, 728, 1041, 1059
49. Sur, p. 301, 0.415.5
50. Jayasi, 549
51. Sur, p. 709, 1468, Jayasi, 549
52. Sur, p. 25, p. 192, 1085, 1197
53. Sur, p. 336
54. Mira, 325.13.2; Sur, 432, 1041; Tulsi 158, 235,
Nanda, p. 291 Kutuban, p. 181
55. Mira, 325.13.2. 327.20.3; Sur, p. 1215, 135.9;
Tulsi, 225
56. Mira, 323.8.3; 323.9.4; 380.10.5.; 517.24.4. Sur,
1388, 1550; Tulsi, 255; Nand, 291
57. Sur, p. 37
58. Sur, p. 181
59. Sur, 350
60. Sur, p. 455; Tulsi, p. 137, 449
61. Sur, p. 547, 739, 1417; Tulsi, 156
62. Tulsi, 381, 453; Nand, 291
63. Sur, p. 1227
64. Sur, p. 1460; Jayasi, 548
65. Manjhan, 489
66. Sur, 1732, 1227
67. Tulsi, 378
68. Sur, p. 291, 326
69. Sur, p. 331, 1025, 1323
70. Sur, p. 331; Tulsi, 109
71. Tulsi, 449
72. Mira, 517.24.4, Sur, p. 1025, 1388, Nand,
p. 264, 291
73. Sur, p. 393
74. Sur, p. 1183, Tulsi, 325
75. Mira, 213, 156.2, Sur, 331
76. Sur, p. 346, Tulsi, p. 305, 393, 418; Nand,
p. 264
77. Mira, 386.23.3; Sur, 1422, 1523; Nand, p. 264
78. Mira, 386.23.3; Sur, p. 393, 1096, 1116
79. Mira, 387.29.4, Sur, p. 37
80. Sur, p. 339
81. Sur, p. 1299, 1422

82. Mira, 599.70.1; Sur, p. 1790, 1807
83. Mira, 599.70.1; Sur, p. 232
84. Mira, 599.70.1
85. Sur, p. 8, 1807
86. Sur, p. 316, Jayasi, 284
87. Sur, p. 319
88. Sur, p. 319
89. Sur, p. 331, 461, 1162, 1790
90. Sur, p. 333
91. Sur, p. 346
92. Sur, p. 391
93. Sur, p. 393
94. Sur, p. 393, 1116
95. Sur, p. 393
96. Sur, p. 401, 420; Nand, p. 264
97. Jayasi, 550
98. Sur, p. 420, 1100
99. Sur, p. 1096, 1510
100. Sur, 1162, 1790, 1807
101. Sur, p. 1162, 1790; Nand, p. 264
102. Sur, p. 1162
103. Sur, p. 1751
104. Jayasi, 284
105. Jayasi, 549
106. Jayasi, 550
107. Jayasi, 284
108. Apanau pindaroşile karan koti sahas jiya mare
Sur, p. 1093
109. *Jhankh, mṛga, mahiṣa, vārāha, saṁbhar, lagurna
rījhe (nīlgāya), gaṇḍe, bhālu, bāgh, chīte*
110. *Chhāgal, geṇḍa, harin, riḡha, lagunā, chīta,
gaun, jhānk, khargośa, baṭer, kuñj, lehā gudeu,
totā, mor etc.*
111. Jayasi, 545
112. Jayasi, 546
113. *Rohū ṭengan, wiṅgī, mangurā, nāriyā mogh, bāv,
baṅgar, chārch etc.*
114. Jayasi, 547
115. Jayasi, 541
116. Mira, 351.97.2; Sur, p. 668; Jayasi, 548
117. Sur, p. 192, 1093; Jayasi, 548
118. Mira, 383.23.2
119. Sur, p. 192
120. Sur, p. 192; Jayasi, 548
121. Sur, p. 192, 1093 and Jayasi, 548
122. Sur, p. 221, Jayasi, 548; Mira, 599.70.1
123. Sur, p. 319, 1284; Jayasi, 546 and 548
124. Sur, p. 1068
125. Manjhan, p. 220; Jayasi, 546
126. Sur, p. 1093
127. Jayasi, 548
128. Sur, 275; Tulsi, 94; Manjhan 262; Jayasi, 548
129. Mira, 386.23.2-3
130. Jayasi, 548
131. Sur, p. 242
132. Sur, p. 275
133. Sur, p. 668; Jayasi, 548
134. Sur, p. 668
135. Sur, p. 1067
136. Sur, p. 1093
137. Sur, p. 1702
138. Sur, p. 278
139. Sur, p. 480, 1526, 1709
140. Sur, p. 480, 1533, 1526, 1709
141. Sur, p. 533, 1526
142. Sur, p. 533, 1067
143. Sur, p. 1411; Tulsi, 391
144. Sur, p. 1415
145. Sur, p. 1415
146. Sur, p. 1415
147. Sur, p. 1415
148. Sur, p. 1186
149. Tulsi, p. 151
150. Sur, p. 1415
151. Sur, p. 192, 299
152. Sur, p. 1093
153. Sur, p. 1093
154. Sur, p. 1447
155. Mira, 599.70.1; Sur, p. 1799
156. Jayasi, 548
157. Tulsi, p. 54
158. Sur, 1725
159. Sur, p. 10.291, 353, 1024,
Tulsi, p. 99; Nanda, 89,
Manjhan, 219; Jayasi, 546
160. Mira, 205.130.2, 339.55.3
Tulsi, p. 102, 357
161. Mira, 477.23.2; Sur, 291;
353; Nanda 91; Jayasi, 546
162. Mira, 477.23.2
Nanda, p. 240; Manjhan
p. 219; Jayasi, 546
163. Sur, p. 192
164. Sur, p. 291, 342, 353
165. Jayasi, 546
166. Sur, p. 202, 291, 353;
Tulsi, p. 66, 99; Nanda, 89
167. Sur, p. 291, 353; Nanda,

- p. 99; Manjhan, 428;
Jayasi, 546
168. Sur, p. 291; 353; Manjhan, 219
 169. Sur, p. 339
 170. Sur, p. 505
 171. Sur, p. 505
 172. Sur, p. 505, 752, 1506
 173. Sur, p. 505
 174. Sur, p. 567; Tulsi, p. 161; Manjhan, 220
 175. Sur, p. 752, 1806
 176. Sur, p. 752, 1806; Jayasi, 546
 177. Sur, p. 837, 1004; Tulsi, p. 225; Nanda, p. 89,
Manjhan, p. 219 Jayasi, 546
 178. Nanda, p. 89
 179. Manjhan, p. 456
 180. Manjhan, p. 196
 181. Manjhan, p. 219
 182. Jayasi, 546
 183. Jayasi, p. 219 546
 184. Jayasi, 546
 185. Sur, p. 420, 560, 836, 1004, 1100, 1185;
Manjhan, p. 456
 186. Sur, p. 420, 1100, 1185; Manjhan, 456,
 187. Sur, p. 420, 513, 560, 752, 836, 1100, 1806;
Manjhan, 456
 188. Sur, p. 420, 752, 1100, 1806; Manjhan, 456.
 189. Sur, p. 505, 1185
 190. Manjhan, p. 456
 191. Mira, 267.4.3; Sur, p. 27, 1417; Tulsi, 474
 192. Mira, 325.13.2, 517.24.5; Sur, 1542, 1769; Nand,
p. 92.
 193. Mira, 325.13.2, 517.24.5
 194. Mira, 599.70.1
 195. Tulsi, p. 72
 196. Sur, p. 27, 1103, 1417
 197. Sur, p. 27, 1103, 1417; Nand, p. 89
 198. Sur, p. 27, 1103; Tulsi, p. 103
 199. Sur, p. 27, 1103
 200. Sur, p. 319; Nand, p. 89
 201. Tulsi, p. 147
 202. Mira, 269.11.0
 203. Sur, p. 233
 204. Sur, 1208; Nand, p. 92
 205. Sur, p. 1417
 206. Sur, p. 1417
 207. Sur, p. 192; Jayasi, 549
 208. Nand, p. 89
 209. Sur, p. 25, 1197; Kutuban, p. 102; Jayasi, 284,
550
 210. Sur, p. 34
 211. Sur, p. 34
 212. Sur, p. 34
 213. Sur, p. 34
 214. Sur, p. 685
 215. Jayasi, 550
 216. Tulsi, p. 81
 217. Jayasi, 546
 218. Sur, p. 1335
 219. Sur, p. 1863
 220. Jayasi, 547
 221. Sur, p. 774
 222. Jayasi, 285
 223. Jayasi, 285
 224. Jayasi, 285
 225. Jayasi, 285
 226. Jayasi, 336
 227. Sur, p. 1780; Tulsi, p. 463; Nand, p. 85-86
 228. Nand, p. 85-86
 229. Nand, p. 85-86
 230. Tulsi, p. 378; Nand, p. 85-86
 231. Nand, p. 85-86
 232. Tulsi, p. 339; Nand, p. 85-86
 233. Nand, p. 85-86
 234. Nand, p. 85-86
 - 235-241. Nand, p. 85-86
 242. Nand, p. 267
 243. Sur, p. 749; Tulsi, p. 202; Nand, p. 92; Jayasi,
285
 244. Mira, p. 477.22.2.; Tulsi, p. 99, 304; Kutuban,
p. 138
 245. Kutuban, p. 138
 246. Mira, p. 477.22.2
 247. Mira, p. 477.22.2.
 248. Kutuban, p. 138
 249. Kutuban, p. 138
 250. Mira, p. 475.19.4; Kutuban, p. 102
 251. Sur, p. 1248, 1259; Tulsi, p. 354
 252. Mira, p. 163.9.2
 253. Sur, p. 1084
 254. Tulsi, p. 322
 255. Tulsi, p. 373
 256. Tulsi, p. 459
 257. Tulsi, p. 464
 258. Mira, 327.21.1; Nand, p. 187
 259. Mira, p. 173.41.1
 260. Jayasi, 283
 261. Mira, p. 334.40.1; Tulsi, p. 76
 262. Mira, p. 327.29.2; 386.23.2; Sur, p. 650

263. Sur, p. 385
264. Tulsi, p. 385
265. Sur, p. 221
266. Sur, p. 265
267. Sur, p. 299.1; Tulsi, p. 102
268. Sur, p. 907
269. Jayasi, 283
270. Tulsi, p. 240
271. Tulsi, p. 65
272. Tulsi, p. 65
273. Tulsi, p. 477
274. Jayasi, 284
275. Tulsi, 71
276. Tulsi, p. 194
277. Tulsi, p. 421
278. Sur, p. 757
279. Tulsi, p. 202
280. Manjhan, p. 54
281. Manjhan, p. 55
282. Sur, p. 42, 1089
283. Sur, p. 51, 1041
284. Sur, p. 176
285. Sur, p. 1087
286. Sur, p. 229; Tulsi, p. 77
287. Tulsi, p. 168
288. Sur, p. 527; Tulsi, p. 156
289. Sur, p. 1245
290. Sur, p. 641
291. Kutuban, p. 102
292. Jayasi, 283-284
293. Jayasi, 284
294. Jayasi, 547
295. Tulsi, p. 63
296. Manjhan, p. 21
297. Tulsi, p. 24
298. Tulsi, p. 378
299. Akharavata, 36
300. Tulsi, p. 378
301. Mira, 386.23.2-3. 396.50

Appendix-1

Food in Indian Culture in the Pre-Maurya Period—The Brahmanical View

Importance of Food in Indian Culture

Ancient Indians realised that all life in this world depended on food. For this reason we find a whole hymn in praise of food in the *Rgveda*.¹ They regarded food as the source of all life hence they called it *Prajāpati* (Lord of all creatures)². In the *Taittirīya upaniṣad* food is equated with Brahma for it is stated that all beings take birth from food, after being born they subsist on it.³ In the same work it is stated that one should not deprecate food for it is the vital force and the body is fixed on the vital force. An eater of food becomes great in progeny, cattle, and in the lustre of holiness and in glory.⁴ It is stated in the *Prśnaupaniṣad* that God created food and all the individuals, vigour, rituals and activities depend on food.⁵ In the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* food is called a panacea because all creatures depend on it.⁶ It is, therefore stated that one should collect plenty of food⁷ and should not discard food.⁸ They realized that not only worldly possessions depended on food but the ultimate aim of human existence namely salvation also depended on purity of food. It is stated in the *Chhândogya upaniṣad* that it is food which enables a man to use all his faculties. It is only food which enables him to see, to hear, to act and to acquire knowledge hence one should worship food.⁹ When there is purity of food the mind becomes pure, when the mind is pure then follows firm remembrance (of the real self), when the last is secured all knots (that

bind the soul to this world) are loosened¹⁰ and the individual soul becomes a part of the universal soul which enables him to get permanent bliss.

Food was considered as an important means of developing good qualities in an individual. It is therefore, equated with truth and right-order in a passage of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*. It is stated that after the food is served in a plate the eater should sprinkle water round it and say, "I sprinkle thee, that are *satya* (truth) with *ṛta* (right order)" (in the morning) and "I sprinkle thee that are *ṛta* with *satya* (in the evening)"¹¹. He then offers five morsels on which ghee is sprinkled to the five modes of *prāṇa* (Namely *prāṇa*, *vyāna*, *apāna*, *samāna* and *udāna*) preceded by the word 'Om' and followed by *svāhā*.¹²

The above references in the Vedic *samhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* clearly show that Vedic Indians attached great importance to food. They fully realized that all human progress depended on food so they considered it a panacea and regarded it as an important manifestation of the Creator hence they equated it with the Creator Himself.

Food Articles prescribed for Different stages of life

Ancient Indians were fully conscious of the fact that the same kind of food could not suit a man at different stages of life. They, therefore, prescribed different kinds of dishes

even for a pregnant mother, for example it is stated that if the parents wished to have a son learned in two *Vedas* they should take boiled rice with curds and clarified butter. Rice boiled with sesame was prescribed for the parents who wished to have a learned daughter. Similarly in the sacrament of the first feeding of the child the flesh of various birds is prescribed by *Pāraskara* for developing its different faculties, such as fluency of speech, nourishment, long life or holy lustre.

Sāṅkhāyana prescribes that the child should be fed with a goat's meat if nourishment is required, with the meat of a partridge, if holy lustre is desired, with fish if swiftness is required, with boiled rice mixed with ghee, if physical splendour is desired.¹⁴

In the *Sūtras* it is clearly stated that the food should suit the age of the individual. It is, therefore, prescribed that children should be fed on boiled rice mixed with curds, honey, clarified butter or water. Sometimes they were also given some meat preparations.¹⁵

In his first stage of life a student was expected to take simple but wholesome food and avoid meat preparations and spicy or exciting dishes. It is, therefore, laid down that a student should avoid food at a sacrifice probably because it consisted of meat preparations and exciting dishes of pungent condiments, salt and honey.¹⁶ Generally the students were expected to go out begging alms because according to the authors of the *Sūtras* it made the students humble.¹⁷ They could beg food at the houses of men of all *varṇas* except of those who were considered unworthy (*apapātra*) and suspected of having committed great sins.^{17a}

A newly married couple was not allowed to use pungent or saline food preparations for three days after marriage.¹⁸ After the expiry of three days the newly married couple could eat honey, meat preparations and salt and

spiced food articles.¹⁹ When a householder performed a sacrifice he was expected to take only fast day food in which meat and other exciting food stuffs were avoided.²⁰ It is clearly stated that meat preparations should not be eaten on such occasions.²¹ A sacrament was performed in the fourth month of pregnancy of the wife. In this sacrament the rite of parting the hair was the chief feature. The *Gobhils gr̥hyasūtra* states, that the wife should eat *kṛsara* (rice cooked in milk and mixed with sesamum) mixed with ghee at the time of this sacrament.²²

Saline and pungent food articles were also prohibited for widows²³ because it was thought that they created unnecessary excitement and the widows should lead a life of simplicity in all its aspects including food.

Forest hermits were forbidden many things. They generally lived upon roots, fruits, leaves, straws or gleanings of corn.²⁴ They could include clarified butter and curds in their diet but could not eat stale food, pungent condiments, saline or meat preparations.²⁵ Many ascetics subsisted only on milk and barley gruel.²⁶

Food for different *Varṇas* (Classes)

According to the *Brāhmaṇas* the members of three *varṇas* (classes) have three different objectives to be achieved namely the *brāhmaṇas* holy lustre (*brāhma varcas*), the *kṣatriyas* physical strength (*vīryas*) and the *vaiśyas* cattle wealth (*paśavah*).²⁷ They have, therefore, prescribed those food articles which might enable the *brāhmaṇas* to acquire maximum of holy lustre, *kṣatriyas* maximum of physical strength and the *vaiśyas* maximum of cattle wealth. As is clearly stated in the *Bhagavadgītā* the society was divided into four *varṇas* on the basis of inherent qualities of the individuals namely, *sattva* (purity and goodness) *rajas* (which makes a man

luxurious) and *tamas* (darkness or ignorance) and their duties as members of these three *varṇas*.²⁸

Baudhāyana states that *brāhmaṇas* should be feasted with *apūpas dhanah* (parched grain). *Odana* (boiled rice) *saktus* (groats) at the *upākarmaṇ* (inaugural ceremony of an academic session) ceremony.²⁹ The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions shoots of banyan tree and fruits of fig, *plakṣa* (*ficus infectoria*) and *aśvattha* (*ficus religiosa*) trees as fit food for *kṣatriyas*.³⁰ This recommendation seems to have been made in view that the *kṣatriyas* might not get cooked food while going on a campaign of conquest. From the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* we know that boiled rice or groats prepared in melted butter (*ājamantha*) was the food of the *brāhmaṇas*, those prepared in milk (*payomantha*) that of the *kṣatriyas*, those prepared in curds (*dadhimantha*) that of a *vaiśya* and those prepared in water (*udamantha*) that of the *sūdras*.³¹ The above description clearly shows that the dishes were prepared according to the objectives to be attained by the members of different *varṇas*. According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* *soma* is the food for *brāhmaṇas*, curds for *vaiśyas* and water for *sūdras*.³² From the *Kāthaka saṁhitā* we know that drinking *surā* (liquor) by *brāhmaṇas* was considered a sin but not so in the case of *kṣatriyas*.³³ The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* contrasts *soma* and *surā* by saying *soma* is truth, prosperity and light and *surā* is untruth, misery and darkness.³⁴ From the above description it is clear that *brāhmaṇas* did not drink liquor because they were expected to set an example to the members of the other three *varṇas* of the society. On the other hand, the *kṣatriyas* could drink *surā* even on solemn occasions like the coronation ceremony. *Surā* was the common drink of the *kṣatriyas* as is clear from a reference in the

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa where it is stated that the priest placed a vessel of *surā* in the hands of the king after the coronation ceremony.³⁵

Food as a Synthesis of various Racial Elements in Indian Culture

Wheat did not form part of the dietary of the *Rgvedic* Indians as it is not mentioned in the *Rgveda* and it continued to be considered an exotic article upto the present day.³⁶ Barley (*yava*) seems to have been the staple foodgrain of the Aryans.³⁷ Rice seems to have been the staple food grain of both the Proto-Australoids³⁸ and the Dravidians.³⁹ By the time of the compilation of the *saṁhitās* of the *Yajurveda* not only wheat (*godhūma*) and many varieties of rice, and lentils (*masūra*)⁴⁰ had become part and parcel of Indian dietary. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* calls wheat the second best of the food articles.⁴¹ Its introduction in the Aryas dietary might have been due to the contract of the Aryans with the Dravidians, who had been using wheat as far back as 2500 B.C. if not earlier.⁴²

Meat of oxen, barren cows,⁴³ goats⁴⁴ was used by early Aryans for preparing non-vegetarian dishes but fish was most probably used by them as a food article only when they came in contract with the Proto-Australoids and the Dravidians.

The early Aryans used clarified butter as the frying medium. Only the non-Aryans used oil for frying.⁴⁵ but the lawgivers later permitted the use of oil if clarified butter was not available.⁴⁶

Of the fruits the *Inter Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* mention three varieties of jujube (*badara*⁴⁷, *kuvala*⁴⁸ and *karkandhu*)⁴⁹, *bilva*⁵⁰ (*aegle marmelos*), *kharjura*⁵¹ (*phoemisilvestris*), mango⁵² and *āmalaka*⁵³ (*myrobalan*). The authors of the *Sūtras* also mention *udumbara*⁵⁴ (Indian fig) *śaphaka*⁵⁵ (*trapabispinsa*) *jambū*⁵⁶ (rose apple) and

mango.⁵⁷ The excavations at some Neolithica and Caleolithic sites in the Deccan and at Harappa suggest the widespread use of dates, melons, pomegranates, lemons and coconut fruits by the people associated with these cultures.⁵⁸ Sugarcane and bananas were important Indian crops even in the times of the *sūtras*. We know that their origin is from South-east Asia (*Australia*).⁵⁹ We know that in later times all these fruits formed part of Indian dietary.⁶⁰ Thus it is clear that there was a synthesis even in this category.

The common vegetables used by early Aryans were cucumber (*urvāruka*) lotus stalks (*bisa*), roots of lotus (*śāluka*) and bottle gourd (*alābu*), from the *sūtras* we know that leafy vegetables were also cooked and formed part of the diet of the Indians but respectable people avoided garlic, onions and leeks. Of these it seems that the Aryans included bottle gourd (*alābu*)⁶¹ as a result of their contact with the Proto-Australoids.

Of the beverages the common drinks of the early Aryans were *soma* and *surā*, but *māsara* is mentioned in the *Yajurveda*⁶² and was the beverage used by the Dravidians.⁶³

The above description clearly shows that even in the proto-historic times the food of Indians reflected the synthetic feature of Indian culture.

Regional variation in Food

We have discussed the synthetic elements in ancient Indian dietary. We shall now discuss the regional variety as gleaned from the medical works. These medical works were no doubt compiled in the post-Mauryan period but the food habits of the people of the early centuries of the Christian era must not have changed much from pre-Mauryan times. This variety in food was suitable for their temperament as well, they being accustomed to it.⁶⁴

According to the *Kāśyapa saṁhitā* the residents of north-western India liked such substances as buttermilk, vinegar, curds, whey, treacle, grapes, groats, juice of pomegranates and rock salt.⁶⁵ The *Bhela Saṁhitā* states that they were specially fond of meat preparations and liquor.⁶⁶ The residents of Bactria region generally used wheat, spiced warm food, liquid meat preparations and beverages such as sour gruel and wines while those of the region to the east of Kafiristan (Kambhoja) were fond of preparations of lentils (*masūra*), barley, wheat, sesamum and *uddala* variety of rice.⁶⁸ The people of the Sindhu region were fond of milk.⁶⁹

The people of eastern India liked fish, *śālī* variety of rice, oils and pungent spices.⁷⁰ The residents of south India were fond of tasty sweets, oils, preparations of foodgrains such as *kaṅgu*, *āḍhaka*, barley, gram and pea and roots, tubers and some beverages.⁷¹ They also liked fresh fish from rivers and seas.⁷² It is stated that sour rice gruel suited the temperament of sea-faring man.⁷³ The residents of Aśmaka (Godavari region) and Avanti (Malwa region) liked oil and sour preparations.⁷⁴ The people of Madhya-deśa (Uttar Pradesh) liked barley, wheat and cows' milk.⁷⁵

The above description of the dietary of different regions shows that on account of geographical factor it varied from region to region. Probably vegetarianism was more rigidly practised in Madhyadeśa where brahmanical influence coupled with the teachings of the Buddha and Mahāvira had the greatest impact on society.

Variation in food according to Seasons

The *Charaka Saṁhitā* prescribes different food preparations and beverages for different seasons which enabled people to remain healthy in all the seasons. People enjoying good

health must have been able to discharge their duties efficiently which must have contributed greatly to the happiness of the individuals, as well as the society as a whole, because these rules were framed keeping in view the changes in weather in different seasons of the year.

In the winter season Charaka prescribes food articles fried in fats and sour and saline in taste and meat of fat animals living near water, wine prepared from the juice of sugarcane, preparations of milk, sugarcane, fats, oils, new rice and warm water to drink.⁷⁶

In the spring season, according to him one should eat preparations of barley and wheat and meat of a young one of an elephant, hare, sheep, quail and cuckoo and wine prepared with the juice of sugarcane (*Sidhu*) or that with honey (*mādhavi*).⁷⁷

In the summer season one should eat cool paste groats prepared with parched barley or rice meal mixed with sugar, meat of wild animals and birds, clarified butter, milk, boiled *śāli* variety of rice, wine in a small quantity, mixed with plenty of water.⁷⁸

In the rainy season one should take old barley, wheat and *śāli* rice and the meat of wild animals mixed with juices of fruits and wine prepared with honey or *ariṣṭa* (a tincture of medicines).⁷⁹

In the autumn season one should take the meat of quails and cuckoos, hare, young one of an elephant, preparations of wheat barley and rice. One should avoid the use of curds, fats, oils and meat of animals living near water.⁸⁰

Thus the food of the rich must have varied according to the suitability of the preparations for different seasons. The poor people must have eaten whatever food articles they could afford but there must have been some changes according to seasons for example they probably ate groats mixed with unrefined sugar and water in summer and boiled hot wheat or barley mixed with jaggery in winter.

Implications of Restrictions on Food Articles

In the early Brahmanical works the prohibitions and food articles are lumped together but a closer analysis of these restrictions reduces them into the following nine categories.

- (i) restrictions of purely hygienic nature,
- (ii) restrictions to avoid accidental or deliberate humiliation,
- (iii) restrictions to safeguard the ritual purity of the brāhmaṇas,
- (iv) restrictions on articles considered exotic,
- (v) restrictions on articles similar to prohibited articles in shape or colour or based on some superstitions,
- (vi) restrictions of social significance.
- (vii) restrictions on food offered by undesirable persons.
- (viii) restriction on meat-eating.
- (ix) restriction on drinking liquors.

Restrictions of Purely Hygienic Nature

In the first category we may place the prohibition on using for ten days the milk of a cow which had calved probably because it was injurious to health.⁸¹ Leavings of food were avoided for the same reason.⁸² But friends could partake of drinks from the same cup.⁸³ Food articles which had stood overnight, which had turned sour or which were cooked twice were regarded as unfit for food.⁸⁴ But articles such as curds, butter milk, roasted rice grains, porridge prepared with curds, roasted barley, groats, vegetables, meat, flour preparations fried in oil such as pulse cakes, milk preparations such as rice boiled in milk or mixed with honey, roots, fruits and herbs could be eaten even the next day.⁸⁵ To maintain purity of food it was laid down that one should not eat cooked food brought from the

markets.⁸⁶ Stale food flavoured with ghee or curds could be eaten,⁸⁷ probably by doing so it could become wholesome and digestible. In the *Sūtras* the above lists of forbidden food articles are called *jāti-duṣṭa* or *svabhāva-duṣṭa* i.e. food articles which are unfit on account of their natural condition, but stale and sour food comes in the category of food which is *kāladuṣṭa*.

Any article of food which is mixed up with unclean substances such as in which hair or an insect is found or in which excreta or limb or tail of a mouse is found was also forbidden. Similarly food which a bird like crow had thrust its beak or food touched by a dog or smelt by a cow was forbidden. Food touched by foot or the hem of a garment, was also not eaten.⁸⁸ Food which was smelt by unclean animals such as cats and smelt by human beings was also avoided.⁸⁹

But the lawgivers were not devoid of common sense. They fully realized that food preparations for a large gathering even if defiled by crows, dogs or cats could not be thrown away. They, therefore, prescribed that such food articles could be used after removing the defiled portion and sprinkling water.⁹⁰

The authors of the *Sūtras* lay down that the milk of a cow in heat, the calf of which is dead, that gives births to twins and that from whose udders milk oozes of itself is forbidden.⁹¹ These restrictions on milk seem to be on hygienic grounds because the milk of any cow described above cannot be wholesome to the mental development of human beings who drink such milk.

Remnants of food were not to be given even to a *śūdra* unless one was one's dependent.⁹²

All the above restrictions seem to have been prescribed on the basis of hygienic considerations.

Restrictions to Avoid Humiliation

Āpastamba lays down that one should not accept food which is given after reviling⁹³ nor should one revile food while taking one's meals.⁹⁴ According to Vasiṣṭha when food is served one should praise it and not find fault with it.⁹⁵ Baudhāyana prescribes that a person, while taking food, should keep himself free from lust, anger, hatred, greed and perplexity.⁹⁶

Food cooked only for oneself and not for offering to gods was not considered fit to be eaten by any respectable person. Such food was called *saṃskāraduṣṭa*.⁹⁷

A house holder was advised not to take food at the house of any other person. He should do so only when invited by a blameless person.⁹⁸

The basic idea underlying these restrictions seems to have been that eating food at the residence of any individual should not result in humiliation either accidental or deliberate.

Restrictions to Safeguard the Ritual Purity of the Brāhmaṇas

Āpastamba lays down that a brāhmaṇa student who has completed his Vedic studies should accept food which is offered only by a brāhmaṇa. He should not accept food⁹⁹ offered by kṣatriyas, vaiśyas or śūdras but according to Gautama a brāhmaṇa may eat at the houses of all the three high castes (*dvijātis*).¹⁰⁰ If a person is observing a penance the student should accept food only when the rites are over.¹⁰¹

Brāhmaṇas following several occupations that were deemed low such as the profession of arms for a brāhmaṇa¹⁰² were not invited at *śrāddhas*. This was a kind of punishment to those brāhmaṇas who followed these profession. In this way all the respectable

brāhmaṇas eschewed following these professions.

The authors of the *sūtras* forbid the use of all kinds of intoxicants to *brāhmaṇas*.¹⁰³

Restrictions on Articles Considered Exotic

Āpastamba forbids the use of dark grains like *māṣa* beans in a *śrāddha* probably because they were considered exotic. According to him one should avoid using for food all herbs from which liquors are distilled, garlic, onions, dark garlic and similar vegetables which are not used by respectable people. Vasiṣṭha also forbids the eating of turnip and *śleṣmātaka*.¹⁰⁶

Restrictions on the basis of superstitions

In this category we may include the food cooked by a woman in her courses which was considered impure.¹⁰⁷ Similarly the use of exudation of trees was forbidden on account of its red colour which looked like the colour of the blood¹⁰⁸ of a *brāhmaṇa* who was killed by some one. Similarly food from a family where a death had taken place was avoided for ten days as also of that family where a woman had not come out of her confinement-chamber after parturition or where a corpse lay inside the house.¹⁰⁹

The husband was not advised to take food with his wife from the same plate because there was a belief that this practice results in having impatient children.¹¹⁰

There was a rule that one should abstain from food in cases of eclipses of the sun and the moon.¹¹¹ It was believed that the eclipse of the Sun was brought about by an *asura* named *Svarbhānu*.¹¹²

Restrictions of Social significance

In the *Brāhmaṇas* we find some traces of the idea of pollution of food by contact with

persons of low castes. People refused to dine with Kavaṣa because he was the son of a maid-servant.¹¹³ The *Kāṭhaka Samhitā* does not allow a *sūdra* to milk a cow whose milk was to be used in a sacrifice.¹¹⁴ Dining with non-Aryans was considered a sin.¹¹⁵

In the *Sūtra* period (C. 800-C. 300 B.C.) some rigidity seems to have come with regard to the acceptance of food from various castes. Āpastamba clearly allows *Sūdras* to cook food under the supervision of an *Arya*.¹¹⁶ But according to other lawgivers food offered by all the castes except that offered by the *sūdras* could be accepted. Only if a *sūdra* was *dharmopamata* (who observed all the rules laid down for a *Sūdra*) could his food be accepted¹¹⁷ but food articles such as water, roots, milk, curds, roasted grain, small fish, venison and vegetables could be accepted even from a *sūdra*.¹¹⁸ Exception was also made in the cases of a herdsman, a farmer an acquaintance of the family, a barber and a family servant.¹¹⁹ Food offered by them could be accepted without any hesitation even if they were *sūdras*. The above account shows that there were no restrictions on interdining between the three upper castes and food offered by a *sūdra* could also be accepted if there were sufficient grounds to believe that he followed the rules laid down for his caste and led a life of purity. But according to Āpastamba, the members of the three upper castes should not accept food even from a member of the three higher castes if his wife happens to be a *sūdra*.¹²⁰ Food touched by a highcaste person, who was impure, could be eaten but brought by an impure *sūdra* could not be taken.¹²¹ Food offered by the son of a *sūdra* with a *brāhmaṇa* mother was also not accepted.¹²² This discrimination shows the hatred of the three high castes towards the *sūdras*.

In this period there were certain professions which were considered degraded. The food

offered by persons following these professions was not to be accepted. It is, therefore, prescribed that one should not accept food offered by a worker in bamboos (*vaina*), a singer, an actor, a fowler and a hunter.¹²³

Restrictions on Food Offered by undesirable Persons

The authors of the *sūtras* also prohibit acceptance of food from persons whom they consider socially degraded. Āpastamba prescribes that food by a *saṃgha* (the Buddhist order or an association of roguish brāhmaṇas or others) offered by a crying person, by craftsmen, by those who live by the use of arms, by those who let out lodgings, by a physician, and a usurer should not be accepted.¹²⁴ This means that all those who followed these professions did not have a good reputation in the Hindu society of those days. Similarly these lawgivers lay down that food served by a eunuch, the professional messenger of a king, a brāhmaṇa who offers substances unfit for a sacrifice, a spy, a person who has become a hermit without observing the proper laws, a learned brāhmaṇa who avoids everybody or who eats the food of anybody or who neglects the study of the *Vedas*.¹²⁵

Similarly food supplied by a drunken man, a mad man, a prisoner, he who learns the *Veda* from his son, a creditor who sits with his debtor hindering the fulfilment of his duties and vice-versa was avoided.¹²⁶

Āpastamba thinks that one should not dine in the company of persons suffering from leprosy, baldmen, persons guilty of adultery, and brāhmaṇas who follow the profession of arms.¹²⁷

Other persons whose food was not to be accepted were, one who has not kept the sacred (*śrauta* and *grhya*) fires, a miser who stints even his parents children and wife

through greed, a thief, an impotent person, a wrestler, one charged with having committed a great sin, a courtesan, a cruel or unchaste woman, one who is intoxicated or puffed up by wealth and learning, an enemy. One ferocious in look or words, an outcast, one who eats the remnants of others, a swindler, a member of the three high castes who does not observe the rules laid down for his caste (*vrātya*),¹²⁸ food offered by all these persons was called *parigraha duṣṭa* because the food may be good but is forbidden because it was offered by undesirable persons.

Similarly food was not accepted from a member of any of the three high castes if his sacred thread ceremony was not performed.¹²⁹

There was a belief that whoever eats the food of another person partakes of that man's sin. It was for this reason that food offered by those who were considered socially degraded was not accepted by honourable persons. Āpastamba says that one should not sit down to dinner in the same row with underserving persons (by reason of birth, character or learning).¹³⁰

Restrictions on Meat Eating

References in early Vedic literature clearly prove that meat of oxen, barren cows, goats,¹³² horses, rams, sheep and buffaloes¹³³ was cooked for food but some notion of pure and impure meat was present even in the days of the *Ṛgveda*. It was only in extreme destitution that a man cooked the entrails of a dog.¹³⁴ Milk cows were not killed on account of their usefulness and many blessings which they provided.¹³⁵ The ox was useful for agriculture purposes and cows were used as means of exchange. All these factors show the importance of a cow in family economy but that barren cows continued to be offered in sacrifice follows from several passages in the *Brāhmaṇas*.

But even in the R̥gvedic period it appears that there were certain sages who considered killing of animals for sacrifices unnecessary. A devout offering of praise or of fuel stick or cooked vegetarian food was considered as meritorious as one performed with meat oblations.¹³⁶ This fact is also borne out by a hymn in praise of nutriment (*pitru*) which mentions all the articles of food except meat.¹³⁷

In the later Vedic period a feeling of revulsion against meat eating, especially beef is found in almost all the works.¹³⁸ But even in this period some people like Yājñavalkya relished tender beef preparations¹³⁹ and flesh was considered the best kind of food according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.¹⁴⁰ People who observed a vow, generally abstained from meat diet¹⁴¹ and brāhmaṇas cook only sanctified meat and that too of pure animals.¹⁴² Many people still considered meat diet very nourishing and a delicacy even in this period.¹⁴³ Some people now began to think that animals should be killed only for sacred rites and not for human beings as is clear from a passage in the *Chāndogya upaniṣad* which emphasizes that a wise man who has attained correct knowledge does not cause any injury to living beings except in the case of sacred rites.¹⁴⁴

But the authors of the Vedic Sūtras clearly state that on certain occasions such as in a śrāddha¹⁴⁵ for a distinguished guest¹⁴⁶ and some sacrifices¹⁴⁷ even a cow was killed for food. But according to Vasiṣṭha no flesh can be had without killing living beings and killing such beings cannot lead to heaven, therefore, one should give up eating flesh.¹⁴⁸ From the above account it seems that in times of Vasiṣṭha some people did not think killing of animals, even for sacrifices, proper but there were others, as is clear from the prohibitions about unclean meat,¹⁴⁹ who indulged in flesh

eating without any restrictions. Majority of Indians continued to kill animals for feeding brāhmaṇas in rites for gods and manes.¹⁵⁰

The authors of Sūtras clearly state whose flesh was considered unclean and which should not be avoided by all respectable persons.¹⁵¹

But in the time of Āpastamba even brāhmaṇas took meat preparations as is clear from the injunction that meat preparations should not be served to a teacher in the months from *upākarma* to *utsarjana*.¹⁵² This also shows that all people who, when busy in activities aiming at spiritual advancement, generally avoided meat diet.

In conclusion we agree with V.P. Kane that the causes that led to the giving up of flesh, at least by some people, were many, the foremost being the metaphysical conception that one Supreme Entity pervades the whole universe, that all life was one, and that even the meanest insect was a manifestation of the Divine, Essence and that philosophical truths would not dawn upon the man who was not restrained, free from crude appetites and had not universal kindness and sympathy.¹⁵³

Restrictions on Drinking Liquers

The evil effects of drinking were known to the Vedic Indians. For this reason it was regarded as one of the seven sins forbidden by the Vedas.¹⁵⁴ Drinking liquer gave rise to broils in the assembly.¹⁵⁵ A brāhmaṇa is enjoined not to drink liquor because it is unpropitious for him.¹⁵⁶ It is clearly narrated that by drinking liquor one becomes vile in temper.¹⁵⁷ But as we have stated in connection with the food and drinks of the *kṣatriyas* it was quite popular with them.¹⁵⁸ Good kings like Aśvapati, however, did not permit drinking liquor in their kingdoms.¹⁵⁹

The Dharmasūtras condemn drinking liquor in unequivocal terms and prohibit it.¹⁶⁰

According to Baudhāyana it was a great sin (*mahāpātaka*)¹⁶¹ and he prescribes very severe punishment for a brāhmaṇa who drinks liquor.¹⁶²

But to satisfy the female ancestors an offering of *surā* (liquor) was made at the time of a *śrāddha* even in this period.¹⁶³

Vasiṣṭha states that if any one of the three *varṇas* drinks *surā* through ignorance he becomes pure by undergoing *kṛcchra* penance and by having upanayana performed again.¹⁶⁴

Moderation in Food

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* lays down that the quality of food should be limited to what is proportionate to body, is sufficient for it and does not injure it. When there is too much food it injures the body. When the food is too little it does not satisfy the requirements of the body.¹⁶⁵ This means that every individual should take as much food as may be necessary for the sustenance and nourishment of the body.

According to the *Brāhmaṇas* one should take food only twice a day,¹⁶⁶ once in the morning and a second time in the evening.¹⁶⁷

Baudhāyana says that a householder should take only two meals every day. He should not eat food in the intervening period and that if he acts upto this advice he reaps the merit of a fast,¹⁶⁸ but Āpastamba allows partaking of roots and fruits between the two meals.¹⁶⁹

According to the *Dharmasūtras* a Vedic student should eat as much food as is necessary for the sustenance and nourishment of his body. A householder should take 32 morsels of food, a forest hermit 16 and an ascetic only 8 morsels of food.¹⁷⁰ But according to Baudhāyana a student and a householder should not stint themselves as to food. They can do their work properly and efficiently only if they eat sufficient quantity of food. There is, however, no sin if a fast is observed by a

householder as a penance for some lapse.¹⁷¹

In the *Bhagavadgītā* it is clearly stated that one can discharge one's duties neither by taking too much food nor by avoiding food altogether. One should take as much food as is essential for sustaining his life and providing him proper nourishment.¹⁷²

Rules to maintain Purity of Food and Kitchen Accessories

As we have stated before much emphasis was laid on purity of food as the Vedic Indians were of opinion that proper mental make up of a person depended on the purity of food.¹⁷³ From the *Sūtras* we know that every respectable person (*Ārya*) both in the morning and in the evening was expected to take his meals after cleaning his hands, feet and mouth.¹⁷⁴

Āpastamba prescribes that the *Āryas* (i.e. the members of the three *varṇas*) purified by a bath may prepare food for *Vaiśvadeva*.¹⁷⁵ They should stop speaking, coughing or sitting with their faces turned towards the food that is being prepared and should wash their hands with water on touching their hair, limbs or garment or *Śūdras* supervised by *Āryas* may cook food. *Śūdras* were expected to shave their hair and beard, pare their nails and bathe before being permitted to cook food for the higher castes.¹⁷⁶ Rice was well washed before being boiled for food.¹⁷⁷

In the Vedic period many implements and utensils were used in cooking. Some of these were made of clay while others were made of metals. Leather vessels were used for storing liquids.¹⁷⁸ In the *Sūtra* period besides earthenware vessels of copper, iron and stone were in common use. Sometimes vessels made of gold and wood were also used. In the *Āpastamba Dharma Sutra*, we have a reference to a copper plate with gold in the centre.¹⁷⁹ The Indo-Aryans were so particular

about the cleanliness of utensils used for taking meals that Āpastamba prescribes that an earthen vessel not used for cooking may be used as a plate for meals; but if it had been used for cooking it may be used as a plate for food after being baked in fire, that a iron plate scoured within ashes is pure and even a wooden plate to may be used provided it is thoroughly scraped from inside.¹⁸⁰

Etiquette and ceremonies before, during and after taking Food

From a simile in the *Rgveda* we learn that the Vedic Indians took their food in a sitting posture.¹⁸¹ They used to recite a prayer to food before they took their meals.¹⁸² They also made offerings to gods before they began eating newly ripended corn as a token of gratitude to them for enabling them to enjoy the produce of a new crop.¹⁸³ Women, generally, did not take their food in the presence of male members.¹⁸⁴

It is laid down in the *Sūtras* that one should eat sitting on a piece of ground which has been purified by the application of cowdung etc.¹⁸⁵ In this period the skin of an ox was used as a seat.¹⁸⁶ According to Āpastamba the person taking food should sit on a low wooden stool having four feet or a seat made of wood or of a skin, which latter was considered the best seat.¹⁸⁷ A person should not eat in a boat or on a wooden platform.¹⁸⁸ It is prescribed that he should sit with his face towards the east or towards the south. But facing the south is not allowed if the diner's mother is alive.¹⁸⁹ It was believed that one who eats food facing the east long life and one who does that facing the south becomes famous. A person should have his sacred thread as also his upper garment when taking his meals.¹⁹⁰

It was not considered proper that a person while taking his meals should make sound with

his mouth.¹⁹¹ The diner was expected to put each morsel in his mouth with all the fingers including the thumb.¹⁹² He should not speak while taking his meals.¹⁹³ Biting off pieces from a cake, roots, bulbs, fruits or flesh with teeth¹⁹⁴ and drinking water standing or bending forward were considered improper.¹⁹⁵ Serving fats, salt and condiments in the hand was considered improper.¹⁹⁶ Declaring the qualities of food was considered unmannerly.¹⁹⁷ In a party one was not to begin eating before others and was not to leave the party while others taking food. All others were expected to abstain from eating after anyone had left.¹⁹⁸

Vasiṣṭha lays down that a person about to eat should honour food in the morning and evening by saying, 'I like it'. In the case of śrāddhas he, should say 'it was very good in taste'. In married etc. he should say the food offered was perfect.¹⁹⁹

Significance of Atithiyajña (Hospitality)

Vedic Indians laid great stress on the virtue of hospitality. Even their beloved god fire is called a guest (*atithi*) in the *Rgveda*.²⁰⁰ In another verse it is considered a sin to take food without feeding a hungry person.²⁰¹ In the *Atharvaveda* feeding a guest, without hatred or doubt,²⁰² is considered as meritorious as performing a sacrifice.²⁰³ The *Brāhmaṇas* consider feeding a guest as meritorious as worshipping God Himself,²⁰⁴ and prescribe that a great goat or a barren cow should be killed for a distinguished guest.²⁰⁵ It is stated in the *Kaṭha upaniṣad* that if in anyone's house a brāhmaṇa guest abides without food, that brāhmaṇa guest destroys hope, expectation and result of holy association, sweet discourse, sacrifices and charities, sons and cattle of that man of little intelligence.²⁰⁶

In the *Sūtras* hospitality becomes one of the five daily duties of a householder.²⁰⁷ It was

considered improper for an Ārya to take his meals without offering food to gods, brāhmaṇas and guests.²⁰⁸ A preceptor, a sacrificial priest, the father-in-law and a king were considered specially deserving of hospitality.²⁰⁹

Significance of Bhūtayajña (setting apart some food for small creatures)

Besides, gods, brāhmaṇas and guests a householder was expected to set apart some food for small creatures.²¹⁰ The *Vaiśvadeva* offerings are generally divided into three parts: first of all the oblations of the *Vaiśvadeva* food are offered into the fire to various dieties, it is called the *Devayajña*; secondly the oblations of the food are offered at different places, this is called *Bhūtayajña* and thirdly the oblations of the food are offered to the manes, this is called *Pitryajña*. These rites are followed by the feeding of a guest which is called *Atithiyajña*.²¹¹

The householder was expected to make offering of food at four places. The first offering was made to *Prthivī* (Earth) the second to *Vāyu* (air), the third to *Viśvadevas* and the fourth to *Prajāpati*.

Bhūtayajña implies that the householder was expected to set apart a portion of his daily food not only for human beings but also for all living creatures in the universe. Underlying this duty of the householder was the Indian concept that all creation is a manifestation of the Universal Soul. If an individual wishes to live in harmony with the creation he should take food after feeding guests and setting apart some food for all the living beings in the universe.

Purity of Food as a means of realising the Divinity in Man

One basic principle of Indian Culture is that we can see the manifestation of God not only

in the external universe but also within man. In the first stage of *brahmacharya* the student was dependent for his food on the householder. The householder by providing food to the students, the guests and the hermits not only discharges his duty as a householder but is also trying to realise the divinity in him. Of the four basic aims of human existence namely—*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* he neglects none. He earns wealth and enjoys the worldly pleasures. But both these activities of his are circumscribed by *dharma* i.e. discharge of his duties as an individual and as a member of the society. Only when he enjoys the pleasures of life in this way can he hope to get salvation. Thus food also became a means of realizing the divinity in man. It was not simply to satisfy his desire for eating delicacies that he²¹² cooked food. It is for developing all his faculties to enable him to discharge his duty towards all human beings and living creatures that he cooks food. It is food which is the vital force²¹³ so it was raised to the status of a divinity.²¹⁴ It is clearly stated in the *Kaṭha upaniṣad* that one who does not feed a learned guest cannot expect either pleasures such as sons and cattle in this world or salvation after death.²¹⁵ In the *Chāndogya upaniṣad* it is clearly stated when there is purity of food then the mind becomes pure, when the mind is pure then follows firm remembrance (of God) when the last is secured all knots that bind the soul to this world are loosened.²¹⁶

All food articles were neither considered suitable for all stages of an individual's life, nor for all classes of society nor for all seasons and for all regions of the country. It was for this reason that the early law givers prescribed food articles suitable for different stages in life and for different *varṇas* according to their temperament and professions. Food habits of Indians were also modified by the contact of

different cultures. They reflect the synthetic nature of Indian culture. The authors of medical treatises prescribed different food preparations for residents of different regions of the country and for different seasons. The regional variations in food reflect the variety of its culture.

The law-givers prohibited the use of certain food articles which were considered hygienically unsuitable for human consumption. One other major consideration is imposing restrictions on some food articles was to safeguard the high ethical standards of the society. For this reason food was not accepted from undersirable persons. Some restrictions on food were prescribed to maintain the ritual purity of the brāhmaṇas and to segregate the persons who were culturally at a low level from those who were culturally advanced. Some prohibitions were based on superstitions and some aimed at avoiding all food articles which were considered exotic. Meat eating and drinking of liquors were generally avoided by those who aimed at realising the divinity within themselves.

The most important cause which prompted these men to give up meat eating and drinking liquors seems to have been 'the metaphysical conception that one Supreme Entity pervades the whole universe, that all life was one and the meanest insect was a manifestation of the divine Essence and that philosophical truths would not dawn upon the man who was not restrained, free from crude appetites and had not universal kindness and sympathy.

Moderation in food was prescribed for the proper development of an individual's faculties.

These early brāhmaṇical law-givers also laid down some rules with a view to maintaining the purity of food articles and kitchen accessories. The etiquette prescribed reflects the cultural level of a society. So rules were laid down that all persons might follow

them to be able to realise their basic aims in life.

Every householder was expected to feed a guest and set apart some portion of food for other creatures.

The above survey shows that food occupied a very important place in the life of ancient Indians and it was regarded as a means of realising the divinity in man for there was a firm belief that it was purity of food which alone could enable a man to discharge efficiently his duties as an individual and as a member of the society. By doing so, it was believed, one could realize the four basic aims of an individual's life. Just as in Ancient India art was worshipped in order to deepen the consciousness of the soul and awaken it to a new sense of spiritual joy and nobility so was purity of food insisted upon in order to awaken the divinity within him.

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13. Brhad. Up. VI. 4. 15-17.
14. Paraskara Gr. Sec. I. 19. 7-13.
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16. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 1.2. 22-23
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u.12

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24. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.23.2. *Ibid.* 9.22.
cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. III 2.15.
25. Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 2.22 cf. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 13.
26. Baudh Dh. Su. III. 7.8.
27. Sat. Br. XIII. 2.6.10., Panc. Bra. VI. 3-5. Tait Br. III, 8.13.1, Ait. Bra. VIII. 6. Panc. (Bra. XVIII 4.6)
28. Gita IV. 13.
29. Baudh. Gr. Su. III. I. II.
30. Ait. Br. VII. 35.4.
31. Āp. Sr. Su. XIX. 13.12.
32. *Ibid.* VII. 35.3.
33. Kāth. Sam. XII. 12.
34. Sat. Bra. V.I. 5.28.
35. Ait. Bra. XXXVII. 4.
36. Wheat is not used in Hindu ritual even in modern times. Only barley and rice are used.
37. Rv. I.61.7. 132.6: 187.1, VI. 20.4 etc.
38. The Vedic Age p. 151.
39. Burrow. J. Studies of early Dravidian words Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Research's. London 1948, pp. 371-393.
40. Vaj Sam. XVIII. 12
41. Sat. Bra. V. 2.16.
42. Allchin F.R. and Dilip. K. Chakrabarti : A source Book of Indian Archaeology p. 291.
43. Rv. VIII. 43.11.
44. Rv. X, 16.4.
45. Asv. I. 7.2
46. Asv. Su. II. 8.19.18-19.
47. Kāth. Sam. XX. 20. Mait. Sam. III. 11.2. Vaj Sam. XIX. 22.90.
XXI. 30. Tait. Bra. I. 8.51
48. Mait. Sam. III. 11.2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22.89, XXI.29, Sat. Bra. V. 4.10.
49. Mait Sam. III. 11.2, Kāth. Sam. XII.10, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 23. XXI. 32.
50. Av. XX.136.13, Mait. Sam. III. 9.3, Ait. Bra. II.1., Sat. Bra. XIII. 4.4.8.
51. Kāth. Sam. XI. 10. XXXVI. 71.
52. Sat. Bra. XIV. 7.1.41.
53. Jaim. Up. Bra. I. 38.6.
54. Śāṅkh. Gr. Su. I. 22.8.
55. Āp. Sr. Su. IX, 14.14.
56. Pāṇini IV. 3.165.
57. Pāṇini VIII 4.5, Āp. Dh. Su. 1.7.20.3.
58. Allchin F.R. and Dilip K. Charabarti, Supra. pp. 308 and 309.
59. Allchin F.R. and Dilip K. Chakrabarti, Supra p. 314.
60. Charak. Su. 27. 122-62.
cf. Suśruta Su. 46. 139, 163, 177, 182, 187. 190-96.
61. Bagchi, P.C. : Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India.
62. Vaj. Sam, XIX. 14.82, Mait. Sam. III. 11.2.9, Tait. Bra. VI. 11. 3-4.
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64. Charak. Su. 6.49.
65. Kāśyapa. Bhojana Kalpa 46.4.
66. Bhela p. 22.
67. Bhela p. 22.
68. Bhela p. 22.
69. Charaka Chikitsā 30.317.
70. Kāśyapa Bhojana kalpa. 49-50.
71. Kāśyapa Bhojana kalpa 51-52.
72. Bhela p. 22.
73. Suśruta. Su. 45.216.
74. Charaka Chikitsa 30.317.
75. Charaka Chikitsa 30.319.
76. Charaka. Su. VI. 11-13.
77. *Ibid.* Su. VI. 25-26.
78. *Ibid* Su. VI. 26-28.
79. *Ibid.* Su. VI. 38-39.
80. *Ibid.* Su. VI 43-45.
81. Tait. Bra. II. 1.1, III. 1.3.
82. Chand. Up. I. 10.4.
83. Ait. Bra VIII. 8.
84. Āp. Dh. Su. 1.5.17.17-22.
Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 14-16; Vas. Dh. Su XIV. 28-29 and 37-38.
85. Āp. Dh. Su. 1.5.17.19, Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 3.7-38.
86. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.14.
87. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 24.

88. Āp. Dh. Su. I.5.16, 23-29, Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 23.
Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.12.6.
89. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.5.
90. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 25-27.
91. Gaut. XVII. 22-26, Āp. Dh. Su. I.5.17. 22-24.
Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 34-35, Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 5.156-158.
92. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 11.31, 25-26.
93. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17.4, II. 8.19.6.
II. 3.6.19.
94. *Ibid.*
95. Vaśiṣṭha Dh. Su. III. 62.62, Āp. Dh. Su. II. 2.3.11., Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19.
96. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 3.5.21.
97. Gaut. XVII. 19.
98. Gaut. VII.8.
99. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 6.18.9-12.
100. Gaut. XVII. 1.
101. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 6.9-12.
102. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 7.17.21-22.
103. Gaut. XV. 28-29, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 8.2, Vas. Dh. Su. III. 19.
104. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 8.10.2.
105. *Ibid.* I. 5.17. 25-27.
106. Gaut. XVII. 32-33.
107. Tait. Sam. II. 5.1. 5-6, Ait. Bra. VII.9.
Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 10.
108. Tait. Sam. II. 5.1.3.
109. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.18-20.
110. Sat. Br. X.5.29.
Vas. Dh. Su. XII. 29.
111. Viṣṇu Dh. Su. LXVIII 1-2.
112. Kāṭhaka. Sam. XI. 5.
113. Kaus. Bra. XII.3.
114. Kāṭha. Sam. XXXI.2.
115. Panc. Bra. XII.3. XVII. 1.9.
116. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 2.4.
117. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 6.18.13-14.
118. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 6.18.1-4.
119. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVIII.6.
120. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 6.18.33.
121. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.21-22.
122. *Ibid.*, II. 7.17.21.
123. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 16-33; I. 6.19.1
Gaut. Dh. Su. XV 18 and Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 2-11.
124. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 6.18.16-22, Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 2-21.
125. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 6.18., 28-33; Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 17-18. XV 18.
126. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 6.19.1.
127. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 7.17.21.
128. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 6.18, 16-33, I. 6.19.1
Gaut. Dh. Su. XV. 18 and Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 2-11.
129. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 1.21.
130. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.2.
131. Rv. VIII. 43.11.
132. Rv X. 16.4.
133. Rv. X. 91. 14, VI. 17.11.
134. Rv. IV. 18.13.
135. Rv. I. 164, 40, IV.1.6., V. 83.8. VIII. 69.2. X. 87.16.
136. Rv. VIII. 19.5.
137. Rv. I. 187.8-10.
138. Av. V.19.5., XII. 4.38., Vaj. Sam. XIII. 48.
139. Sat. Bra. III. 1.2.21.
140. Sat. Bra. XI. 7.21.
141. Av. VI. 70.1, Sat. Bra. XIV.1.1.29.
142. Sat. Bra. II. 2.1.39, XII.1.2.39, Ait. Bra. VI. 8.
143. Brhad.Up. VI. 4.18.
144. Chand. Up. VIII. 15.1.
145. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.25.
146. Asv. Gr. Su. I. 24.22-26; Vas. Dh. IV. 8.
147. Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 9.10.
148. Vas. Dh. Su. IV.7.
149. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 48, Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.32-34.
Gaut. XVII. 29, 34-35.
150. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 41-42 and Gaut XVII. 36.
Āp. Dh. Su. II.7.16.25; Baudh. Gr. Su. II.11.51.
151. Gaut. XVII. 27-31.
Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.29-35.
Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 39-40.
152. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 2.5.15.
153. Kāṇḍ P.V., History of Dharmasastra, Vol. II.
Part-2. pp. 775-776.
154. Rv. X. 5.6
155. Rv. VIII. 2.12.
156. cf. Kath. Sam. XIII. 2., Sat. Bra. XII. 8.15.
157. Sat. Bra. XII. 7.3.
158. Ait. Bra. XXXX, XXXVII. 4.
159. Chand. Up. V. 11.5.
160. Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 26; XV. 15.
Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 1.1.17-21.
161. Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 5.5.6; III. 6.6.18.
cf. Vas. Dh. Su. I.19-20.
162. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 7.18.18.
163. Paraskara. Gr. Su. III. 3.11.
164. Vas. Dh. Su. XX. 19.

165. Sat. Bra. X. 4.1.4.
166. Tait. Bra. I. 4.9.
167. Sat. Bra. II. 2.2.6.
168. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.36.
169. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 8, 19.10.
170. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 4.9.13, Vas. Dh. Su. VI. 20-21.
Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7. 31-32.
171. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.33-34.
172. Gita. VI. 16-17.
173. Chand Up. VII. 26.3.
174. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.1, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 2.8-9.
Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.9.
175. Please see the importance of Bhūṭayajña in this
chapter itself)
176. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 23.1-6.
177. Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.5, Kh. Gr. Su. II. 10-12.
178. for complete list of implements and utensils
please see Om Prakash, Food and Drinks in
Ancient India, Appendix A-pp. 32-33.
179. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.3.
180. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.9-12.
181. Ṛv. VI. 30.3.
182. Ṛv. I. 187.2.
183. Ait. Bra. VII. 29.
184. Śat. Bra. I. 9.2.12.
185. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.8.
186. Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 4.6.
187. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.1.
188. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 6-7.
189. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.1-2.
190. Ibid. II. 8.19.12.
191. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.10.
192. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.5-6 Vaśiṣṭha. XII. 19-20.
193. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.6.
194. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.9-10, Baudh. Dh. Su. II.
7.10.
195. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.1.
196. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 26.
197. Ibid. XI. 29-30.
198. Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 3, Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 19.
199. Vas. Dh. Su. III. 69-71.
cf. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 2.3.11.
200. Ṛv. I. 51.6, I. 112.14, VI. 47.22, VII. 3.5.
201. Ṛv. X. 117.2. X. 117.6.
202. Av. IX. 6.24.
203. Av. IX. 6.13, Śat. Bra. VII. 3.2.1.,
Ait. Ar. I. 1.1, Tait Up. I. 2.2, III. 10.
204. Śat. Bra. XII. 1.3.4.
205. Śat. Bra. III. 4.1.2, Ait Bra. III. 4.15.
206. Kāṭh. Up. I. 1.8.
207. The five daily duties of a householder were
prayer to God (*Brahmayajña*), offering to gods
(*Devayajña*), offerings to the spirits of the
deceased (*Pitryajña*) hospitably to guests
(*Atithiyajña*) and offerings to animals and
birds.
Asv. Gr. Su. II, III 1-3, 1-2, Par. Gr. Su. VI.
1.41, Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5.39.
208. Āp. Dh. Su. II. 4.8.3-5, Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 19,
Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 3.5.18.
209. Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.65.
210. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.3.12., Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 10.11,
Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5. 22-25.
211. Ram Gopal, India of Vedic Kalpasutras,
pp. 287-88.
212. See footnote 9 above.
213. See footnote 4 above.
214. See footnote 3 above.
215. See footnote 206 above.
216. See footnote 10. above.

1871 Jan 1st to 1871 Jan 31st
1871 Feb 1st to 1871 Feb 28th
1871 Mar 1st to 1871 Mar 31st
1871 Apr 1st to 1871 Apr 30th
1871 May 1st to 1871 May 31st
1871 Jun 1st to 1871 Jun 30th
1871 Jul 1st to 1871 Jul 31st
1871 Aug 1st to 1871 Aug 31st
1871 Sep 1st to 1871 Sep 30th
1871 Oct 1st to 1871 Oct 31st
1871 Nov 1st to 1871 Nov 30th
1871 Dec 1st to 1871 Dec 31st

1872 Jan 1st to 1872 Jan 31st
1872 Feb 1st to 1872 Feb 28th
1872 Mar 1st to 1872 Mar 31st
1872 Apr 1st to 1872 Apr 30th
1872 May 1st to 1872 May 31st
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1872 Jul 1st to 1872 Jul 31st
1872 Aug 1st to 1872 Aug 31st
1872 Sep 1st to 1872 Sep 30th
1872 Oct 1st to 1872 Oct 31st
1872 Nov 1st to 1872 Nov 30th
1872 Dec 1st to 1872 Dec 31st

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CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA



The concept of history is no longer restricted to the study of political developments in a society. A study of the values of life which have been the bases of its culture is equally indispensable for its growth. In writing 'Cultural History of India', Dr. Om Prakash, has presented before his readers, some important aspects of Indian culture. Educated at Allahabad University, and with a PhD from Delhi University in 1959 on 'Food and Drinks in Ancient India', Dr. Om Prakash taught ancient Indian history and culture at Delhi University. For over three decades, he published a large number of research papers in national and international journals. He also wrote a number of standard books on topics relating to Indian history, both in English and Hindi. His publications have been used by students of Indian universities and teachers at public schools in Delhi.

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